THE ZONDERVAN

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE BIBLE

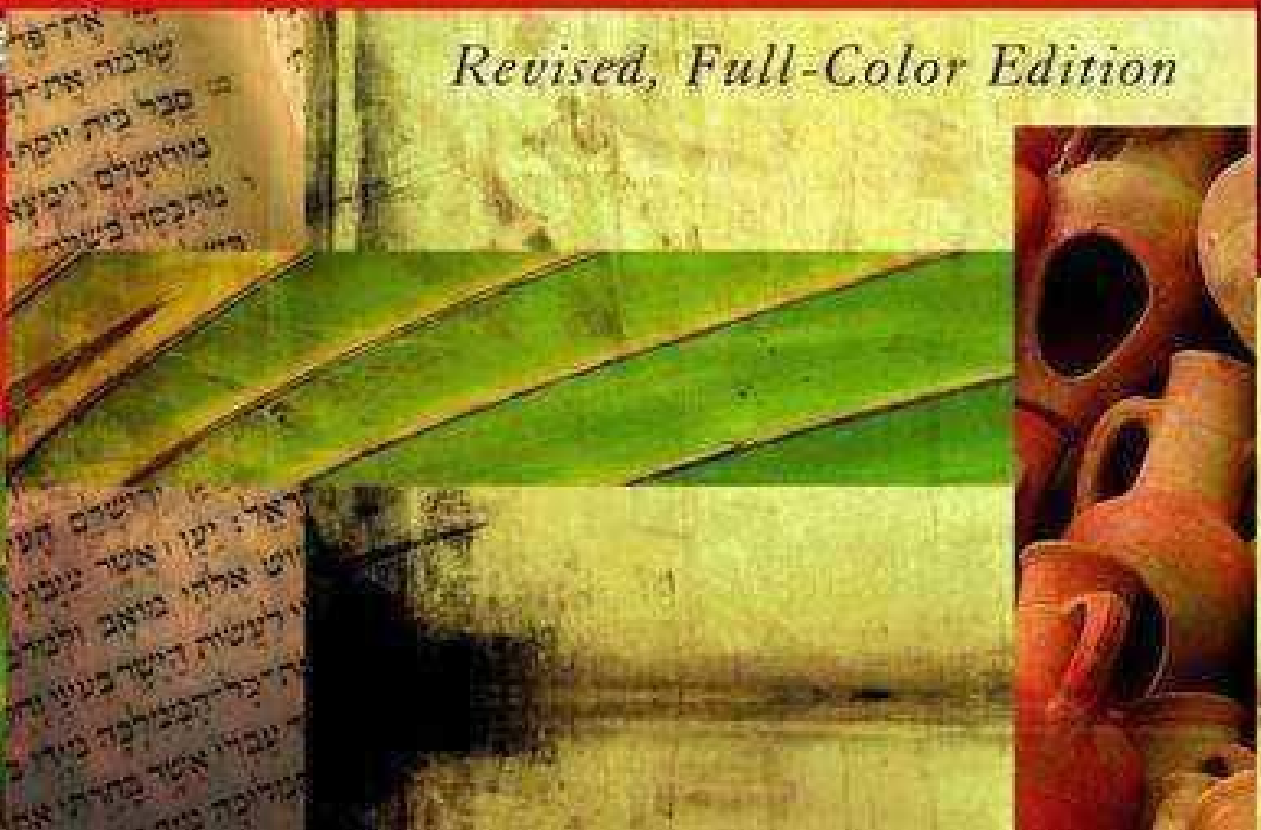
Volume

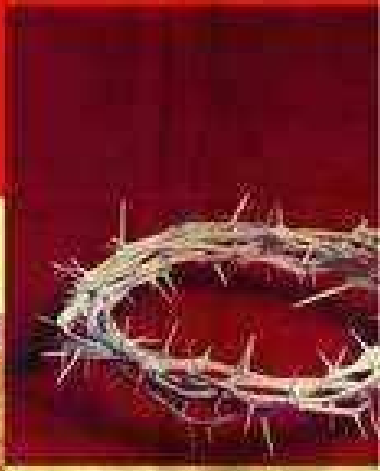
1

A - C

Merrill C. Tenney, General Editor // Moisés Silva, Revision Editor

Revised, Full-Color Edition





The Zondervan Encyclopedia Of The Bible
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INTRODUCTION

Since its initial publication in 1975, the *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* has provided a treasury of knowledge for anyone interested in the biblical text and the historical context of Scripture. With its breadth of coverage, detailed treatments, reverent approach to the text, and profuse illustrations, this work has met the needs of scholars, pastors, and serious students of the Bible for over three decades. The present revised edition seeks to preserve the original contributions as much as possible while at the same time updating the material to serve a new generation.

Accordingly, hundreds of brief new articles have been added, making it easier for the user now to obtain quick information on a broad range of relevant topics, including Judaism (e.g, "Akiba, Rabbi"; "Mishnah"; "Tosefta"), the ANE ("Aleppo"; "Lagash"; "Parthians"), Greco-Roman culture ("Acropolis"; "Epictetus"; "Marcus Aurelius"), extrabiblical documents ("Adam, Testament of"; "Execration Texts"; "Shem, Treatise of"), early Christianity ("Epiphanius"; "Irenaeus"; "Nag Hammadi Library"), and assorted items ("amanuensis"; "linguistics"; "rhetorical criticism").

Moreover, some twenty new in-depth articles have been commissioned, including "Apologetics" (William Edgar), "Cartography, Biblical" (Barry J. Beitzel), "Ebla" (Richard S. Hess), "Deuteronomistic History" (J. Alan Groves), "Ethics in the Old Testament" (Esteban Voth), "Ethics of Paul" (Alexander Cheung), "God, Biblical Doctrine of" (John M. Frame), "Land, Theology of" (Carl G. Rasmussen), "Pseudonymity" (Stanley Porter), "Type, Typology" (Grant R. Osborne), "Union with Christ" (Richard B. Gaffin, Jr.), "Warrior, Divine" (Tremper Longman III), "Wars, Jewish" (J. Julius Scott, Jr.).

Various existing articles have been totally rewritten (e.g., "Greek Language," "Septuagint"). Others have received substantive updating, such as "Archaeology" (Richard S. Hess), "Biblical Criticism" (Grant R. Osborne), "Dead Sea Scrolls" (Martin G. Abegg, Jr.), "Versions of the Bible, English" (Mark L. Strauss). All other articles have been carefully reviewed and, when necessary, corrected; frequently, new material has been added alerting the reader to developments in the field.

Special effort has been expended to make bibliographical references more current. Many hundreds of new titles have been included, with emphasis on publications from 1990 through 2007; works published in 2008 have been added less systematically. To aid the user in finding relevant material, thousands of new cross-references have been added (indicated with small caps). A large proportion of them are new entries that guide the reader to the relevant article(s). Within the body of the articles, cross-references are normally marked only upon first mention.

The original edition of *ZPEB* was based primarily on the KJV and the RSV (with frequent reference to the ASV). Because of the historical significance and continued use of the KJV, some of the attention given to this translation has been preserved; for example, all of its distinct name forms (including those in the Apocrypha) still receive a separate entry, with a cross-reference to the form used in the NIV (or in the NRSV Apocrypha). On the other hand, articles that summarized the biblical data on the basis of renderings from the KJV (and RSV) have been rewritten. All biblical quotations, unless otherwise noted, come from the NIV (with selective references to changes in the TNIV, which appeared after most of the revisions had been completed). Frequently, however, alternate NRSV renderings are included; other translations, such as the NJPS, are referred to on a more selective basis. Quotations of the Apocrypha are taken from the NRSV.

Although scholars will continue to find the *ZEB* a useful resource, this new edition seeks to

make the material more accessible to a broad readership. Accordingly, the use of Hebrew and Greek script is, with few exceptions, reserved for the initial parenthetical information in articles dealing with names (see also below, "Proper Names"); elsewhere, standard transliteration is employed. For the benefit of readers who are not proficient in the biblical languages, the Goodrick-Kohlenberger numbers are included with individual Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek words. For several reasons (including constraints associated with the use of electronic files), Hebrew verbs in their basic form are vocalized as qal perfect 3rd person masc. sing., even when that particular form is not attested.

Instead of including at the end of each article a list of works cited, bibliographical information is whenever possible incorporated into the article itself at the appropriate points. Many entries, however, still include at the end a substantial list of titles (mainly in English), guiding the user to further reading. While these titles occasionally refer to articles in scholarly journals, the focus is on books that either survey the field broadly or offer in-depth treatment of selected topics. Because commentaries are a major source of information for most of the material covered in this work, articles dealing with books of the Bible include more extensive bibliographies, with emphasis on commentaries that treat the biblical text in the original languages.

A special effort has been made to bring about greater consistency among the articles. Some of this revision applies simply to matters of format (e.g., the use of a standard outline system within the articles). Content is also involved, however. For example, the brief descriptions of less significant persons and places now follow a regular pattern, making it easier to compare the material. Again, when articles appear to give discrepant information, the data have been double-checked to ensure that no factual error is involved; if the discrepancy reflects a difference of opinion, the user is often alerted to the alternative view.

Except in the case of articles that bear a new signature, all differences between the original and revised editions of this work are the responsibility of the revising editor. In many instances, the differences are substantial, yet insufficient to justify removing the name of the original contributor, and readers should not assume that the person whose name appears in the signature is fully responsible for the contents of the article. On the other hand, the revising editor, out of respect for the integrity of individual contributions, has retained many comments and opinions that were more persuasive thirty years ago than they are today. As a result, certain articles may come across as somewhat dated in their concerns or in their manner of expression, but most users of the encyclopedia will appreciate hearing the authentic voice of the contributors. Moreover, the new material that appears in these articles, including recent bibliographical titles, should adequately alert readers to changes in biblical scholarship during the past several decades.

Alphabetization

The entries in this encyclopedia are alphabetized according to the so-called letter-by-letter system: a parenthesis or a comma interrupts the alphabetizing, but all other punctuation marks and word spaces are ignored (cf. *The Chicago Manual of Style,* 15th ed. [2003], sect. 18.51–59). Note the order in the following example:

Bethany
Beth Ashbea
Bethasmoth
Beth Aven

Some dictionaries and encyclopedias follow the word-by-word method, according to which any punctuation mark or word space also interrupts the alphabetizing. For example, the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* places "Beth Aven" (spelled "Beth-aven") and many other "Beth-" compounds before "Bethany" and "Bethasmoth." Usually these differences do not create obstacles, but in certain cases—when a large number of items or a long article separates similar entries—the user may on first try be unable to find a particular entry where expected. Note the potential confusion in the following example:

sea
sea, bronze
Sea, Great
sea, molten
sea cow
sea gull
seah
seal [a long article]
sea monster
sea of glass
Sea of Kinneret
Sea of the Arabah
Sea of Tiberias
Sea Peoples

Because the article on "seal" extends several pages—so that the entry "sea monster" is not immediately visible—the reader may infer that "sea gull" is the last "sea" entry. In short, users should not assume that an article is missing if they do not find it on first try.

The only exception to strict alphabetical order is in the case of dual articles that treat the same topic focusing respectively on the OT and the NT. For example, "chronology (OT)" comes before "chronology (NT)."

Proper Names

The representation of Middle Eastern names in English is fraught with difficulties, resulting in a bewildering diversity of spellings (except in the case of widely used names whose English orthography has become conventional). Some writers adopt a precise transliteration, using numerous diacritical markings that distinguish between fairly subtle sound differences; others prefer a greatly simplified system that ignores even important distinctions. The present work seeks a middle ground. For example, in the representation of Arabic names (used for most archaeological sites and modern villages in the Holy Land), vowel length is ignored, but differences in the consonants have been carefully preserved (e.g., h / ḥ / ḫ; the last consonant is sometimes by convention represented with *kh)*. An effort has been made to attain regularity (e.g., the Arabic article is consistently represented by *el-* rather than al-), but several factors, such as the preferences of contributors or the semiconventional status of some forms, makes total consistency impossible. In many instances alternate forms have been given that alert the reader to the possibility that the name may be spelled

differently in other reference works.

With regard to biblical names specifically, the spelling follows the NIV, but alternate forms are also included (primarily from the TNIV, KJV, and NRSV). The articles begin with initial parenthetical information that gives the original form in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek characters, followed by the meaning of the name, if known. In the case of Hebrew and Aramaic names that occur in the Greek Septuagint, some editions (including the widely used work of A. Rahlfs) usually do not attempt to indicate breathing marks or accents; that practice is followed here, unless the name in question occurs also in the Greek NT.

In determining the meaning of Hebrew and Aramaic names, attention has been paid to the latest available information, especially from such sources as *HALOT* and J. D. Fowler's *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* (1988). To maintain some consistency, names that preserve a verbal form in the so-called perfect(ive) tense are translated with English past, while the imperfect(ive) is translated as a present. These renderings are only approximate, however, and in the case of the imperfect, a jussive idea ("May God do such and such") is often intended. It is also important to note that most of these meanings cannot be confirmed definitively, and that even when there is a reasonable degree of certainty, one cannot be sure what may have motivated the parents to choose a particular name (a characteristic of the child? an event at the time of birth? a parental hope? the desire to honor an ancestor or an important figure by using that person's name? an ascription of praise to God not specifically related to the child? merely the perception that the name had a pleasant sound?).

Pronunciation guides have been provided for all biblical names as well as for selected names found outside the Bible. With relatively few exceptions, the information is taken from W. O. Walker, Jr., et al., *The HarperCollins Bible Pronunciation Guide* (1989), which uses a simple system for indicating English sounds, as shown below. There exists of course a standard pronunciation for a large number of well-known biblical names. Numerous other names, however, are not in common use and thus there is no "accepted" or conventional pronunciation for them. The approach used by Walker and his associate editors gives preference to what would likely be considered a natural English pronunciation (i.e., consistent with how similarly spelled words in English are usually pronounced). Biblical scholars, however, frequently favor a pronunciation that comes closer to that of the original languages, particularly in the case of Hebrew names. Thus for the name Hazor, Walker gives the pronunciation hay'zor, but many biblical students prefer hah-tsor'. In short, then, the pronunciation guides included in this encyclopedia are not presented as authoritative prescriptions; many of them should be regarded only as reasonable suggestions.

PRONUNCIATION KEY

a	cat
ah	father
ahr	lard
air	care
aw	jaw
ay	pay
b	bug
ch	chew
d	do
e, eh	pet
ee	seem
er	error
f	fun
g	good
h	hot
hw	whether
i	it
i	sky
ihr	ear
j	joke
k	king
kh	ch as in German *Buck*
ks	vex
kw	quill
1	love
m	mat
n	not
ng	sing
o	hot
oh	go
oi	boy
oo	foot
oo	boot
oor	poor

or	for
ou	how
p	pat
r	run
s	so
sh	sure
t	toe
th	thin
th	then
ts	tsetse
tw	twin
uh	ago
uhr	her
V	VOW
w	weather
y	young
z	zone
zh	vision

Stress accents are printed after stressed syllables:

’primary stress
’secondary stress

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The cordial reception given to the publication of *The Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary* in 1963 revealed the need for a more extensive work that would deal in greater detail with the technical aspects of biblical backgrounds and interpretation. The previous volume, as stated in its introduction, "was gauged for the use of pastors, Sunday-school teachers, Bible class leaders, and students who desire concise and accurate information on questions raised by ordinary reading." Because of the necessity of restricting its contents to one volume, it was not possible to include much information that would have been useful and illuminating.

The *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* is intended to include a larger body of material, and to supply more detail for scholarly study. Many of the articles are highly specialized and more exhaustive than those appearing in the *Dictionary.* None of these is, however, merely an expansion of the articles in the *Dictionary;* each of them has been specially composed for this immediate publication. All of them are written by experts in their respective fields, and some of the articles are monographs written exclusively for the *Encyclopedia.* From cover to cover the work is new; it is not reedited from its predecessor.

The scope of this *Encyclopedia* is intended to cover directly or indirectly all persons, places, objects, customs, and historical events and major teachings of the Bible. Not all are treated separately; some will necessarily be subsumed under larger topics. It is, however, designed to be a comprehensive survey of general biblical and theological knowledge.

The critical and theological position of this work is conservative. All viewpoints of biblical scholarship are mentioned and are given fair representation, but the emphasis is that of historic Christianity. Allowance has been made for varying opinions within this framework, and in some cases more than one article on a given theme has been included in order to represent fairly differing doctrinal interpretations. Occasionally one may find discrepancies between articles on historical and chronological topics. These are often indicative of ambiguity in the original records, on which no final judgment is easily attainable. Authors of articles have been accorded liberty to state their conclusions, provided these conclusions are founded on a fundamental conviction of the veracity of the biblical record.

The Bible translations generally used as the basis for study include the Revised Standard Version, the King James Version of 1611, and the American Standard Version of 1901. Authors of some articles have provided original translations where they deemed such renderings to be helpful. Such changes or comparisons have been noted in the respective articles.

Special thanks are offered to Dr. Steven Barabas, Associate Editor, who aided greatly in the formulation of plans for the *Encyclopedia* and who contributed a large number of the articles; to Drs. Gleason Archer and R. Laird Harris, who assisted in the editing of contributions to the Old Testament field; to Drs. Harold B. Kuhn and the late Addison H. Leitch, who reviewed theological articles; and to Dr. E. M. Blaiklock, who contributed so greatly to the historical and archaeological content. Grateful acknowledgment is due also to Mrs. Helen J. Tenney for orthographical and rhetorical correction of the typescript, and to Mrs. Dorothy Shaw for competent secretarial assistance. To Dr. Robert K. DeVries, Executive Vice-President, Book Division; Mr. T. A. Bryant, Managing Editor; Mr. Edward Viening, Project Editor; and the other members of the staff of Zondervan Publishing House, the editor wishes to express his appreciation for their constant support and courteous

cooperation, as well as to all the scholars who have lent their effort, time, and learning to the production of this work.

MERRILL C. TENNEY, PH.D.

CONTRIBUTORS

An asterisk indicates contributors to the revised edition. The original contributors, many of whom are deceased, did not have an opportunity to revise their articles for this new edition of *ZEB*. (Unless otherwise noted, all changes in the material are the responsibility of the revising editor.) For this reason, these scholars are identified as they were in the first edition, that is, according to the position they held at the time.

***Abegg, Martin G., Jr.**

Ben Zion Wacholder Professor of Dead Sea Scroll Studies, Trinity Western University, Langley, BC

Ackley, Ernest L.

Emeritus Professor of Religion, Eastern Baptist College

Acomb, Dwight E.

Former Assistant Professor of Biblical Languages and Old Testament, Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary

Adolph, Paul E.

Former medical missionary in China, Ethiopia, and Bangladesh

Alden, Robert L.

Associate Professor of Old Testament, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, Denver

Alexander, Ralph H.

Professor of Old Testament Language and Exegesis, Western Conservative Baptist Seminary, Portland, Oregon

Allis, Oswald T.

Former Professor of Old Testament, Westminster Theological Seminary

Andersen, Howard G.

Dean and Professor of Biblical Studies, Northwest Baptist Theological College

Archer, Gleason L., Jr.

Professor of Old Testament and Chairman of Division, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Armerding, Carl Edwin

Principal and Professor of Old Testament, Regent College, Vancouver

Ault, W.

Professor of Geology, The King's College, Briarcliff Manor, New York

Babcock, James F.

Assistant Professor of Old Testament and Biblical Languages, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Baker, Nelson B.

Emeritus Professor of English Bible, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary

Barabas, Steven

Emeritus Professor of Theology, Wheaton College

Barber, CyrilJ.

Assistant Professor and Director of the Library, Rosemead Graduate School of Psychology

Barker, Glen W.

Dean of Fuller Theological Seminary

Barker, Kenneth

Professor of Semitic Languages and Old Testament Exegesis, Dallas Theological Seminary

***Beitzel, Barry J.**

University Provost and Professor of Old Testament and Semitic Languages, Trinity International University

Best, Harold M.

Professor of Music; Dean of Conservatory of Music, Wheaton College

Birdsall, James Neville

Reader in New Testament Studies and Textual Criticism, Department of Theology, University of

Birmingham, England

Blaiklock, David A.

Physician

Blaiklock, Edward M.

Emeritus Professor of Classics, University of Auckland

Blaney, Harvey J. S.

Professor of Religion; Chairman of Graduate Division of Theological Studies, Eastern Nazarene College

Bodey, Richard Allen

Pastor of First Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Gastonia, North Carolina

Bowes, Donald R.

Reader in Geology, University of Glasgow

Bowling, Andrew

Professor of Bible and Religion, John Brown University

Bratt, John H.

Emeritus Professor of Religion and Theology, Calvin College

Bromiley, Geoffrey W.

Professor of Church History and Historical Theology, Fuller Theological Seminary

Brown, Colin

Lecturer, Trinity College, Bristol

Brown, W. Gordon

Dean Emeritus, Central Baptist Seminary and Professor of Religious Knowledge, Richmond College, Toronto

Bruce, F. F.

Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, University of Manchester

Buis, Harry

Pastor of the First Reformed Church, Hudson-ville, Michigan

Bush, Frederic William

Assistant Professor of Old Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary

Buswell, James O., III

Dean of Graduate Studies, William Carey International University

Cairns, Earle E.

Professor of History, Chairman of Division of Social Science, Wheaton College

Cameron, W. J.

Principal, Free Church of Scotland College, Edinburgh

Cansdale, George S.

Former Superintendent of the Zoological Society of London

Carey, George L.

Lecturer in Theology, St. John's College, Nottingham

Carson, Herbert Moore

Pastor of Hamilton Road Baptist Church, Bangor, North Ireland

Carter, Charles W.

Professor of Theology, Marion College

Carver, Frank G.

Professor of Biblical Theology and Greek; Chairman of Division of Philosophy and Religion, Point Loma College

***Cheung, Alexander**

Professor of New Testament, Christian Witness Theological Seminary, Concord, California

Clark, Gordon H.

Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, Butler University

Coker, William B.

Associate Professor of Bible, Asbury College

Cole, R. Alan

Master of Robert Menzies College, Macquarie University; Head of Department of Old Testament Language and Literature, Sydney University

Connell, J. Clement

Director of Studies and Lecturer in New Testament Exegesis, London Bible College

Daane, James

Professor of Ministry and Theology, Fuller Theological Seminary

Davies, Ronald E.

Director of Studies and Lecturer in Biblical Theology, All Nations Christian College, Hertfordshire, England

Davis, Clair

Associate Professor of History, Westminster Theological Seminary

Dayton, Wilber T.

Professor of Biblical Literature and Historical Theology, Wesley Biblical Seminary

De Vries, Carl E.

Research Associate (Associate Professor), The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

De Young, James C.

Professor of New Testament and Academic Dean, Reformed Theological Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi

Drumwright, Huber L., Jr.

Dean of the School of Theology, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

Dunnett, Walter M.

Professor of Bible and Ministries, Northwestern College, Minneapolis

Earle, Ralph

Professor of New Testament, Nazarene Theological Seminary

***Edgar, William**

Professor of Apologetics, Westminster Theological Seminary

Edwards, Joseph J.

Professor Emeritus of Old Testament, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, Denver

Ellison, Henry Leopold

Former Senior Tutor, Moorlands Bible College

Elwell, Walter Alexander

Director of Theological Studies Division, Wheaton College Graduate School

Erickson, Millard J.

Professor of Theology, Bethel Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota

Farley, Gary E.

Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Carson-Newman College

Fee, Gordon D.

Associate Professor of New Testament, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Feinberg, Charles L.

Dean Emeritus, Talbot Theological Seminary

Finley, Harvey E.

Professor of Old Testament, Nazarene Theological Seminary

Foerster, Gideon

Department of Antiquities and Museums, the Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem; Director, The Tiberias Archaeological Excavations; Lecturer, The Hebrew University

Foster, Lewis A.

Professor of New Testament, Cincinnati Christian Seminary

Foulkes, Francis

Lecturer in the Bible College of New Zealand, Auckland

*__Frame, John M.__

Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy, Reformed Theological Seminary (Orlando)

France, Richard T.

Librarian of the Tyndale Library for Biblical Research, Cambridge

Free, Joseph P.

Former Professor of Archaeology and History, Bemidji State College, Minnesota

Funderburk, Guy B.

Former Chairman of Department of Religion and Philosophy, Salem College, Salem, West Virginia

Gaebelein, Frank E.

Headmaster Emeritus, The Stony Brook School; General Editor, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*

*__Gaffin, Richard B., Jr.__

Professor of Systematic and Biblical Theology, Westminster Theological Seminary

Gasque, Ward

Associate Professor of New Testament Studies, Regent College, Vancouver

Gerig, Wesley L.

Professor of Bible and Theology, Fort Wayne Bible College

Giacumakis, George, Jr.

Professor of History, California State University

Goldsworthy, Graeme

Dean, Queensland Bible Institute, Brisbane, Australia

Gordon, Murdo R.

Principal, Bible Institute of South Africa

Granberg, Lars I.

Cook Professor of Psychology and Dean of the Division of Social Sciences, Hope College

Gray, C. Paul

Chairman of the Division of Philosophy and Religion, Bethany Nazarene College

Greenlee, J. Harold

Missionary of OMS International and International Translation Consultant for Wycliffe Bible Translators

Gregory, Thomas M.

Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Westminster College

Gribble, R. F.

Former Professor Emeritus of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary

Grider, J. Kenneth

Professor of Theology, Nazarene Theological Seminary

Grogan, Geoffrey W.

Principal, Bible Training Institute, Glasgow, Scotland

Grounds, Vernon C.

President, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, Denver

*__Groves, J. Alan__

Professor of Old Testament and Vice President for Academic Affairs, Westminster Theological Seminary

Gundry, Robert H.

Associate Professor of Biblical Studies, Westmont College

Guthrie, Donald

Senior Lecturer in New Testament Language and Literature, London Bible College

Hagner, Donald A.

Associate Professor of New Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary

Hamilton, Floyd E.

Former Professor of Apologetics, Korea Theological Seminary

Hanke, Howard A.

Professor of Bible, Asbury College

Harris, B. F.

Associate Professor of History, Macquarie University, Sydney

Harris, R. Laird

Professor of Old Testament, Covenant Theological Seminary

Harrison, R. K.

Professor of Old Testament, Wycliffe College, University of Toronto

Hawthorne, Gerald F.

Professor of Greek, Wheaton College

Hayden, Roy E.

Professor of Religion, Oral Roberts University

Heicksen, Martin

Director of Near East Institute of Archaeology

Helmbold, Andrew K.

Chairman, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences and Professor of Humanities, Frederick

Campus, Tidewater Community College, Portsmouth, Virginia

Henry, Carl F. H.

Lecturer-at-Large, World Vision International

***Hess, Richard S.**

Earl S. Kalland Professor of Old Testament and Semitic Languages, Denver Seminary

Hiebert, D. Edmond

Emeritus Professor of Greek and New Testament, Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary

Hoehner, Harold W.

Associate Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, and Director of Doctrinal Studies, Dallas Theological Seminary

Hoffner, Harry A., Jr.

Professor of Hittitology and Co-director of Hittite Dictionary Project, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Holmes, Arthur

Professor of Philosophy, Wheaton College

Hook, Phillip

Executive Director, Pine Cove Christian Conference Center

Home, Charles M.

Associate Professor of Theology, Wheaton College

Houston, James M.

Chancellor of Regent College and Lecturer in the Department of Geography, University of British Columbia

Huey, F. **B., Jr.**

Professor of Old Testament, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

Huttar, David K.

Professor of Old Testament and Greek, Nyack College

Jackson, David R.

Pastor, Doals Baptist Church, Weir, Bacup, England

Jamieson, Howard M.

Pastor of the Tustin, California Presbyterian Church

Jayne, De Witt

Professor of Humanities, Sacramento State College

Jennings, George J.

Professor in Anthropology, Geneva College

Jennings, James E.

Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Wheaton College

Jewett, Paul King

Professor of Systematic Theology, Fuller Theological Seminary

Jocz, Jakob

Professor of Systematic Theology, Wycliffe College, University of Toronto

Johnson, Alan

Associate Professor of Bible, Wheaton College

Johnson, Philip C.

Former Chairman of the Department of Biblical and Theological Studies, and Chairman of the Division of the Humanities, Gordon College

Johnson, Walter H.

Professor of Philosophy and Greek, Seattle Pacific College

Johnston, Victor W.

Lecturer in Theology, The Bible College of New Zealand

Judge, E. A.

Professor of History, Macquarie University, N.S.W., Australia

Kaiser, Walter C., Jr.

Chairman of the Division and Professor of Semitic Languages and Old Testament, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Kalland, Earl S.

Emeritus Professor of Old Testament, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary

Kane, J. Herbert

Professor of Missions, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, School of World Mission

Kelso, James L.

Former Professor of Old Testament and Biblical Archaeology, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary

Keylock, Leslie R.

President of Keylock Editorial Services

Kidner, Derek

Warden of Tyndale House, Cambridge

Killen, R. Alan

Emeritus Professor of Contemporary Theology, Reformed Theological Seminary

Kingdon, David P.

Pastor, Lynnwood Baptist Church, Pretoria, South Africa

Kirby, Gilbert W.

Principal and Lecturer in Practical Theology, London Bible College

Kitchen, Kenneth A.

Reader in Egyptian and Coptic, University of Liverpool

Klopfenstein, Weldon O.

Emeritus Professor of Theology and Bible, Fort Wayne Bible College

Knudsen, Robert D.

Associate Professor of Apologetics, Westminster Theological Seminary

Kuhn, Harold B.

Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Chairman of Division of Theology and Philosophy of Religion, Asbury Theological Seminary

Lake, Donald M.

Associate Professor of Theology, Wheaton College

Lambert, Gray

Consulting Psychologist and Director, United Foundation for Scientific Research

Leitch, Addison H.

Former Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Leupold, Herbert C.

Professor of Old Testament, Emeritus, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio

Lewis, Gordon R.

Professor of Systematic Theology and Christian Philosophy, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, Denver

Lewis, Jack P.

Professor of Bible, Harding Graduate School of Religion

Lewthwaite, Gordon R.

Professor of Geography, California State University

Liefeld, Walter L.

Chairman and Professor of New Testament, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Lilley, John P. U.

Training Manager in Data Processing

Lindsell, Harold

Editor Emeritus, *Christianity Today*

Livingston, George Herbert

Professor of Old Testament, Asbury Theological Seminary

Longenecker, Richard N.

Professor of New Testament, Wycliffe College, University of Toronto

*__Longman, Tremper, III__

Robert H. Gundry Professor of Biblical Studies, Westmont College

Lower, James M.

Professor of Education, Wheaton College

MacRae, Allan A.

President and Professor of Old Testament, Biblical School of Theology, Hatfield, Pennsylvania

Madvig, Donald H.

Professor of Biblical Literature, Bethel Theological Seminary

Mare, W. Harold

Professor of New Testament, Covenant Theological Seminary

Marshall, I. Howard

Senior Lecturer in New Testament Exegesis, University of Aberdeen

Martin, Ralph P.

Professor of New Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary

Martin, W. J.

Professor in Old Testament Studies and Vice-Principal, Regent College

Mayers, Marvin K.

Professor of Linguistics, University of Texas; Professor of Linguistics and Anthropology, Summer Institute of Linguistics

McComiskey, Thomas

Professor of Semitic Languages and Old Testament, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

McDonald, Hugh Dermot

Vice-Principal and Lecturer in Philosophy and Historical Theology, London Bible College; Professor of Theology, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

McKay, Kenneth L.

Reader in Classics, Australian National University

Michaels, J. Ramsey

Professor of New Testament and Early Christian Literature, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Miles, Herbert J.

Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Carson-Newman College

Mitchell, Terence C.

Assistant Keeper, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum

Mixter, Russell L.

Professor of Zoology, Wheaton College

Monsma, Peter H.

Former Chairman of Department of Philosophy and Religion, Grove City College

Morton, Archibald Wentworth

Former Dean of Sydney (St. Andrew's Cathedral)

Morton, Donald C.

Director, Anglo-Australian Observatory, Epping and Siding Spring, Australia

Moyer, James C.

Associate Professor of History, Southwest Missouri State University

Murray, John

Former Professor of Systematic Theology, Westminster Theological Seminary

Negev, Avraham

Associate Professor in Classical Archaeology, Hebrew University

Nicholson, Roy S.

Former Chairman of the Division of Religion at Central Wesleyan College; General Superintendent, Emeritus, The Wesleyan Church

Nicole, Roger

Professor of Theology and Incumbent of the Andrew Mutch Chair of Theology, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Nixon, Robin E.

Former Principal of St. John's College; University of Durham, England

O'Keefe, J. A. B.

Barrister-at-Law; Sub-Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Auckland

***Osborne, Grant R.**

Professor of New Testament, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Osterhaven, M. Eugene

Professor of Systematic Theology, Western Theological Seminary

Oswalt, John Newell

Assistant Professor of Biblical Languages and Literatures, Asbury Theological Seminary

Owen, G. Frederick

Former Professor of Archaeology, Pasadena College

Page, Robert M.

Former Director of Research, U.S. Naval Research Laboratory, Washington, D.C.

Paterson, John H.

Senior Lecturer in Geography, St. Andrews University, Scotland

Payne, J. Barton

Former Professor of Old Testament, Covenant Theological Seminary

Peck, John R.

Lecturer in Bible Content and non-Christian Religions, Glasgow Bible Training Institute

Perry, Ralph E.

Former Professor of Biblical Literature and Theology, Olivet Nazarene College

Petersen, Lorman

Pastor, Faith Lutheran Church, Appleton, Wisconsin

Pfeiffer, Charles F.

Former Professor of Ancient Literature, Central Michigan University.

Pinnock, Clark H.

Professor of Systematic Theology, McMaster Divinity College

*__Porter, Stanley E.__

President and Dean, Professor of New Testament, McMaster Divinity College

Pousma, Richard H.

Retired Physician, Sun City, California

Rainey, Anson F.

Associate Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures, Tel Aviv University

*__Rasmussen, Carl G.__

Professor of Old Testament, Bethel University

Rea, John

Dean of Students and Associate Professor of Old Testament, Melodyland School of Theology

Reid, W. Stanford

Professor of Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Guelph

Ridall, R. Clyde

Pastor of Trinity United Methodist Church, Paris, Illinois

Ross, Arthur M.

Dean of College-Credit Instruction, Correspondence School, Moody Bible Institute

Rosscup, James E.

Professor of Bible, Talbot Theological Seminary

Roth, Robert P.

Dean of the Faculty, Northwestern Lutheran Theological Seminary

Rowdon, Harold H.

Lecturer in Church History, London Bible College

Rupprecht, Arthur A.

Professor of Classical Languages, Wheaton College

Russell, Emmet

Retired Pastor; Writer

Schep, J. A.

Former Professor of New Testament Studies and Pastoral Theology, Reformed Theological Seminary, Geelong, Australia

Schultz, Arnold

Lecturer in the History of the Middle East, Roosevelt University, Chicago

Schultz, Samuel J.

Coordinator, Division of Biblical Studies, Wheaton College and Wheaton Graduate School

***Scott, J. Julius, Jr.**

Professor Emeritus of Biblical and Historical Studies, Wheaton College Graduate School

Scott, Jack B.

Professor of Old Testament; Registrar, Reformed Theological Seminary

Shepherd, Norman

Associate Professor of Systematic Theology, Westminster Theological Seminary

Shewell-Cooper, W. E.

Director of the International Horticultural Advisory Bureau and Principal, The Missionary Horticultural College, Arkley, England

Skilton, John H.

Former Professor of New Testament, Westminster Theological Seminary

Smick, Elmer B.

Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Smith, Wilbur M.

Former Professor of English Bible, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Stam, John

Professor of Evangelical Thought; Director of Department of Christian Thought, Seminario Biblico Latinoamericano, San Jose, Costa Rica

Stark, Bruce C.

Former Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, Ashland Theological Seminary; Professor of Philosophy, Ashland College

Stern, Ephraim

Senior Lecturer in the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University

Stewart, David

Principal, Bible College of New Zealand

Stigers, Harold G.

Lecturer and Writer on Old Testament and New Testament Archaeology

Stob, George

Former minister of the Christian Reformed Church, Washington, D.C.

Stob, Henry

Professor of Philosophical and Moral Theology, Calvin Theological Seminary

Stoesz, Samuel J.

Managing Editor of Christian Publications, Inc.

Stone, Robert C.

Former Professor of Classics, North Park College

***Strauss, Mark L.**

Professor of New Testament, Bethel Seminary (San Diego)

Strothotte, Guenter

Librarian, Vancouver School of Theology

Swaim, Gerald G.

Vice President for Academic Affairs; Dean and Professor of History and Religion, Lander College, Greenwood, South Carolina

Taylor, Willard H.

Dean and Professor of Biblical Theology, Nazarene Theological Seminary

Tenney, Merrill C.

J. P. Williston Professor of Bible and Theology, Wheaton College

Thiselton, Anthony Charles

Lecturer in Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, England

Thomas, Robert L.

Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Talbot Theological Seminary

Thompson, John Alexander

Research Consultant for the American Bible Society

Thompson, John Arthur

Senior Lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne

Thompson, W. Ralph

Professor of Religion, Spring Arbor College, Michigan

Trutza, Peter

Founder and President, Radio Minister of the Romanian Missionary Society; Editor of *The View*

Turner, George

Professor of Biblical Literature, Asbury Theological Seminary

Van Elderen, Bastiaan

Professor of New Testament Studies, Calvin Theological Seminary

Verhoef, Pieter A.

Professor of Old Testament, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

Vos, Johannes G.

Professor Emeritus of Biblical Literature, Geneva College

*__Voth, Esteban__

Translation Consultant, United Bible Societies, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Walker, Larry L.

Associate Professor of Old Testament, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

Wallis, Wilber B.

Professor of New Testament, Covenant Theological Seminary

Walls, Andrew F.

Head of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Aberdeen, Scotland

Waltke, Bruce

Professor of Old Testament, Regent College

Walvoord, John F.

President and Professor of Systematic Theology, Dallas Theological Seminary

Waterman, G. **Henry**

Former Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Wheaton College

Weber, Carl Philip

Instructor, Letcher High School, Letcher, Kentucky

Whaley, Howard A.

Chairman of Department of Missions, Moody Bible Institute

Whitcomb, John C., Jr.

Professor of Theology and Old Testament; Director of Postgraduate Studies, Grace Theological Seminary

White, William, Jr.

Editorial Consultant and Writer on Life Sciences and Biblical Languages

Wilson, Charles

Head of Department of Religion, Taylor University

Wilson, Marvin R.

Professor of Biblical and Theological Studies, Gordon College

Wilson, Robert Mc L.

Professor of New Testament Language and Literature; St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews, Scotland

Wiseman, Donald J.

Professor of Assyriology, University of London; Chairman, British School of Archaeology in Iraq

Wolf, Herbert M.

Assistant Professor of Old Testament, Wheaton Graduate School

Wood, A. Skevington

Senior Lecturer in Theology, Cliff College, Derbyshire, England

Wood, Leon J.

Former Professor of Old Testament and Dean, Grand Rapids Baptist Bible Seminary

Woolley, Paul

Professor Emeritus of Church History, Westminster Theological Seminary

Woudstra, Sierd

Professor of Systematic Theology, Reformed Theological Seminary, Geelong, Australia

Wright, John Stafford

Former Principal, Tyndale Hall, Bristol; Canon Emeritus of Bristol Cathedral

Yamauchi, Edwin

Professor of History Department, Miami University (Ohio)

Young, Fred E.

Dean and Professor of Old Testament, Central Baptist Theological Seminary

IMAGE SOURCES

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Dr. James C. Martin.
The Jordanian Ministry of Antiquities. Amman, Jordan.
Ministero per I Beni e le Attivita Culturali—Soprintendenza Archaeologica di Roma. Rome, Italy.
Mosaic Graphics.
Musée du Louvre. Paris, France.
Phoenix Data Systems
Reproduction of the City of Jerusalem at the time of the Second Temple—located on the grounds of the Holy Land Hotel, Jerusalem.
Sola Scriptura. The Van Kampen Collection on display at the Holy Land Experience. Orlando, Florida.
The Turkish Ministry of Antiquities. Ankara, Turkey.
The Yigal Allon Center. Kibbutz Ginosar, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, Israel.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

ℵ	(Aleph) Codex Sinaiticus
A	Codex Alexandrinus
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ad loc.	*ad locum,* at the place
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
Akk.	Akkadian
ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (1954)
ANET	*Ancient Near East Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* ed. J. B. Pritchard, 3rd ed. (1969)
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1972-)
aor.	aorist
APOT	*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (1913)
Apoc.	Apocrypha
approx.	approximate(ly)
Aq.	Aquila
ARAB	*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* ed. D. D. Luckenbill,2 vols. (1921–27)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Arch	*Archaeology*
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari*
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASV	American Standard Version

AThR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
B	Codex Vaticanus
b.	born
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASORSup	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplemental Studies BBR Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BC	F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity,* 5 vols. (1921–33)
BDAG	W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* 3rd ed., rev. F. W. Danker (2000)
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1907)
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (1961)
BDT	*Baker's Dictionary of Theology,* ed. E. F. Harrison (1960)
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETS	*Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society*
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel, 3rd ed. (1937)
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (1983)
Bib.	*Biblica*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BRev	*Bible Review*
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BWL	*Babylonian Wisdom Literature,* ed. W. G. Lambert (1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
C	Codex Ephraemi Syri
c.	*circa,* about
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East,* ed. J. M. Sasson, 4 vols. (1995)
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CD	Cairo: Damascus (i.e., *Damascus Document)*
cent.	century
CEV	Contemporary English Version

cf.	*confer,* compare
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CT	*Christianity Today*
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriftionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
col(s).	column(s)
COS	*The Context of Scripture,* ed. W. W. Hallo, 3 vols. (1991–2002)
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
D	Codex Bezae
d.	died, date of death
DAC	*Dictionary of the Apostolic Church,* ed. J. Hastings, 2 vols. (1911–18)
DBI	*Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation,* ed. J. H.Hayes, 2 vols. (1999)
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot and A. Robert (1928-)
DCG	*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* ed. J. Hastings, 2 vols. (1901–08)
DDD	*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible,* ed. K. van der Toorn et al., 2nd ed. (1999)
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJG	*Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels,* ed. J. B. Green et al. (1992)
DLNT	*Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments,* ed. R. P. Martin and P. H.Davids (1997)
DNTB	*Dictionary of New Testament Background,* ed. C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter (2000)
DOTHB	*Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books,* ed. B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson (2005)
DOTP	*Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch,* ed. T. D. Alexander and D. W. Baker (2003)
DOTT	*Documents from Old Testament Times,* ed. D.W.Thomas (1958)
DPL	*Dictionary of Paul and his Letters,* ed. G. F. Hawthorne et al. (1993)
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
E	east
EA	El-Amarna Tablets. See *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln, mit Einleitung und Erläuterung,* ed. J. A. Knudtzon, 2 vols. (1901–15; suppl. by A. F. Rainey, 2nd ed., 1978)
EBC	*The Expositor's Bible Commentary,* ed. F. E. Gaebelein et al., 12 vols. (1971–92)
EBr	*Encyclopedia Britannica*
ed(s).	editor(s), edited, edition
e.g.	*exempli gratia,* for example
EGT	*Expositor's Greek Testament,* ed. W. R. Nicoll, 5 vols. (1891–1910)
EgyP	Egyptian

EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, 4 vols. (1891–1903)
Encjud	*Encyclopedia Judaica,* 16 vols. (1972)
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (1901–27)
ERV	English Revised Version
esp.	especially
ESV	English Standard Version
et al.	*et alii,* and others
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses*
ETSB	*Evangelical Theological Society Bulletin*
Euseb.	Eusebius
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
Exp	*The Expositor*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
ff.	following (verses, pages, etc.)
FCI	*Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation,* ed. M. Silva, 6 vols, in 1 (1996)
fem.	feminine
FEB	*Fauna and Flora of the Bible,* UBS Handbook Series, 2nd ed. (1980)
fig.	figure, figurative(ly)
fl.	*floruit,* flourished
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
ft.	foot, feet
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller
Ger.	German
GKC	Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* 2nd ed. (1910)
Gk.	Greek
GNB	Good News Bible
HAL	*Hebräisches una aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament,* by L. Koehler et al., 5 fascicles (1961–95)
HALOT	*Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* by L. Koehler et al., 5 vols. (1991–2000)
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HDB	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* 5 vols. (1891–1904); rev. ed. in 1 vol. by F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley (1963)
Heb.	Hebrew
HGHL	*Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* by G. A. Smith, 25th ed. (1931)
Hitt.	Hittite

HibJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HJP	*A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ,* by E. Schürer, 5 vols., 2nd ed. (1881–90); rev. *ed.,The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135),* by G. Vermès and F. Millar, 4 vols. (1971–87)
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentaries
HTKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick et al., 12 vols. (1951–57)
ibid.	*ibidem,* in the same place
ICC	International Critical Commentary
id.	*idem,* the same (as previously mentioned)
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (1962); supplementary vol., ed K. Crim (1976)
i.e.	*id est,* that is
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Ign.	Ignatius
illus.	illustration
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inscr.	inscription
Int	*Interpretation*
IPN	*Die israelitischen Personennamen,* by M. Noth (1928)
Iren.	Irenaeus
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* ed. M. G. Kyle, 4 vols. (1929); rev. ed., G. W. Bromiley, 4 vols. (1971–88)
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University JAOS Journal of American Oriental Society*
JASA	*Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation*
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia,* ed. I. Singer, 12 vols. (1925)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*

JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of North Semitic Languages*
Jos.	Josephus
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society, *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text: A New Translation…*(1945)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAI	*Kanaanäshce und aramäsche Inschriften,* by H. Donner and W. Röllig, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (1961–69)
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros,* 2nd ed. (1958; for 3rd ed., see *HAL)*
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament,* 25 vols. (1851–78)
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ülber das Neue Testament (= Meyer-Kommentar)
KJV	King James Version
Lat.	Latin
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
lit.	literal (ly), literature
LN	J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (1989)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 9th ed. with rev. supplement (1996)
LXX	The Seventy = Septuagint
Maj. Text	Majority Text
masc.	masculine
mg.	margin
mi.	mile(s)
MM	J. H. Mouton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (1930)
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MS(S)	manuscript(s)

McClintock and Strong	J. McClintock and J. Strong, *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 12 vols. (1861–87)
MT	Masoretic text
N	north
n.	note
NA	Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*
NAB	New American Bible
NAC	New American Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NBD	*New Bible Dictionary,* ed. J. D. Douglas et al.; unless otherwise noted, references are to the 3rd ed. (1996)
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia,* ed. W. J. McDonald et al., 15 vols. (1967)
NCV	New Century Version
n.d.	no date
NE	northeast
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. E. Stern et al., 4 vols. (1993)
NEB	New English Bible
neut.	neuter
NewDocs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity,* ed. G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn (1981 –)
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHL	*Nag Hammadi Library in English,* ed. J. M. Robinson, 4th ed. (1996)
NIBCNT	New International Bible Commentary on the New Testament
NIBCOT	New International Bible Commentary on the Old Testament
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDNTT	*New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*
NIDOTTE	*New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NIVAC	New International Version Application Commentary
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures. The New JPS translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text*
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*

NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
NTAp	*New Testament Apocrypha,* ed. E. Hennecke, 2 vols., trans. R. McL. Wilson (1961–65); unless otherwise indicated, references are to the rev. ed. by W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (1991–92)
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NW	northwest
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1949)
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 3rd ed. (1997)
Onom.	Eusebius's *Onomasticon,* according to E. Klostermann, ed., *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (1904)
op. cit.	*opere citato,* in the work previously cited
orig.	original(ly)
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (1981–85)
p., pp.	page, pages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
Pers.	Persian
pf.	perfect
PG	*Patrologia graeca,* ed. J.-R Migne, 162 vols. (1851–96)
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
pl.	plural
PL	*Patrologia latina,* ed. J.-R Migne, 217 vols. (1841–64)
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
prob.	probably
Pseudep.	Pseudepigrapha
ptc.	participle
PTR	*Prinecton Thelogical Review*
RA	*Revue d 'assyriologie et d 'archéologie orientale*
Rahlfs	A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta, id est, Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes,* 3rd ed. (1949)
RB	*Revue biblique*
RE	*Realencyclopädie fär protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. J. J. Herzog and A. Hauck, 24 vols. (1891–1913)

REB	Revised English Bible
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	revised
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. K. Galling, 7 vols., 3rd ed. (1851–65)
Rom.	Roman
RSPT	*Révue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
S	south
SacBr	A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (2005)
Sansk.	Sanskrit
SE	southeast
sec.	section
SHERK	*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* 13 vols. (1901–14)
SIG	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum,* ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols., 3rd ed. (1911–24)
sing.	singular
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SP	Sacra Pagina
ST	*Studia theologica*
Str-B	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash,* 6 vols. (1921–61)
Sumer.	Sumerian
s.v.	*sub verbo,* under the word
SW	southwest
Syr.	Syriac
Symm.	Symmachus
Tac.	Tacitus
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. (1961–76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* ed. G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (1974-)
TEV	Today's English Version
Tg.	Targum
Theod.	Theodotion
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThTo	*Theology Today*

TNIV	Today's New International Version
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TR	Textus Receptus
trans.	translation, translator, translated
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* ed. ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. (1931–79)
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBS	United Bible Society, *The Greek New Testament*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UM	*Ugaritic Manual,* by C. H. Gordon, 3 parts (1955)
UT	*Ugaritic Textbook,* by C. H. Gordon, 3 parts (1965)
v.,vv.	verse, verses
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
viz.	*videlicet,* namely
v.l.	*varia lectio,* variant reading
vol(s).	volume(s)
vs.	versus
Vulg.	Vulgate
W	west
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WEB	World English Bible
WH	B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, 2 vols. (1881)*
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament

Gen.	Genesis
Exod.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Num.	Numbers
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Josh.	Joshua
Jdg.	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam.	1 Samuel
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
1 Ki.	1 Kings
2 Ki.	2 Kings
1 Chr.	1 Chronicles
2 Chr.	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Neh.	Nehemiah
Esth.	Esther
Job	Job
Ps.	Psalm(s)
Prov.	Proverbs
Eccl.	Ecclesiastes
Cant.	Canticles (Song of Songs)
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Lam.	Lamentations
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Dan.	Daniel
Hos.	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad.	Obadiah
Jon.	Jonah
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Hag.	Haggai
Zech.	Zechariah

Mal.	Malachi

New Testament

Matt.	Matthew
Mk.	Mark
Lk.	Luke
Jn.	John
Acts	Acts
Rom.	Romans
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians
Gal.	Galatians
Eph.	Ephesians
Phil.	Philippians
Col.	Colossians
1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians
2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim.	1 Timothy
2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Tit.	Titus
Phlm.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews
Jas.	James
1 Pet.	1 Peter
2 Pet.	2 Peter
1 Jn.	1 John
2 Jn.	2 John
3 Jn.	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev.	Revelation

Apocrypha

1 Esd.	1 Esdras
2 Esd.	2 Esdras (= *4 Ezra)*
Tob.	Tobit
Jdt.	Judith
Add. Esth.	Additions to Esther
Wisd.	Wisdom of Solomon
Sir.	Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach)
Bar.	Baruch
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy
Pr. Azar.	Prayer of Azariah
Sg. Three	Song of the Three Children (or Young Men)
Sus.	Susanna
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Pr. Man.	Prayer of Manasseh
1 Mace.	1 Maccabees
2 Mace.	2 Maccabees

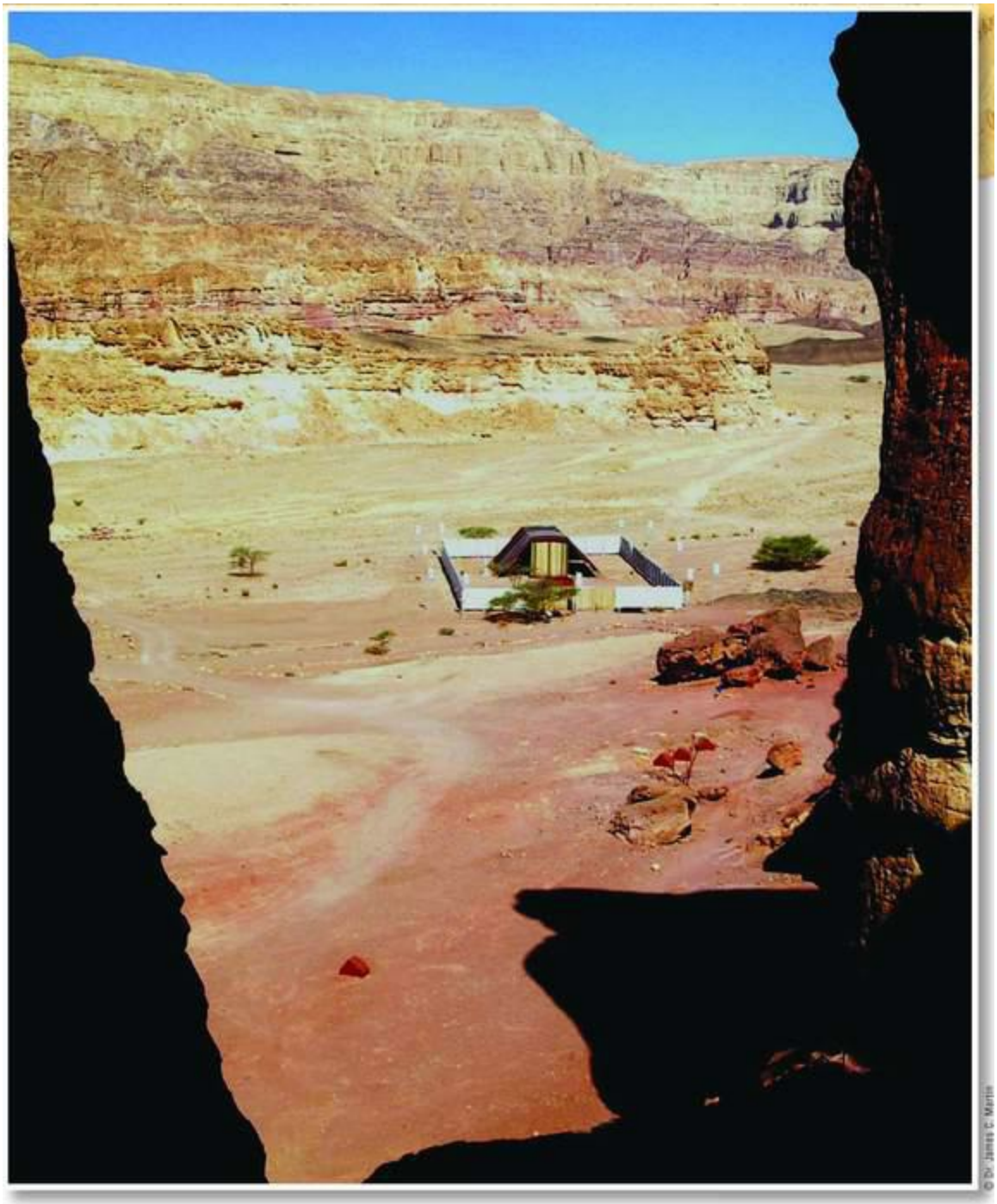
III. Pseudepigrapha

As. Moses	*Assumption of Moses*
2 Bar.	*2 Baruch*
3 Bar.	*3 Baruch*
1 En.	*1 Enoch*
2 En.	*2 Enoch*
4 Ezra	*4 Ezra* (= 2 Esdras)
Jub.	*Book of Jubilees*
Let. Aris.	*Letter of Aristeas*
Life Adam	*Life of Adam and Eve*
3 Macc.	*3 Maccabees*
4 Macc.	*4 Maccabees*
Mart. Isa.	*Martyrdom of Isaiah*
Pss. Sol.	*Psalms of Solomon*
Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*
T. Benj.	*Testament of Benjamin* (etc.)

T. 12 Pair. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Zad. *Frag. Zadokite Fragments*

Other Christian, Jewish, and Greco-Roman texts are referred to by their standard abbreviations. See, e.g., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (1999), ch. 8, appendix F, and appendix H.

A



Reconstruction of the tabernacle located in Israel's northern Sinai at the Timna Nature Reserve (view to the W). The role of the Aaronic priesthood was to present offerings and sacrifices on behalf of the people at the portable tabernacle that God instructed the Israelites to carry throughout their journey to the Promised Land.

A. The symbol used to designate CODEX ALEXAN-DRINUS. See also SEPTUAGINT; TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

Aalar ay'uh-luhr. KJV Apoc. variant of IMMER (1 Esd. 5:36).

Aaron air'uhn (אַהֲרֹן *H195,* derivation uncertain, possibly an Egyp. name; 'Ααρών *G2).* Son of AMRAM and JOCHEBED, and descendant of LEVI; brother of MOSES and MIRIAM. The meaning of the

name is unknown, as is the case with many biblical names, and various suggested etymologies, such as *)ărôn H778,* "ark," are quite improbable (with regard to proper names ending in *-ōn,* cf. GKC §85v). No explanation or interpretation of it is given in Scripture, which may indicate that, unlike Moses (Exod. 2:10), the name Aaron had no special significance.

I. The family. Aaron was the elder son of Amram and Jochebed. Amram belonged to the tribal family of KOHATH son of Levi (Exod. 6:16). The genealogy given suggests that Amram was a son of Kohath and consequently a grandson of Levi. The fact that at the time of the exodus the Kohathites numbered 8,600 (Num. 3:28) makes it probable that Amram, Izhar, and Uzziel in Exod. 6:21–22 were descendants of the men of like name mentioned in v. 18, with a considerable, though unindicated, interval of time between them (cf. Lev. 10:4). On the other hand, the remarkable longevity attributed to Levi (137 years), to Kohath (133 years), and to Amram (137 years) may have a significant bearing on this problem. The name of Aaron's mother was Jochebed ("Yahweh is glorious"), which may be significant, since names combined with Yahweh were rare in this early period. Aaron's wife was ELISHEBA, sister of NAHSHON, apparently the prince of Judah who was an ancestor of David (Exod. 6:23; Ruth 4:20; 1 Chr. 2:10). He had four sons, NADAB, ABIHU, ELEAZAR, and ITHAMAR (Exod. 6:23), the first two of whom were slain for an act of sacrilege (Lev. 10:1–2).

II. Moses' spokesman. The subordinate role of Aaron, as compared with Moses, is indicated clearly. He was completely ignored until Moses showed almost insuperable unwillingness to obey God's call to be the deliverer of Israel: "Is there not Aaron your brother, the Levite?" (Exod. 4:14, following the word order of the Heb.). The phrasing of the question is remarkable. "Your brother" indicates that Aaron owed his position primarily to his relationship to Moses. Kinship and descent played a prominent role in Bible history. Aaron was called Moses' brother eleven times. He was eighty-three years old at this time (Exod. 7:7), and the designation "the Levite" suggests that he occupied a prominent position in this particular tribe of the enslaved Israelites. What this position was is unknown; the text simply says that his ready tongue (Heb., "he can certainly talk," Exod. 4:14) would make up for Moses' slowness of speech (Heb., "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue," v. 10).

Aaron was constantly associated with Moses in performing the mighty acts that brought about the deliverance (Exod. 1–13). The rod as the symbol of authority was sometimes wielded by Aaron (see AARON'S ROD, STAFF). God frequently spoke to both Moses and Aaron, rarely to Aaron alone. Aaron had no part in the giving of the law, but he and his two elder sons, with the seventy elders, witnessed the divine self-manifestation and ate and drank in God's presence (Exod. 24:1–11).

Aaron had nothing to do with the construction of the TABERNACLE or the making of the ARK OF THE COVENANT and the sacred vessels. Everything was made, including the vestments of Aaron and his sons, by BEZALEL of Judah and OHOLIAB of Dan (Exod. 31:1–6) and by the willing-hearted among the people (35:21–35), "just as the LORD had commanded" (39:43).

III. Aaron's investiture. The priests, and especially Aaron, wore a special garb. Much is said about the garments that were made for Aaron "to give him dignity and honor" (Exod. 28:2), especially the breastplate on which were engraved the names of the twelve tribes (vv. 1–10, 21, 29) and the URIM AND THUMMIM. The "plate of gold" with the engraving "HOLY TO THE LORD" (v. 36), which was placed on the front of the miter, was symbolic of his office. Aaron was in a preeminent sense both the representative of the people and

According to Islamic tradition, the tomb of Aaron lies atop Jebel Harun (Mount Hor) located a few miles S of Petra. (View to the NW.)

their mediator with God. The hereditary character of his office is stressed by the fact that his garments were to be worn by his successors in office (Exod. 29:21–30; Num. 20:21–28). In contrast, nothing is said about Moses' garb; and Moses had no successors. His office as lawgiver was unique, and the law he gave was of perpetual validity (Mal. 4:4). All the priests were anointed with oil (Exod. 40:11–15; Lev. 8:12), yet apparently the anointing of Aaron and his successor was different from that of the ordinary priests. Hence, the high priest was, in a special sense, the "anointed priest" (Lev. 4:3, 5; 6:20, 22; 21:10).

IV. Aaron and the priesthood. The book of LEVITICUS is the manual for the priests. The name (taken from the LXX) was perhaps a misnomer, since the Levites are mentioned only in one passage in the entire book (Lev. 25:31–33); and yet it does contain a manual of instruction for the Levitical priests to follow (see PRIESTS AND LEVITES). The first seven chapters deal with the elaborate sacrificial ritual that was to be performed by Aaron and his sons. To make ATONEMENT for sin was the great mediatorial duty of the priests. Their duties also included the removal of all forms of UNCLEANNESS from the people of God as a holy community (Exod. 29:41–46). Accordingly, Leviticus gives instructions regarding clean and unclean animals (Lev. 11), the purification of women after childbirth (ch. 12), leprosy (chs. 11–14), bodily secretions of men and women (ch. 15), prohibited relationships in marriage (ch. 18), miscellaneous ritual laws (chs. 11–22), the Sabbath and the annual feasts (ch. 23), the sabbatical years, tithes, blessings and cursings, vows, etc. (chs. 21–27). The fact that the enforcement of these laws was entrusted to the priests made them in a preeminent sense the teachers of the people (Deut. 31:1–11).

The rite in which Aaron as high priest and the high priests who followed him played a distinctive role was the ceremony of the Day of Atonement, when the high priest made atonement "once a year for all the sins of the Israelites" (Lev. 16:34). The "all" refers principally to sins of ignorance or inadvertence (Num. 15:21–29), since for defiant sins, the sins of the "high hand," the penalty was death (vv. 31–36). See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

Aaron vigorously opposed the people at KADESH BARNEA when they refused to go forward to possess the land (Num. 14:5), and the Levites had no representative among the twelve spies, from which one may infer that the priests and the Levites were not included in "the generation of wrath" that was condemned to perish in the wilderness for its disobedience and unbelief (vv. 21–38). The

rebellion of a Levite named KORAH (Num. 16) was directed against the exclusive authority of Moses and Aaron, and Aaron was instrumental in the staying of the plague that followed (vv. 41–50). The ritual of the red heifer providing for the purification from uncleanness was the last of the ritual ordinances instituted in the lifetime of Aaron (Num. 19).

V. Meribah and Aaron's death. Aaron's life had a tragic ending, related to the incident at MERIBAH. The sojourn in the wilderness of ZIN (Num. 20:1) led to one more of the many murmurings of the Israelites—no water! Moses and Aaron were encouraged by the sight of the glory of God (v. 6). They were then commanded to take the staff, to assemble the people, and to "speak" to the rock. Instead "he" (prob. Aaron rather than Moses, but the Hebrew is ambiguous) said to the people, "'Listen, you rebels, must we bring you water out of this rock?' Then Moses raised his arm and struck the rock twice with his staff. Water gushed out, and the community and their livestock drank. But the LORD said to Moses and Aaron, 'Because you did not trust in me enough to honor me as holy in the sight of the Israelites, you will not bring this community into the land I give them'" (vv. 11–12). The chapter closes with a brief account of Eleazar's investiture and Aaron's death: "Moses removed Aaron's garments and put them on his son Eleazar. And Aaron died there on top of the mountain" (v. 28). The narrative makes it quite plain that both Moses and Aaron were involved in this sin of presumption or self-assertion, and this incident serves as a solemn warning to all servants of God, lest they take to themselves the credit for the "mighty works" that God accomplishes through them.

VI. Aaron the man. Aaron owed his exalted position to two things, his eloquence and his kinship to Moses. Aaron's character must be estimated by two incidents, the first of which was the supreme test of his life, namely, the construction of the golden calf (see CALF, GOLDEN). Aaron had heard the Decalogue with its "shalt nots" proclaimed by the voice of God (see TEN COMMANDMENTS). He had "seen God" and had taken part in a sacramental feast (Exod. 24:1–14). His brother had gone up into the mountain to commune with God; Aaron and Hur were left in charge. The people, impatient at Moses' long absence of forty days, demanded gods. Aaron asked for the gold needed to make them. He made an idol of a calf and built an altar for it. Then he announced a feast in honor of Yahweh, who had prohibited IDOLATRY. When confronted by the fiery wrath of Moses, he laid the blame on the people and disclaimed all responsibility for the shape assumed by the molten image (32:21–24). He expressed no remorse for the "great sin" (vv. 31–31) into which he had led the people; it was only Moses' intercession (Deut. 9:12, 16, 20), not his own repentance, that saved him from the death penalty, which he perhaps deserved more than did the three thousand who perished in their iniquity.

The second incident involved Aaron's disloyalty to Moses. Aaron was apparently fully aware that he owed his exalted position to the fact that he was Moses' brother. He even called Moses "lord" (Exod. 32:22; Num. 12:11). Yet he could not entirely forget that he and Miriam were both older than Moses. Hence, on one occasion they followed the example set by the people who murmured against Moses (Num. 12). The occasion was a personal or family matter, Moses' marrying a CUSHITE WOMAN. AS in many other instances, the Bible states the fact without explanation or argument. Who the woman was, why Moses married her, what had become of ZIPPORAH, we are not told. Miriam and Aaron found in this circumstance an occasion or pretext for challenging Moses' unique authority. The Lord intervened directly and summarily, rebuked Miriam and Aaron, and even smote Miriam with leprosy, the removal of which was granted only in response to Moses' prayer, at Aaron's plea. Aaron was not a true leader. He owed his position to his kinship to Moses, and he needed the support of that wonderful brother to qualify him as high priest.

VII. Aaron and the critics. Aaron has received remarkable treatment at the hands of some OT critics. His name appears in the Hebrew Scriptures nearly 350 times, of which almost 300 are in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Often his name is coupled with that of Moses, which means that at the time of the exodus he was second only to Moses in prominence. According to the hypothesis of Wellhausen, however, Aaron was an artificial concoction of late biblical tradition. One writer avows that "Aaron is missing from J; and is only incidental in E" (E. S. Bright-man, *The Sources of the Hexateuch* [1918], 208). See PENTATEUCH.

It is illuminating to examine the basis for this statement. In the J document Aaron's name is coupled with that of Moses ("Moses and Aaron") ten times, describing their dealings with Pharaoh. How then can it be asserted that Aaron is missing from J? Brightman points out that many critics following the lead of Wellhausen regard "and Aaron" as an insertion of a late redactor of the Pentateuch; in other words, Aaron's name was not originally in the earliest document of the Pentateuch. Aaron is declared to be "incidental in E" (the next earliest source), although E mentions him twenty-one times, of which more than half are in the incident of the golden calf (Exod. 32), and in the challenging of Moses' authority (Num. 12), both of which were important events in Israel's history. This leaves the vast majority of the occurrences of his name to P (the document dealing mostly with the ritual), which is claimed by the critics to be postexilic. Consequently, the Aaronic priesthood and Aaron as high priest can be regarded as a late invention in Israel; and Aaron becomes largely a figment of the imagination of the priests of the exilic period.

How arbitrary this reconstruction may be is indicated by the fact that the words "then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron" (Exod. 8:8, 25; 9:27; 10:16; 12:31), which are assigned to J, require in each instance the deletion of the phrase "and Aaron." On the other hand, the words "the LORD said to Moses and Aaron" (Exod. 7:8 and fifteen other occurrences introduced by similar words) are assigned to P and regarded as properly belonging there, and therefore not subject to deletion. This handling of the text requires a remarkable disregard of consistency, to say the least.

More recent criticism recognizes that the priestly system as a whole cannot be regarded as a postexilic, degenerative phenomenon, but some skepticism about the historicity of Aaron is still common. According to one mediating view, negative statements about him in the Bible may be quite early, but positive assessments are relatively late in origin. (See further *ABD,* 1:1–6; *DOTP,* 1–3.)

O. T. ALLIS

Aaronites air'uh-nits. This term is used by the KJV in two passages where the Hebrew simply has AARON, but where the reference is clearly to his descendants (1 Chr. 12:27 [NIV, "the family of Aaron"; NJPS, "the Aaronides"]; 27:17).

Aaron's rod, staff. This expression is used specifically of the staff (Heb. *maṭṭeh H4751;* Gk. *rhabdos G4811)* that budded to vindicate the divine authority of AARON as high priest (Num. 17:8). When KORAH and his confederates challenged the leadership of MOSES and Aaron (chs. 11–17, possibly the most important event during the thirty-seven years of wandering described in chs. 11–19), Moses demanded that the staffs of each of the princes of the tribes be given him; and he placed their staffs with Aaron's "before the LORD in the Tent of the Testimony" (17:7). The next day Aaron's staff was found to have budded; and it was then placed before the ARK OF THE COVENANT in the Holy of Holies to be preserved as a witness against all who might rebel against his authority (17:1–10). (It is possible that the staff was subsequently placed inside the ark, as Heb. 9:4 suggests; see the

discussion by P. E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* [1977], 315).

The staff referred to is very likely the same shepherd's staff Moses was carrying at the time of his call (Exod. 4:2). When turned into a serpent, it became a sign to Moses and Aaron, to Israel, and to Pharaoh of the divine mission and authority of Moses (v. 17). It is twice called "the staff of God" (4:20; 17:9). Sometimes the command was to stretch forth the hand with the staff (8:5). Sometimes it was simply to stretch forth the hand (9:22), with the implication that the staff would be in the hand (v. 23). In the battle with AMALEK the staff was in Moses' hand; and Aaron and Hur supported his arms when he was weary. Moses was commanded to take the staff, and he and Aaron were told to "speak to the rock" (Num. 20:8). Instead of following these instructions implicitly, Moses (evidently with Aaron's support) spoke arrogantly to the people, and Moses lifted up his hand with his staff and smote the rock twice (v. 11), acts of presumption for which he and Aaron were severely punished.

All of the expressions used are natural in view of the significance of the staff. It was called "the staff of God," for it was the symbol of God's authority; it was Moses' staff, because it belonged to him and was carried by him; it was also Aaron's staff, because Aaron at times spoke and acted for Moses. It is to be noted, however, that these "staff passages," because of the variety of expression found in them, have been used to support the documentary hypothesis regarding the origin of the PENTATEUCH. Some passages (Exod. 4:24; 7:15, 17; 9:23; 10:13; 14:16; 21:20) are split in two and divided in the main between documents J and E. This is a striking example of the extremes to which the advocates of this theory are obliged to go in order to work out their analysis. Yet the variety of expression is in entire harmony with the situation as it is represented in the biblical narrative.

O. T. ALLIS

Ab ab (Mishnaic Heb. אָב from Akk. *Abu).* The fifth month (July-August) in the Babylonian CALENDAR used by postexilic Israel. This name is not found in the Bible.

Abacuc ab'uh-kuhk. KJV Apoc. form of HABAKKUK (2 Esd. 1:40).

Abaddon uh-bad'uhn (אֲבַדּוֹן *H11,* "[place of] destruction, ruin"; 'Αβαδδών *G3).* In the OT the term *)ăbaddôn* (from the verb *)ābad H6,* "to perish") is used almost as a proper noun to connote the place or condition of utter ruin reserved for the wicked in SHEOL (the realm or abode of the dead). It is used only in WISDOM literature (Job 26:6; 28:22; 31:12; Ps. 88:11 [Heb. v. 12]; Prov. 15:11; 27:20 [variant form]) and occurs parallel to "Sheol," "death" *(māwet),* and "grave" (*qeber).* In rabbinic literature the word is sometimes used as a proper noun, equivalent to GEHENNA (*TDNT,* 1:4 n. 1). In Rev. 9:11 destruction is personified when the satanic angel and king of the ABYSS is given this name, translated into Greek as *Apollyōn G661,* "destroyer." Abaddon (Apollyon) was manifested after the fifth angel had sounded his trumpet. (See *DDD, 1.)*

K. L. BARKER

Abadias ab'uh-dz'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of OBADIAH (1 Esd. 8:35).

Abagarus. See ABGAR.

Abagtha uh-bag'thuh (אֲבַגְתָא *H5,* meaning and source of name uncertain, although "happy, fortunate one" has been suggested from an Iranian source). One of the seven eunuchs sent by Ahasuerus, king of

Persia (i.e., XERXES, who reigned 486 –465 B.C.), to bring Queen VASHTI to a royal feast (Esth. 1:10). The name appears in various forms in the ancient versions.

E. S. KALLAND

Abana ab'uh-nuh (אֲבָנָה *H76,* "stony" *[Qere* אֲמָנָה *H592]).* Also Abanah. One of two rivers in DAMASCUS that NAAMAN considered superior to the JORDAN (2 Ki. 5:12; variant reading AMANA). Rising in the Antilebanons near Zebdany, Syria, at c. 1,150 ft., the Abana flows through Damascus, over 20 mi. to the SE, before it fans out and disappears in the salt marsh of Bahret el-Kibliyeh, some 18 mi. farther E. Now called Nahr (River) el-Barada, it was known to the Greeks as *Chrysorroas,* "the golden stream," for its waters transform arid Damascus into a veritable oasis. See also PHARPAR.

J. B. PAYNE

Abarim ab'uh-rim (עֲבָרִים *H6305,* "the regions beyond"). The region of TRANSJORDAN, lands E of the JORDAN River; the term is used specifically of the mountain ranges in that region. Mount Nebo was part of the mountains of Abarim (Num. 27:12; Deut. 32:49; see NEBO, MOUNT). Jeremiah

Looking E across the Dead Sea from Israel towards the mountains of Moab (Abarim) in Jordan.

mentions three regions in sequence from N to S: LEBANON, BASHAN, and Abarim (Jer. 22:20). The Abarim mountain ranges are 600 ft. above the plateau of MOAB. They overlook the DEAD SEA, 4,000 ft. below. Some scholars associate these mountains with IYE ABARIM. See also TRAVELERS, VALLEY OF THE.

C. F. PFEIFFER

abase. This English term (meaning "to lower in esteem, to make humble") occurs a number of times in the KJV, less often in the NRSV, and not at all in the NIV. God was especially determined to

exercise himself against the proud. JOB was told, "Look on everyone that is proud and abase him" (Job 40:12 KJV; NIV, "bring him low"; Heb. *šāpēl H9164,* hiph.). Even NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the pagan, recognized this truth and declared that "those who walk in pride he is able to abase" (Dan. 4:37 KJV; NIV, "to humble"). The NT insists that whoever exalts himself will be humbled (Matt. 23:12; Lk. 14:11; 18:14; Gk. *tapeinoō G5427),* and Paul emphasized the spiritual lesson of knowing how to be abased (NIV, "to be in need") and yet abound (Phil 4:12). See HUMILITY.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

abate. This English term (meaning "to reduce, lessen") is used six times in the KJV to render various Hebrew words. When MOSES died at the age of 120 years, his natural force was not abated (Deut. 34:7; Heb. *nûs H5674,* "to flee"). The dedication of a field after the Year of JUBILEE caused its value to be abated (NIV, "reduced") by the years that had passed (Lev. 27:18; Heb. *gādraʿ H1757,* "to cut off, diminish"). The waters abated (NIV, "receded") after the flood (Gen. 8:3, 8; Heb. *ḥāser H2893,* "to lack, decrease"). The anger of the men of Ephraim was abated (NIV, "subsided") against GIDEON (Jdg. 8:3; Heb. *rāpâ H8332*, "to be feeble, to desist").

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

Abba ah'buh, ab'uh (Aram. אַבָּא "[the] father"; ἀββά *G5).* An ARAMAIC term (prob. determinative form of *ʾāb,* "father"), transliterated into Greek in the NT and then into English. The word does not occur in either the Hebrew OT or the SEPTUAGINT. It occurs in three NT prayers (Mk. 14:36; Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6) together with its Greek equivalent as *Abba ho patēr.*

According to Mk. 14:36, Jesus used the term when he prayed in GETHSEMANE. Jesus might also have used this Aramaic term where his words are reported in Greek. Especially is this likely in Jesus' prayers, where various expressions occur: *ho patēr,* "father" (Matt. 11:26), *tou patros mou,* "my father" (v. 27), and in the vocative form, *pater,* "father" (v. 25), *pater mou,* "my father" (26:39, 42), and *pater hēmōn,* "our father" (6:9).

Paul's use of the term seems to reflect a common NT practice or even an early liturgical formula. Such a practice most probably would have stemmed from Jesus' use of the word, making it fraught with his reverent intimacy with his Father, a reverence and intimacy that he tried to teach his disciples. Dalman's assertion, "The usage of family life is transferred to God: it is the language of the child to its father," fits well with this idea (G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* [1902], 192; however, see J. Barr, JTS 39 [1988]: 21–47). It is possible *that Abba* was used in addressing God in the Lord's prayer (Matt. 6:9). In both Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6, Paul related the use of the term to the expression of the consciousness of the intimate relationship of the Christian to God as his Father, a relationship based upon its actuality through and in Christ.

In the MISHNAH the term may mean "my/our father" and is used as a title or even as a proper name. It is almost never used of God in post-NT Jewish writings. It is evident from this later Jewish usage, as well as from the almost complete silence of the OT in regard to the use of such words in personal relationship with God, that the NT use of "Abba, Father" was highly significant of a relationship between Jesus and his Father, and then between the Christian and God as Father, which greatly transcended OT concepts. See FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

E. S. KALLAND

Abda ab'duh (עַבְדָּא *H6272,* "servant, worshiper"; possibly a short form of עֹבַדְיָהוּ *H6282* [see

OBADIAH)]. (1) Father of ADONIRAM, who was a high official of SOLOMON in charge of forced labor (1 Ki. 4:6; LXX has Ephra instead of Abda).

(2) Son of Shammua and a postexilic chief Levite in Jerusalem (Neh. 11:17), also called Obadiah son of Shemaiah (1 Chr. 9:16).

E. S. KALLAND

Abdeel ab'dee-uhl (עַבְדְּאֵל *H6274,* "servant of God"; cf. OBADIAH). Father of an official named SHELEMIAH; the latter, with two other officials, was instructed by King JEHOIAKIM to arrest BARUCH the scribe and JEREMIAH the prophet (Jer. 36:26).

Abdi ab'di (עַבְדִּי *H6279,* conjectured to be an abbreviation of עֹבַדְיָה *H6281,* "servant of Yah" [see OBADIAH]; cf. LXX Ezra 10:26, βδια). (1) A Levite of the family of MERARI whose grandson ETHAN was made a songmaster by DAVID (1 Chr. 6:44 [Heb. v. 29]).

(2) Father of Kish, a Levite of the family of MERARI; Kish took part in the cleansing and consecration of the temple under King HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 29:12).

(3) A descendant of Elam, included in a list of men who had married foreign women during the EXILE contrary to the law of Moses, but who put away their wives and children in obedience to Ezra (Ezra 10:26).

E. S. KALLAND

Abdias ab-dz'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of OBADIAH (2 Esd. 1:39).

Abdias, Apostolic History of ab-di'uhs. A Latin collection of legends about the twelve apostles, including PAUL, compiled from various sources (the canonical Gospels and Acts, the CLEMENTINE LITERATURE, the earlier apocryphal Acts, etc.) not earlier than the end of the 6th cent. According to the preface it was written in Hebrew by Abdias, bishop of Babylon, companion of the apostles Simon and Jude, and himself said to have seen the Lord; his disciple Eutropius allegedly translated it into Greek, and Julius Africanus into Latin. This claim has no historical foundation. The book's importance lies in its preservation of material from older sources, and is reduced when these sources are themselves available. In its present form the work is divided into ten books, one for James the Less, Simon, and Jude, and one for each of the other apostles.

R. McL. WILSON

Abdiel ab'dee-uhl (עַבְדִּיאֵל *H6280,* "servant *[i.e.,* worshiper] of God"; cf. ABDA, ABDEEL, ABDI, OBADIAH). Son of Guni and father of Ahi; the latter was head of a clan in the tribe of GAD that lived in GILEAD and BASHAN (1 Chr. 5:15).

Abdon (person) ab'duhn (עַבְדּוֹן *H6277,* "servant" or "servile"). (1) Son of Hillel and the eleventh mentioned judge of Israel in the book of Judges. Abdon "judged" Israel eight years, probably from PIRATHON in the hill country of EPHRAIM. The reference to his "forty sons and thirty grandsons, who rode on seventy donkeys" probably signifies the wealth and prominence of his family. Abdon was buried in Pirathon (Jdg. 12:11–15). Nothing is said about his rule. JOSEPHUS suggests that his reign was a peaceful one, and therefore "he had no occasion to perform glorious actions" *(Ant.* 5.7.15 §273).

(2) Oldest son of Jeiel (KJV, Jehiel) and Maacah of GIBEON, included in the two lists of SAUL'S genealogy (1 Chr. 8:30; 9:36). See also ABIEL.

(3) Son of Micah, sent by King JOSIAH with other officials to inquire of HULDAH the prophetess, after the book of the law of the Lord was read before him (2 Chr. 34:20; called Acbor son of Micaiah in 2 Ki. 22:12, 14; Jer. 26:22).

(4) Son of Shashak (1 Chr. 8:23, cf. v. 25), a Benjamite living in Jerusalem, probably in NEHEMIAH'S time (see vv. 1, 28).

E. S. KALLAND

Abdon (place) ab'duhn (עַבְדּוֹן *H6278,* possibly "service"). One of the four Levitical towns in the territory of ASHER (Josh. 21:30; 1 Chr. 6:74), probably located at modern Khirbet ʿAbdah about 15 mi. S of TYRE; perhaps to be identified with the EBRON of Josh. 19:28 (where some Heb. MSS read "Abdon" instead of "Ebron").

Abednego. See SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO.

Abel (person) ay'buhl (הֶבֶל *H2040,* "breath, vanity" [if from the Heb. root *hbl]* or "son, heir" [if from the Akk. root *ablu/aplu,* Sumer. *ibila];* "Αβελ *G6,* also Ἄβελ). The second son of ADAM and EVE and the brother (some think the twin) of his jealous murderer, CAIN. Abel was a shepherd while Cain his brother "worked the soil" (Gen. 4:2). Many point to the ANE literary motif of a traditional rivalry between the nomad and the farmer. This could hardly be the interpretation of the Cain and Abel story since: (1) farming is not disparaged in this account but rather is assumed as the natural occupation of Adam in the Garden of EDEN; (2) the punishment is not upon the occupation but upon Cain himself; and (3) the comparative evaluation of the two brothers focuses not on their vocations, but rather on the men themselves and their offerings (cf. N. M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* [1966], 28).

The SACRIFICE of Abel is accepted because God first inspected the man and then regarded the offering (note how emphatic the order and repetition of the words is in the Hebrew text). According to Heb. 11:4, it was "by faith" that Abel offered a better sacrifice. The object or content of that faith is variously understood: T. J. Crawford *(The Doctrine of Holy Scripture Respecting the Atonement* [1874], 280) holds that it had reference to the previously revealed promise of a redeemer for our fallen race; H. C. Leupold *(Exposition of Genesis* [1942], 1:196) points to the words "fat portions" and "the firstborn of his flock" (Gen. 4:4); others hold the merit was in the blood. Abel's blood is contrasted with Christ's in Heb. 12:24. (See also Matt. 23:35; 1 Jn. 3:12.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abel (place) ay'buhl (אָבֵל *H64,* "meadow"). A name frequently found in compounds and used to describe the nature of a site or its surroundings. In 2 Sam. 20:18 Abel is the shortened form of ABEL BETH MAACAH. In 1 Sam. 6:18 the Hebrew text reads "the great meadow," whereas the NIV translates "the large rock," following the SEPTUAGINT (which has *lithou,* evidently reading Heb. ʾ*bn* rather than ʾ*bl);* the KJV harmonizes by conflating the two readings and translating, "the great *stone of* Abel."

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Excavated area of Abel Beth Maacah. (View to the NE.)

Abel, the great (stone of). See ABEL (PLACE).

Abel Beth Maacah ay'buhl-beth-may'uh-kuh (אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה *H68* [with spelling variations], "meadow of the house of oppression"). Sometimes translated "Abel of Beth-maacah," and also known as Abel Maim (2 Chr. 16:4). A city in the tribal territory of NAPHTALI, in northern Palestine, about 5 mi. W of DAN (PLACE), and 9 mi. S of IJON. JOAB pursued SHEBNA to this city (2 Sam. 20:11–22). Under BEN-HADAD (1 Ki. 15:20), and later under TIGLATH-PILESER (2 Ki. 15:29), the city was captured. The modern name for the site is Abil el-Qamh.

A collection of 19th-cent. B.C. Egyptian texts of curses, called the EXECRATION TEXTS, possibly includes a reference to Abel along with Ijon, Laish, and Hazor. It appears in THUTMOSE III's roster of 119 Canaanite towns as number 92 (spelled *ibr).* This town is to be distinguished from number 99 in Thutmose's list, which refers to modern ʿAyn Ibl (En-bul in the TALMUD). Tiglath-Pileser has left a fragmentary text in the Nimrod Tablet (see D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 18 [1956]: 111–29), giving an account of the same invasion mentioned by the biblical writer in 2 Ki. 15:29. After conquering various towns in northern Syria and on the Phoenician coast, he went on to Galʿaza (Gilead) and

Abil [ma]akka (Abel Beth Maacah) on the border of the land of Beth-Omri (Israel) and Beth-Hazael (Aram-Damascus).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abel-cheramim ay'buhl-ker' uh-mim. See ABEL KERAMIM.

Abel Keramim ay'buhl-ker'uh-mim (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים *H70,* "meadow of vineyards"). Also Abel-cheramim, Abel-keramim. Along with Atoer, Minnith, and "twenty cities," Abel Keramim is listed as one taken in JEPHTHAH'S military campaign against the Ammonites (Jdg. 11:33; KJV, "the plain of the vineyards"). The forces of Jephthah gathered at MIZPAH (Jdg. 10:17; cf. 11:29). None of these locations has been identified with certainty, but if Mizpah is the same as Ramath Mizpah (listed as one of the cities of Gilead between Heshbon and Betonim, Josh. 13:26), then Abel Keramim must be sought in an area S of the JABBOK River. Proposed identifications include modern Naʿur and ancient

Saḥab, both of them near Amman (for the latter, see E. A. Knauf in *ZDPV* 100 [1984]: 111–21). Cf. also Eusebius, *Onom.* 32.11–16.

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Abel Maim ay'buhl-may'im (אָבֵל מַיִם *H72,* "meadow of water"). Also Abel-maim. An alternate name for ABEL BETH MAACAH; it occurs only in 2 Chr. 16:4.

Abel Meholah ay'buhl-mi-hoh'luh (אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה *H71,* "meadow of dancing"). Also Abel-meholah. The hometown of ELISHA the prophet (1 Ki. 19:16). This is where ELIJAH, returning from HOREB on his way to DAMASCUS, found Elisha and his servants plowing with twelve yoke of oxen. During SOLOMON'S reign, Abel Meholah was included in the same district as BETH SHAN (4:12). Previously, this site had figured in GIDEON'S smashing victory over the Midianite camp in the JEZREEL Valley (Jdg. 7:22). The identification of Abel Meholah is debated (for the various proposals, see *ABD,* 1:11–12). S. Cohen (in *IDB,* 1:5) believes that the Midianites, in their flight southeastward, crossed the JORDAN; he identifies the site with Tell el-Maqlub on the Wadi el-Yabis (as proposed by N. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine,* 4 vols., AASOR [1931–51], 4:216; but see JABESH GILEAD). Most scholars, however, prefer to look for a site W of the Jordan. EUSEBIUS pointed to a location about 9 mi. (10 Roman mi.) SSE of Beth Shan; on that basis and other evidence, many scholars identify Abel Meholah with a site known as Tell Abu Sus, on the W bank of the river (cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 313). See also ZERERAH.

During the Solomonic reign, Abel Meholah is mentioned as part of the area governed by Baana (1 Ki. 4:12), one of the twelve administrative officers for Solomon's governmental districts. The man to whom Saul's eldest daughter, Merab, was given (instead of to David) was one named ADRIEL the MEHOLATHITE (1 Sam. 18:19; 2 Sam. 21:8; NIV, "Adriel of Meholah"). On the meaning and etymology of Meholah, see W. F. Albright's interesting and convincing discussion *(Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* 4th ed. [1956], 121–29, 210 n. 96).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abel Mizraim ay'buhl-miz'ray-im (אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם *H73,* "meadow *[or* mourning] of Egypt"). Also Abel-mizraim. An unidentified site where the funeral cortège of JACOB stopped on its way to HEBRON for a special seven days of mourning according to Gen. 50:11–11. Obviously there is a pun here between *)ēbel H65,* "mourning," and *)ābēl H64,* "meadow" (the latter found only in place names). The other name for this place is "the threshing floor of Atad." The location is not necessarily on the E side of the Jordan as the majority view states, but is probably on the W side. The phrase "beyond the Jordan" (NRSV) need not always refer to TRANSJORDAN, as now shown by the SABEAN word *(brt,* "the neighborhood of a stream" (cf. B. Gemser's suggested rendering "the region of Jordan," *VT 2* [1952]: 351–53). Accordingly, the NIV translates, "near the Jordan."

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abel Shittim ay'buhl-shit'im (אָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים *H69,* "meadow of the acacias"). Also Abel-shittim. This full form occurs only in Num. 33:49; the place is probably to be identified with SHITTIM.

Abez ay'bez. KJV form of EBEZ (Josh. 19:20).

Abgar, Epistles of Christ and ab'gahr. Also Abgarus or Abagarus. Two short apocryphal letters preserved in EUSEBIUS *(Eccl. Hist.* 1.13, in the context of a legend which he claims to have translated himself from Syriac documents in the archives of EDESSA). Abgar V, king of Edessa (d. A.D. 50), afflicted with a terrible disease, writes to Jesus to ask for healing, in terms suspiciously reminiscent of the Gospels. Having heard of the hostility of the Jews, he offers Jesus his own city as a safe place of refuge. Jesus replies in markedly Johannine language, declining the invitation because he has a mission to fulfill in Palestine, but promising, "when I am lifted up," to send one of his disciples. The sequel tells how the promise was fulfilled after the ASCENSION OF CHRIST when Judas Thomas sent Thaddaeus (= Addai) to Edessa. (See also THADDAEUS, ACTS OF.)

The legend enjoyed wide currency in several languages. In the expanded version found in a Syriac work written c. 400, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (ed. G. Phillips [1876]; English trans. G. Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* [1981]), Abgar's messenger takes back not a letter but a portrait of Jesus (in the *Acts of Thaddaeus,* it is a handkerchief). About the same period the pilgrim Aetheria testifies that the story was known in the West. AUGUSTINE *(Faust.* 28.4) and JEROME *(Ezech.* at 44:29) both affirm that Jesus left nothing in writing, and the correspondence is later declared apocryphal by the *Decretum Gelasianum* in the 6th cent. Abgar V of Edessa was contemporary with Jesus, but the legend, unknown before Eusebius, is an obvious fiction, probably compiled for propagandist purposes. See also DOCTRINA ADDAEI.

R. MCL. WILSON

Abi ay'bi (אָבִי *H23,* "my father," short form of אֲבִיָּה *H31,* "[my] father is Yahweh"; see ABIJAH). The mother of King HEZEKIAH, spoken of also as the daughter of a certain Zechariah (2 Ki. 18:2 [NIV, "Abijah"; cf. 2 Chr. 29:1]). The form Abi is also used in the composition of many Hebrew names with various possible meanings, such as "father of," "is father," "the [my] father is" (the vowel *i* may represent the first person possessive pronoun, but it can also be interpreted merely as a linking sound). The term sometimes refers to a grandfather or more distant ancestor. See FATHER.

E. S. KALLAND

Abia, Abiah uh-bz'uh. KJV alternate forms of ABIJAH.

Abi-Albon ay'bz-al'buhn (אֲבִי־עַלְבוֹן *H50,* meaning uncertain). Identified as an Arbathite, Abi-Albon was a member of DAVID'S thirty mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:31). Most likely he was from BETH ARABAH, a border town of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15:6, 61; 18:22). The name may be corrupt. Some suggest confusion with Shaalbon (cf. 2 Sam. 23:32). The SEPTUAGINT has Abiel in 2 Sam. 23:31; both the Hebrew and the Greek texts read Abiel the Arbathite in 1 Chr. 11:32. The suggestion that Albon is a corruption of BAAL is not likely.

E. S. KALLAND

Abiasaph uh-bz'uh-saf (אֲבִיאָסָף *H25,* "[my] father has gathered"; spelled אֶבְיָסָף *H47* [Ebiasaph] in 1 Chronicles and by the Samaritan Pentateuch in Exodus). A Levite, one of the sons or clans of KORAH (Exod. 6:24; 1 Chr. 9:19). The order of succession in Exod. 6:11–24 and 1 Chr. 6:31–38 is Levi, Kohath, Izhar, Korah, A(E)biasaph. In 1 Chr. 6:21–23, the order of the clans is given as Kohath, Amminadab, Korah, Assir, Elkanah, Ebiasaph. He is apparently called Asaph in 1 Chr. 26:1 (cf. LXX).

Abiathar uh-bi'uh-thahr (אֶבְיָתָר *H59,* "father of abundance"). Son of the high priest AHIMELECH, who served at NOB during the reign of SAUL. His descent is traced back to PHINEHAS son of ELI (1 Sam. 14:3, where AHIJAH is presumably the apocopated form of Ahimelech), and further to AARON'S son, ITHAMAR (1 Chr. 24:3).

DAVID, while fleeing from Saul, stopped at Nob and requested five loaves of bread from the head priest, Ahimelech, father of Abiathar (1 Sam. 21). In making his request, David involved himself in a lie (21:2), which led to the massacre of Ahimelech and his associates. An Edomite named DOEG, Saul's head shepherd, was being detained at Nob that day and he overheard the conversation between the priest and the fugitive David. When Doeg returned to Saul, he came forward with this information, "Ahimelech inquired of the LORD for [David]; he also gave him provisions and the sword of Goliath the Philistine" (1 Sam. 22:10).

Of these three items, the account in 1 Sam. 21 has nothing to say concerning any inquiry made before the Lord, while it does in general support the other two items. Was Doeg falsely adding to the story? Ahimelech denied this charge (1 Sam. 22:15). There would seem to be more reason to trust the priest rather than Doeg. Moreover, if David had received an oracle from God, it probably would have been included as a theological interpretation and a blessing upon the legitimacy of David's claims and actions. This would have served to warn the priests also of the significance of the events in which they found themselves involved. David later acknowledged his share in the guilt connected with their deaths (1 Sam. 22:22). Afterward he would return to this topic as an example of the wrong use of the tongue (Ps. 52).

Abiathar escaped with the EPHOD and joined himself to David, becoming his priest and his means of discovering the divine will (1 Sam. 22:21–23; 23:6, 9; 30:1–8). Later he is frequently mentioned along with ZADOK (though Zadok is always mentioned first), both being described as high priests under David (cf. 2 Sam. 15:35; 19:11; 20:25; et al.).

Abiathar supported ADONIJAH when the latter rebelled, while Zadok remained loyal to David and SOLOMON (1 Ki. 1:7, 19). Since Adonijah's rebellion failed, Abiathar was in trouble; however, Solomon spared him because of his association with David, and he was exiled to ANATHOTH (2:21–27), so that Zadok remained as the sole high priest. (Note Jer. 1:1, where Jeremiah is identified as "one of the priests at Anathoth.") The predicted word (1 Sam. 2:21–36) concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh was now fulfilled (1 Ki. 2:27).

On the critical problem of the name of the father of Abiathar, AHIMELECH (1 Sam. 21:1), it must be noted that this name could be shortened to AHIJAH (1 Chr. 5:15). The spelling Abimelech (18:16 KJV, following most Hebrew MSS) is a scribal error for Ahimelech (the reading of some Hebrew MSS and most ancient versions). The further problem of Jesus' reference in Mk. 2:26 to Abiathar as being the high priest when David asked for the consecrated bread has been answered in several ways. Mark's language (*epi Abiathar archiereōs,* "the days of Abiathar the high priest," NIV) may denote the period when Abiathar served as priest, including the time during which his father was living. It may also have been a more convenient reference for the people of Jesus' day, since the priest associated so long with David was more famous than his father. Another suggestion is that the Greek phrase should be understood, not as temporal, but as a reference to a biblical passage (as in Mk. 12:26, *epi tou batou,* "in the account of the bush"; cf. R. H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* [1993], 141–42).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abib ay'bib, ah-veev' (אָבִיב *H26,* "ripened head of grain"). TNIV Aviv. The first month in the Jewish religious CALENDAR (corresponding to March-April), during which the PASSOVER took place. This is the older, presumably Canaanite name, for the month of NISAN (Exod. 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1). Two other Canaanite month names, ETHANIM and BUL, have been identified in Phoenician inscriptions, but neither Abib nor Ziv has so far been attested. The proto-Sinaitic *)bb* appears to be an Egyptian personal name (W. F. Albright, *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions* [1966], 38).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abib, Tel. See TEL ABIB.

Abida uh-bi'duh (אֲבִידָע *H30,* "father of knowledge" or "my father knows/has acknowledged [me]"). The fourth of the five sons of MIDIAN, who was a son of ABRAHAM by his concubine KETURAH (Gen. 25:4; 1 Chr. 1:33). Abraham gave gifts to the sons of his concubines and sent them to the east while he was still living so that ISAAC'S inheritance would not be compromised (Gen. 25:4). The name has been associated with an Arabian tribe named Ibadidi and with the town of al-Bad((in NW Arabia).

E. S. KALLAND

Abidan uh-bi'duhn (אֲבִידָן *H29,* "[my] father has judged"). Son of Gideoni and a Benjamite prince who represented his tribe as a census taker in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. 1:11; 2:22; 10:24). As one of the twelve tribal princes, he made an offering for the tribe of BENJAMIN at the dedication of the TABERNACLE in the wilderness. Benjamin's offering was on the ninth day (Num. 7:60, 65).

E. S. KALLAND

abide. A verb used in the KJV and other English versions of the Bible to render many words (such as Heb. (*āmad H6641* and Gk. *menō G3531).* When used in a transitive sense, the English verb means "to await" (Acts 20:23), "to withstand, endure" (Jer. 10:10; Mal. 3:2). As an intransitive verb it means "to continue in a place or state in which one now is" (Acts 27:31), "to dwell, reside" (Lk. 8:27; Jn. 8:35), "to last, endure" (esp. in trial; Ps. 119:90; 1 Cor. 3:14). The word "abide" (NIV, "remain") is found with great frequency in the Gospel and Epistles of John. Christ used the figure of the vine to illustrate the need for his disciples to abide in him; they will bear fruit only as they remain in Christ (Jn. 15:1–10). See UNION WITH CHRIST.

S. BARABAS

Abiel ay'bee-uhl (אֲבִיאֵל *H24,* "my father is God"). (1) A man of BENJAMIN who is mentioned as the father of KISH and the grandfather of King SAUL and ABNER (1 Sam. 9:1; 14:51). It is conjectured that JEIEL in 1 Chr. 8:29 and 9:35, the father of NER, is the same as Abiel. In that case, Abiel (Jeiel) was the grandfather of Kish and the great-grandfather of Saul. Other solutions have been proposed.

(2) One of DAVID'S thirty mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:32), also called ABI-ALBON (2 Sam. 23:31). He was probably a native of BETH ARABAH in the N of Judah (Josh. 15:6) and was therefore known as Abiel the Arbathite.

E. S. KALLAND

Abiezer ay'bi'-ee'zuhr (אֲבִיעֶזֶר *H48,* "[my] father is help"; gentilic אֲבִי עֶזְרִי *H49,* "Abiezrite"). (1) A descendant of MANASSEH, the son of JOSEPH. Abiezer, who settled on the W side of the Jordan (Josh. 17:2), is probably the same as IEZER (a contraction of Abiezer), regarded as the son of GILEAD (Num. 26:30). If 1 Chr. 7:18 refers to the same individual (but see KD, *Chronicles,* 138), he was apparently Gilead's nephew, in which case he may have been considered a son for genealogical purposes (see HAMMOLEKETH). The district of Manasseh inhabited by the Abiezrites (Jdg. 6:34) was the native region from which GIDEON came (6:11). The site of the appearance of the angel of the Lord to Gideon was Ophrah of the Abiezrites (6:24), the town from which Gideon drew his first support of men to fight the Midianites (6:34). See OPHRAH (PLACE). When the jealous Ephraimites complained that they had not been chosen to fight, Gideon responded by issuing the following proverb: "Aren't the gleanings of Ephraim's grapes better than the full grape harvest of Abiezer?" (8:2). With this soft answer, the wrath of the Ephraimites was mollified, and the tactful Gideon had averted a situation filled with political consequences. (This division continued, however, and eventually the pugnacious Ephraimites had their way in 931 B.C. when the kingdom was divided.)

(2) One of DAVID'S military elite, the Thirty; a native of ANATHOTH in BENJAMIN (2 Sam. 23:27; 1 Chr. 11:28). He was one of David's month-by-month army commanders, having his turn in the ninth month (1 Chr. 27:12).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Abiezrite ay'bz'-ez'rit. See ABIEZER.

Abigail, Abigal ab'uh-gayl, ab'uh-gal (אֲבִיגַיִל *H28,* "[my] father rejoices" or "source of joy"; also אֲבִיגַל [1 Sam. 25:32; 2 Sam. 3:3] and אֲבִגַיִל [1 Sam. 25:3]). (1) The wife of NABAL, a rich man of MAON in Judah. When Nabal refused to give provisions to DAVID and his men in payment for the protection they had given him, Abigail, a wise and beautiful woman, herself brought provisions to David, persuading him not to take vengeance on her husband. About ten days later Nabal died, and subsequently Abigail became David's wife (1 Sam. 25:1–42). Abigail bore to David his second son, KILEAB (2 Sam. 3:3; called Daniel in 1 Chr. 3:1 and Daluia in the LXX of 2 Sam. 3:3).

(2) Apparently a half-sister of King David and of ZERUIAH, the mother of JOAB (1 Chr. 2:16; 2 Sam. 17:25). This Abigail was the daughter of NAHASH and the mother of AMASA, who for a while was commander of David's army (17:25; 20:4). It has been suggested that "daughter of Nahash" might be a textual corruption, or that Nahash was another name for JESSE, or that Jesse married the widow of Nahash. Whether or not any of these surmises is true, Abigail and David had the same mother. Her husband was called Jether (2 Sam. 17:25 [NIV]; 1 Chr. 2:11–17; see discussion under ITHRA).

E. S. KALLAND

Abihail ab'uh-hayl (אֲבִיחַיִל *H38,* "my father is strength" or "strong father"; the form אֲבִיהַיִל *H35* [1 Chr. 2:29; 2 Chr. 11:18] may be a variant spelling or a different name). (1) Father of Zuriel, who was head of the house of MERARI (Num. 3:35).

(2) The wife of Abishur of Judah, son of Shammai (1 Chr. 2:29).

(3) Son of Huri; he was a man of the tribe of GAD who lived in GILEAD (1 Chr. 5:14).

(4) Daughter of DAVID'S brother ELIAB. She married her cousin JERIMOTH (David's son) and was the mother of Mahalath, one of the wives of REHOBOAM (2 Chr. 11:18). Ambiguity in the Hebrew text leaves open the possibility that Abi-hail was another wife of Rehoboam (cf. KJV, but the singular in

the Hebrew of the next two verses suggests that he had only one wife).

(5) Father of Queen ESTHER and uncle of MORDECAI (Esth. 2:15; 9:29).

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Abihu uh-bi'hyoo (אֲבִיהוּא *H33,* "he is [my] father"). The second of the four sons of AARON and ELISHEBA (Exod. 6:23; Num. 3:2; 26:60; 1 Chr. 6:3; 24:1). Aaron, his sons NADAB and Abihu, and seventy elders went part of the way up Mount Sinai with MOSES at the command of the Lord, and they "saw the God of Israel" (Exod. 24:1, 1–10). Abihu, along with his father and three brothers, was later consecrated as priest (Exod. 28:1; Num. 3:1–3; 1 Chr. 24:1). Abihu and his older brother Nadab were slain by God when "they offered unauthorized fire before the LORD, contrary to his command" (Lev. 10:1–2). Neither Nadab nor Abihu had any sons (Num. 3:4; 1 Chr. 24:2).

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Abihud uh-bi'huhd (אֲבִיהוּד *H34,* "[my] father is majesty"). Son of BELA and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:3; however, some scholars believe that the text should read "the father of Ehud" rather than "Abihud").

Abijah, Abijam uh-bi'juh, uh-bi'juhm (אֲבִיָּה *H31,* "[my] father is Yahweh"; also אֲבִיָּהוּ *H32* [2 Chr. 13:21–21] and אֲבִיָּם *H41* [1 Ki. 14:31—15:1, not in NIV]). KJV also Abia, Abiah. (1) Seventh son of BEKER and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 7:8).

(2) Second son of SAMUEL. Along with his older brother JOEL, he was appointed by his father to be a judge in BEERSHEBA (1 Sam. 8:2). However, the brothers took bribes, perverted justice, and incurred the wrath of the people to such an extent that the Israelites came to Samuel and demanded a king (1 Sam. 8:1–6).

Abijah and his brother Joel, sons of Samuel, may have exercised their functions as judges here at the gate complex of Beersheba, identified by the U-shaped chambers. (View to the E.)

(3) According to 1 Chr. 2:24, a woman named Abijah was the wife of HEZRON (grandson of JUDAH by PEREZ) and the mother of ASHHUR, father (or founder) of TEKOA. The MT is difficult, and some of the ancient versions read differently. The RSV rendering, "Caleb went in to Ephrathah, the wife of Hezron his father, and she bore him Ashhur," involves an emendation of Abijah (ʾăbiyyâ) to

"his father" *)ābăhû).*

(4) A descendant of AARON who became the head of the eighth priestly division (1 Chr. 24:10). Twenty-four divisions were appointed by lot for the service of the TEMPLE in the time of DAVID. ZECHARIAH, the father of JOHN THE BAPTIST, belonged to the division of Abijah (Lk 1:5; KJV, "Abia").

(5) Son of REHOBOAM and the second king of Judah during the divided kingdom. In 1 Ki. 14:31; 15:1, 1–8, he is called Abijam (possibly meaning "my father is Yam [the Sea]") rather than Abijah; however, some Hebrew MSS read Abijah in these passages, supported by the SEPTUAGINT, the parallels in Chronicles, JOSEPHUS, and Matt. 1:7. The explanations given for the double spelling of this name are: (a) A scribal error whereby the final *h* is confused for a final *m.* This suggestion is made less attractive by the fact that the mistake is repeated five times. (b) The older name Abijam was changed to Abijah, a Yahweh-name that seemed to be more befitting to a king of Judah and the line of David than a name with the pagan Canaanite deity now known from the Ras Shamra tablets (see UGARIT) as Yamm, the god of the Sea. This is the more probable view unless the evidence increases for the third alternative. (c) Abijam could be the archaic hypoco-risticon *)abiya-mi,* "my father is indeed [Yahweh]." Martin Noth *(IPN,* 109, 234) has called attention to the pre-Israelite Canaanite name *)aḫiyami;* cf. also such names as *ahūzzām* and *bilcām,* and Ugaritic *abm* and *ṣdqm* (C. H. Gordon, *UT,* 8.2).

Abijah (or Abijam) ruled for three years in Jerusalem (1 Ki. 15:2), which E. R. Thiele *(The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3d ed. [1983], 81) reckoned to be from 913 to 910 B.C. While the LXX (including the Lucianic Recension) gives the length of his reign as six years, this looks suspicious and possibly may be interpreted as an attempt to make the total number of years for the kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Ahaziah's death (which according to the MT is ninety-five years) equal the total for the kings of Israel from Jeroboam to the death of Joram, which is ninety-eight years.

Abijah's mother is said to be "Maacah, the daughter of Abishalom [i.e., Absalom]" (1 Ki. 15:2; 2 Chr. 11:21–21), elsewhere called Micaiah daughter of Uriel of Gibeah (2 Chr. 13:2 NRSV); see MAACAH (PERSON) #9. Willis Beecher *(ISBE* [1929], 1:10) shrewdly suggests that SOLOMON, by marrying his son Rehoboam to his second cousin Maacah, hoped to conciliate the ABSALOM party in Israel who still were disappointed in Absalom's abortive bid for kingship. Notice, however, the introduction of paganism from the distaff side of the family, for Maacah comes from the half-pagan family of Absalom.

Abijah's reign was marked by wickedness (1 Ki. 15:3) with moments of piety, as illustrated by Chronicles on the occasion of his defeat of JEROBOAM on the frontier of Ephraim (2 Chr. 13:1–12). In his oration before the battle began, Abijah condemns the people of the north for their apostasy and declares, "God is with us; he is our leader" (v. 12) Fighting at a disadvantage of two-to-one odds, he was nevertheless victorious and captured Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron (v. 19). His fourteen wives bore him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters (v. 21), and his other acts and sayings "are written in the annotations of the prophet Iddo" (v. 22).

(6) Son of JEROBOAM I, king of Israel (1 Ki. 14:1–18). When the son was taken by an illness, Jeroboam sent his disguised wife to the old prophet at Shiloh, AHIJAH, who had first announced to him that he would one day preside over ten of the twelve tribes of Israel. Jeroboam's wife had no need to disguise herself, since the prophet was now old and blind. Nevertheless the prophet knew her even before she entered his house and he declared that Abijah would die as soon as she arrived home. He was the only one of the house of Jeroboam to receive a decent burial.

(7) The mother of HEZEKIAH, king of Judah, is called ABI (2 Ki. 18:2), an abbreviation for

Abijah (2 Chr. 29:1).

(8) One of the priests in the days of NEHEMIAH who sealed the covenant of reform in which the people promised to serve the Lord (Neh. 10:7). Some believe that this is a clan name, connected with the individual listed in 12:4 (see next item).

(9) A priest who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 12:4). In the chronology of the priests given in Neh. 12:11–21, Zicri is listed as next descendant to rule the house of Abijah (12:17).

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Abijam. See ABIJAH.

Abila. See ABILENE.

Abilene ab'uh-lee'nee ('Αβιληνή *G9)*. A region to the NW of DAMASCUS, taking its name from its principal city, Abila, the Abil as-Suq of the medieval Arab geographers and modern Suq Wadi Barada (it is possibly the Abel [)*br* for)bl] mentioned between Damascus and HAMATH among the conquests of THUTMOSE III in the 15th cent. B.C.). This site, which was distinct from the city of the same name in the DECAPOLIS, lay about 18 mi. from Damascus on the river ABANA (modern Barada), which flows S from between the ANTILEB-ANON range and Mount HERMON to Damascus. The most direct route from Damascus to Berytus (modern Beirut) on the coast lay up the Abana, and this accounts for the importance of Abila.

In the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. this area formed a part of the principality of ITUREA, which centered on Chalcis and Heliopolis (Baalbek) in the BEQA(plain, and extended E almost to Damascus. The sources indicate that it was ruled by Ptolemy son of Mennaeus (c. 81–40 B.C.) and then by his son Lysanias (41–36 B.C.), but in 36 B.C. Lysanias was executed by Mark Antony and the territory given to CLEOPATRA, who leased it to Zenodorus, possibly Lysanias's son. During Zenodorus's period of rule (c. 31–20 B.C.), much of the Iturean principality was taken from him by the Romans, some being assigned by them to other nominees, and, though the details are not clear, it seems that by the end of the century Abilene was established as a separate unit. It was now bounded on the W by a much curtailed territory centering on Chalcis and an extensive Roman colony based on Berytus, on the E by (NABATEAN) Arabia, and on the S by Damascus.

A hint of the position of Abilene in the early 1st cent. A.D. is given in two virtually duplicate inscriptions from the site of Abila, recording the dedication of a temple for "the Lords Imperial" (ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ), a title which in this context could have applied only to TIBERIUS (A.D. 11–37) and his mother Livia (d. A.D. 29) jointly while they were both alive. The inscription is therefore datable in the period A.D. 11–29. It was dedicated by a freedman of "Lysanias the tetrarch" (ΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ).This LYSANIAS is probably referred to by JOSEPHUS when he records that the Emperor Gaius (CALIGULA) on his accession in A.D. 37 granted the "tetrarchy of Lysanias" to Agrippa (see HEROD), and that his successor CLAUDIUS confirmed this grant on his accession in A.D. 41 *(Ant.* 18.6.10; 19.5.1; 20.7.1).

Abilene is mentioned in the NT when Luke defines the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist (c. A.D. 27) by reference to a number of rulers, among whom is "Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene" (*Lysaniou tēs Abilēnēs tetraarchountos,* Lk. 3:1). The view that Luke is in error ignores the evidence that one or more individuals with the name Lysanias ruled during the reign of Tiberius. (See further R. Savignac in *RB* 9 [1912]: 531–40; A. H. M. Jones, *Journal of Roman Studies* 21

[1931]: 265—75; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1971–87], 1:561–69; D. L. Bock, *Luke,* BECNT, 2 vols. [1991–96], 1:283.)

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ability. See POWER.

Abimael uh-bim'ay-uhl (אֲבִימָאֵל *H42,* possibly "[my] father is truly God," but the etymology is disputed). Son of Joktan and descendant of SHEM (Gen. 10:28; 1 Chr. 1:22).

Abimelech uh-bim'uh-lek (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ *H43,* "my father is king" or "father of a king"). TNIV Abi-melek. A cognomen applied to PHILISTINE rulers (as the names PHARAOH, AGAG, and JABIN were used by the Egyptians, Amalekites, and Canaanites respectively). This title is used of three different persons in the OT: one during ABRAHAM'S time (Gen. 21–21), one during ISAAC'S (ch. 26), and one during DAVID'S (PS. 34, title). Two other men in the Bible also bear this name.

(1) The king of GERAR was titled Abimelech. Seeing Abraham's wife SARAH, as Abraham sojourned with his flocks in his country after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the king or Abimelech of Gerar took her, intending to make her his wife. Abraham, again fearing for his life as he had with Pharaoh (Gen. 12:11–20), declared that Sarah was his sister. Whether Abraham was implying that she was doubly protected, as E. Speiser has maintained on the basis of the Nuzi documents, is uncertain ("The Wife-Sister Motif in the Patriarchal Narratives," in *Biblical and Other Studies,* ed. A. Altmann [1963], 11–28). At Nuzi there were not only marriage documents but also "sistership documents" *(ṭuppi aḥātūti;* ibid., 26); thus some wives simultaneously had the juridical status of a wife and sister, each recorded in separate, independent, legal documents. Abraham may therefore have been technically correct when he referred to Sarah as his "sister" if she was thus protected.

When Abimelech discovered the full truth of the situation or understood the implications of this Hurrian practice, he confronted Abraham about it. Abraham answered that he thought "the fear of God" (i.e., true religion) was not in Gerar and that therefore he would be slain because of his wife. "Besides, she really is my sister, the daughter of my father though not of my mother" (Gen. 20:11–12). Abimelech lavished Abraham with a number of gifts and an invitation to graze his flock in Gerar in recognition of his person and his intercession for him (20:11–17). Later, some 25 mi. from Gerar, a dispute broke out when Abimelechs servants seized a well being used by Abraham. This incident led to a covenant between Abraham and Abimelech at a place that came to be known as BEERSHEBA, "the well of seven *(or* of swearing)" (21:21–34).

It was somewhere in the dry Negev region near Beersheba that the servants of Abimelech king of Gerar seized a well being used by Abraham. (View to the SW.)

(2) A very similar incident occurred almost a century later between Isaac and another Abimelech of Gerar, "king of the Philistines" (Gen. 26:1–11). Isaac claimed that REBEKAH was his sister, and when Abimelech attempted to move in, God intervened. A series of incidents involving wells followed, and a covenant concluded the hostilities (26:11–32). The reappearance of the name PHICOL (26:26; cf 21:22), the chief captain of Abimelechs army, may be the recurrence of family names in which the sons were named after their grandfathers, every other generation bearing the same name (cf. the examples of patronymy in Egyptian and Phoenician literature). It is often claimed, without sufficient evidence, that this incident is a literary doublet of the previous one.

(3) The title of Ps. 34 mentions an Abimelech in the time of David. In 1 Sam. 21:10, this man is identified as ACHISH, the king of (Philistine) GATH. Most commentators regard Abimelech in this psalm as a copyist error for Achish or a confusion with AHIMELECH, mentioned earlier in the Samuel narrative (1 Sam. 21:1). These solutions miss the point that an Abimelech may be simply a "king of the Philistines" (Gen. 26:1).

(4) The son of GIDEON (also known as Jerub-Baal) by a Shechemite concubine (Jdg. 8:31) in a matrilineal marriage (one in which the wife lives in the parental home and the children belong to the clan). After Gideon's death, Abimelech approached the "lords" of his clan of SHECHEM (9:1–2, NIV "citizens of Shechem," further designated in v. 28 as "the men of Hamor"; cf. Gen. 34:2) and proposed that he be proclaimed king. They agreed and promptly paid him seventy pieces of silver from the treasuries of their god BAAL-BERITH (Jdg. 9:4; cf. 8:33). With this start, he hired a handful of assassins who quickly helped him slay all of his seventy brothers except for the youngest, JOTHAM, who escaped.

His kingdom was limited to Shechem, BETH MILLO (apparently the tower of Shechem), ARUMAH, and THEBEZ (Jdg. 9:6, 41, 50). This is the first Israelite man in the Bible to form his name with the divine designation *melek H4889,* "king," which may not have been his original name (cf. M. Buber, *Kingship of God,* 3d ed. [1967], 61–61, 71–76). According to Jdg. 8:31, Gideon's concubine "bore him a son, whom he named *[lit.,* appointed his name] Abimelech." The expression "to appoint a name" is not used of the giving of a name at birth, but of "giving a new name," as in the case of Abraham (Neh. 9:7) or Jacob (2 Ki. 17:34). Possibly it can be translated reflexively, "he appointed for himself" the new name: this usurper and son of a concubine was therefore boasting that his father

before him was really a king. The men of Shechem, says the writer sarcastically and pleonastically, "kinged Abimelech *[i.e.,* father-king] as king" (Jdg. 9:6).

Jotham, the sole survivor of the bloody massacre of Abimelech and his henchmen, stationed himself on Mount GERIZIM and cried out his famous fable, which placed a deliberate slur upon Abimelech as a worthless bramble incapable of offering the men of Shechem security or profit; to the contrary, it grimly predicted their mutual destruction (Jdg. 9:1–21).

After three years of reign, God brought judgment on Abimelech and the men of Shechem in the person of GAAL son of Ebed (Jdg. 9:21–26). Gaal was another slick talker and thus the dissension was sown in Shechem (9:21–29). An armed rebellion ensued, and Abimelech was just on the verge of crushing it when an unknown woman dropped a millstone on his skull from the besieged tower at Thebez (9:51–53). Upset by the fact that it was a woman who finally put an end to his proud career, he begged his armor-bearer to spare him this disgrace, which he did by thrusting him through with Abimelech's own sword (9:54).

(5) A priest in the days of David (1 Chr. 18:16). This however is a scribal error for A HIMELECH, the son of ABIATHAR (2 Sam. 8:17; 1 Chr. 24:6; also 1 Chr. 18:16 according to some Heb. MSS and the LXX).

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Abinadab uh-bin'uh-dab (אֲבִינָדָב *H44,* "[my] father is *[or* has shown himself] generous *[or* noble]"). (1) The second son of JESSE (1 Sam. 16:8; 1 Chr. 2:13). When GOLIATH challenged the Israelites in the Valley of ELAH and was killed by DAVID (1 Sam. 17), Abinadab and two of his brothers were in SAUL'S army (v. 13).

(2) One of the sons of Saul who died with his father and his two brothers on Mount GILBOA in battle with the PHILISTINES (1 Sam. 31:2; 1 Chr. 8:33; 9:39; 10:2).

(3) A man of KIRIATH JEARIM at whose place on a hill the ARK OF THE COVENANT remained after it was returned from the Philistines in the days of SAMUEL (1 Sam. 7:1). His son ELEAZAR was chosen by the city fathers to have charge of the ark (ibid.). His other sons UZZAH and AHIO were among those who assisted David in his first attempt to bring the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6:1–4; 1 Chr. 13:7), but Uzzah put his hand on the ark to steady it when the oxen stumbled, and immediately died for his breach of the instructions regarding the ark (2 Sam. 6:1–7).

(4) The father of one of SOLOMON'S sons-inlaw (1 Ki. 4:11 KJV). However, the Hebrew *ben-ʾăbinādāb* ("son of Abinadab") should probably be translated as the personal name BEN-ABINADAB (as in NIV).

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Abinoam uh-bin'oh-uhm (אֲבִינֹעַם *H45,* "father of pleasantness" or "my father is pleasantness"). The father of BARAK, mentioned in the narrative of Barak's victory over the Canaanites under JABIN and SISERA and in the song of DEBORAH (Jdg. 4:6, 12; 5:1, 12).

Abiram uh-bi'ruhm (אֲבִירָם *H53,* "[my] father is exalted"; the LXX has the alternate form Αβιρων, "Abiron," in Sir. 45:18). (1) One of three men of the tribe of REUBEN who, with KORAH the Levite, led 250 leaders of the Israelites in rebellion against MOSES, declaring that Moses and AARON had exalted themselves "above the assembly of the Lord" (Num. 16:1–3). Abiram and his household, along with Korah's and DATHAN'S, were swallowed up alive into the earth as a punishment of God

(16:21–33).

(2) Son of HIEL of BETHEL. When Hiel rebuilt JERICHO during the reign of AHAB, "He laid its foundations at the cost of his firstborn son Abiram, and he set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, in accordance with the word of the LORD spoken by Joshua son of Nun" (1 Ki. 16:34; cf. Josh. 6:26). Some scholars argue that this act reflects a custom known as "foundation sacrifices"; others believe that the sons died of natural causes. See also SEGUB.

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Abiron uh-bz'ruhn. KJV Apoc. form of ABIRAM (Sir. 45:18).

Abisei ab'uh-see'z'. KJV Apoc. form of ABISHUA (2 Esd. 1:2).

Abishag ab'uh-shag (אֲבִישַׁג *H54,* possibly "[my] father is a wanderer"). A beautiful young woman of the town of SHUNEM in ISSACHAR given to DAVID in his old age to keep him warm (1 Ki. 1:3). Some scholars suggest that this act was intended as a test of the king's virility, but it is more likely that Abishag's primary task was to nurse David back to health (there is some evidence for such a medical practice; cf. J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Kings,* ICC [1951], 71–72). Abishag also plays an indirect political role in the narrative. She was present when BATHSHEBA reminded David of his oath to make SOLOMON his successor (v. 15). After David's death, Solomon executed ADONIJAH because he asked to marry Abishag. Evidently Abishag was considered a wife or concubine of David, and Adonijah's request involved pretensions to the throne (1 Ki. 2:11–25).

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Abishai uh-bi' shi' (אֲבִישַׁי *H57,* meaning uncertain; also אַבְשַׁי *H93* in 1 Chronicles). The oldest son of ZERUIAH (a sister of DAVID), and the brother of JOAB and ASAHEL (1 Chr. 2:16). Abishai was with David in the wilderness of Ziph when pursued by SAUL. Abishai volunteered to go with David into the center of Saul's sleeping army. Standing by the somnolent Saul, he offered to kill him with one thrust of his sword, but David restrained him (1 Sam. 26:1–9). Some time later, after the death of Saul, Abishai assisted Joab in murdering ABNER in revenge for the killing of Asahel. David declared himself and his kingdom guiltless of the murderous act of Joab and Abishai (2 Sam. 2:18, 24; 3:30).

During ABSALOM'S rebellion, Abishai remained loyal to David. When David left Jerusalem surrounded by his mighty men, SHIMEI of the family of Saul cursed David and threw stones at him from a nearby hillside. Aroused to anger, Abishai said: "Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king? Let me go over and cut off his head" (2 Sam. 16:9). Here, again, David restrained Abishai's impetuous, bloodthirsty spirit (v. 11). Abishai was set over one-third of David's army to resist the attack of the Israelite army of Absalom under AMASA at Gilead (18:2). With Joab and ITTAI, Abishai was ordered by David to "Deal gently for my sake with the young man Absalom" (v. 5). In battle with the Ammonites, who were assisted by the Arameans, Abishai and Joab attacked these two groups respectively. Joab and Abishai were successful in their battles (10:1–14). Abishai also commanded an army that conquered the Edomites, killing 18,000 of them and placing garrisons in the country of Edom (1 Chr. 18:11–13).

As David returned to Jerusalem after the death of Absalom, though Shimei welcomed David and confessed his sin, Abishai said: "Shouldn't Shimei be put to death for this? He cursed the LORD'S

anointed" (2 Sam. 19:21). Once more David rebuked and restrained Abishai. In the struggle to regain control of the nation after Absalom's rebellion, Joab killed Amasa, and Joab and Abishai pursued SHEBA the son of Bicri, a Benjamite, who instigated rebellion against David. The pursuit ended in the dispersal of Sheba's army and his death (20:1–22). Some time later, in a battle with the Philistines, David became exhausted and was pressed by a giant named Ishbi-Benob; but Abishai came to his rescue and killed the giant (21:11–17).

The exact status of Abishai among David's great men is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. The KJV, following most Hebrew MSS, states that Abi-shai "was chief among three" (2 Sam. 23:18). But David's three mighty men, Adino, Eleazar, and Shammah (vv. 1–11), did not allow the inclusion of Abishai. Consequently KJV adds the word "first" (without textual support) to the last statement of v. 19: "howbeit he attained not unto the first three." This translation presumes that there were two groups of three mighty men and that Abi-shai was the most renowned of the second group. The NRSV, following two Hebrew MSS and some Syriac and Targumic evidence, translates v. 18, "was chief of the Thirty"; and v. 19, "He was the most renowned of the Thirty, and became their commander; but he did not attain to the Three." The NRSV seems more plausible, but the textual evidence is not strong. The NIV takes the text to mean that Abishai became commander of the Three, "even though he was not included among them."

Abishai probably died before the struggle between Adonijah and Solomon, since he is not mentioned on either side of that conflict.

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Abishalom uh-bish'uh-luhm. Alternate form of ABSALOM.

Abishua uh-bish'oo-uh (אֲבִישׁוּעַ *H55,* "[my] father is salvation [or prosperity]"). (1) Son of PHINEHAS and great-grandson of AARON (1 Chr. 6:4, 50). An ancestor of EZRA the scribe, Abishua is included in the genealogy of LEVI among the descendants of Aaron serving the altar (Ezra 7:5).

(2) Son of BELA and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:4).

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Abishur uh-bi'shuhr (אֲבִישׁוּר *H56,* "[my] father is a wall [of protection]"). Son of Shammai and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and JERAHMEEL; his wife's name was Abihail (1 Chr. 2:21–29).

Abi'sum uh-bi'suhm. KJV Apoc. form of ABISHUA (1 Esd. 8:2).

Abital uh-bi'tuhl (אֲבִיטַל *H40, "[my]* father is dew," or possibly "source of protection"). A wife of DAVID and mother of Shephatiah, the fifth son born to David in Hebron (2 Sam. 3:4; 1 Chr. 3:3).

Abitub uh-bi'tuhb (אֲבִיטוּב *H39,* "[my] father is good"). Son of Shaharaim by his first wife, Hushim; he is included among the descendants of BENJAMIN, but the precise genealogical connection is not stated (1 Chr. 8:11; cf. v. 8).

Abiud uh-bz"uhd (Ἀβιούδ *G10).* A son of ZERUB-BABEL listed in Matthew's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:13); this name does not occur in the OT.

abject. The plural form "abjects" (NIV "attackers") is used by the KJV to describe some low outcasts who gathered together against the psalmist (Ps. 35:15). It renders the unique Hebrew word *nēkim* (possibly from *nākâ H5782,* "to smite"), which is of doubtful meaning and may be corrupt (RSV "cripples"; NRSV, "ruffians").

ablution. An ablution is a ceremonial washing of the body (or some part of it), or of houses, clothes, and household objects for the purpose of ritual cleansing. Such rites were practiced in all lands in ancient times, but were a special feature of Jewish life and ceremony. The Jews recognized three kinds of ceremonial ablution of the body. The first was a washing of the hands, which is not specifically prescribed in the OT, but the Gospels show that it was stressed by the PHARISEES in Christ's time (Matt. 15:1–2; Mk. 7:3). The second was a washing of the hands and feet, prescribed by law only for those about to perform priestly duties (Exod. 30:19; 40:31). A laver was used for this purpose in the tabernacle and the temple. The third was the immersion of the whole body in water; its purpose was to make possible the admission or readmission of those regarded as ceremonially unclean to the sacred community (Lev. 8:6; 14:8; 15:1–10, 11–27; 16:24; Num. 19:19). Houses, clothes, and household objects were also subjected to ritual cleansing (Exod. 19:14; Lev. 14:52; 15:1–8; Mark 7:4). See BATHING; CLEAN.

S. BARABAS

Abner ab'nuhr (אֵבְנֵר *H79,* also אֲבִינֵר *H46,* "[my] father is Ner *[or* a lamp]"). Son of NER and the most important Israelite military commander under both SAUL and DAVID. Abner was a member of the royal family and the first cousin of Saul through his father Ner (1 Sam. 14:51; according to another view, Abner was Saul's uncle; see KISH).

The various military campaigns of Saul (1 Sam. 14:41–48) were successful in extending the kingdom of the twelve tribes to the S into the NEGEV and to the W against the PHILISTINES. The army was led by Abner. It was during the campaign against the Philistines that Abner presented David to Saul (17:51–58). Abner commanded the troops that pursued David and apparently acted as bodyguard to Saul (26:1–16). After Saul and the prince, JONATHAN, were killed by the Philistines near Mount GILBOA, Abner placed Saul's son, ISH-BOSHETH, upon the throne. All the tribes except Judah, the most powerful, recognized Ish-Bosheth in the hill town of Mahanaim (2 Sam. 2:1–12).

Warfare ensued between the remnants of Saul's retinue and the growing house of David. The ritual combat at GIBEON (2 Sam. 2:11–32) ended in the defeat of Abner and his troops. The fact that Ish-Bosheth was merely a figurehead and puppet of Abner was proven when Abner had intercourse with one of the royal concubines, Rizpah. In a rage

It was here at the Great Pool of Gibeon that ritual battle ended in the defeat of Abner and his troops.

at the rebuke of Ish-Bosheth, Abner arranged to yield the kingdom to David and brought an end to the house of Saul (3:1–11.) The fulfillment of Samuel's choice of David was thus brought about by the treason of Abner. The fear and awe in which Abner was held by his contemporaries is evidenced even in Ish-Bosheth himself (3:11; 4:1). In his offices of peacemaker and king maker, Abner set out to address the twelve tribes and arrange David's acceptance. He was praised by David after successfully approaching the last tribe, Benjamin (3:19).

After Abner's departure, the king's commander, JOAB, returned from a raid upon the surrounding country. He persuaded David that Abner had been obtaining intelligence for David's downfall. Joab then pursued Abner and caught up with him at the well of Sirah. He brought him back to Hebron where, under guise of talking to him privately, Joab took him aside and stabbed him to death (2 Sam. 3:21–27). The motive was to revenge Abner's impalement of Joab's younger brother, ASAHEL, after the battle at Gibeon (2:11–23). The treacherous murder of Abner contributed to the fall of the house of Saul, as few, if any, of his former military commanders were now left alive. To a certain extent the effect of this barbarism was to plant a deepseated dissatisfaction in the hearts of a sector of the Israelite population that was to come to the surface and plague David throughout his reign and to split the kingdom under his grandsons.

David grieved for Abner and gave him a princely funeral. The lament in fine parallel poetic verse is given in 2 Sam. 3:31–34. This passage is of great antiquity and features some interesting terms. The short poem or dirge uses "staircase" (or 1:2) parallelism (see HEBREW POETRY). TWO phrases, "Your hands were not bound / your feet were not fettered," are in reverse order and in parallelism to the one phrase, "as one falls before the wicked you have fallen"; and all are introduced by the question, "Should Abner die as a fool dies?" The people of Israel followed David in mourning for the dead commander.

David's extravagant grief was not only in honor of the victim but also indicated that he was not the instigator of the crime. This is made clear by the curse he leveled upon those who had committed the crime (2 Sam. 3:39). The overall effect of Abner's career was favorable for the establishment of the blessing of the COVENANT through the rise of the house of David. Only two other references to Abner and his son are found in the OT: 1 Chr. 26:21–28, which records certain spoils of war dedicated to Yahweh, and 1 Chr. 27:21, which refers to the son of Abner, Jaasiel, as a servant of David.

W. WHITE, JR.

abomination. A common term in the KJV and other English versions, denoting whatever is repugnant to God (and also to human beings) in the realm of religion and morality. In the OT it translates several Hebrew terms. The *noun piggûl H7002* ("a foul thing") is used of sacrificial flesh that was more than three days old and therefore putrid (Lev. 7:18; 19:7; cf. Ezek. 4:14); it is also applied to a certain type of stew associated with heathen practices, possibly made of swine's flesh or including blood (Isa. 65:4). The term *šiqqûṣ H9199* ("a detested thing") is used in a derisory manner of various pagan deities (1 Ki. 11:5, 7; 2 Ki. 23:13) and of heathen practices generally (Isa. 66:3; Jer. 4:1; 7:30; 13:27; et al.). The related term בְּרִיעִי *H9211* is a cultic term designating any kind of creature (or the flesh thereof) that cannot be touched or eaten without incurring ceremonial defilement (Lev. 11:11–23; Isa. 66:17). See also CLEAN; PURITY; UNCLEANNESS.

By far the most commonly used word, especially in Deuteronomy, Proverbs, and Ezekiel, is *tôʿēbâ H9359* ("an abominable thing"). It covers a wide variety of practices and objects that are regarded as loathsome, including anything that violates established custom (Gen. 43:32; 46:34; Deut. 22:5; et al.); of sexual irregularities (Lev. 18:22 et al.); idols (Deut. 7:21–26; 27:15; cf. 2 Ki. 23:13, where *šiqqûṣ* is used of ASHTORETH and CHEMOSH and *tôʿēbâ* of MILCOM [MOLECH]). The most frequent use concerns idolatrous or unworthy practices of various kinds, including child sacrifice (Deut. 12:31; 2 Ki. 16:3); the worship of alien gods (Deut. 13:14; 17:4); the eating of unclean food (14:3); the practices of necromancy and wizardry (18:11–12); the prayer of the disobedient (Prov. 28:9). It is used of sacrifices (15:8) and the burning of incense (Isa. 1:13) offered by the ungodly. It describes such moral abuses as false weights and measures (Deut. 25:11–15; Prov. 11:1); double-dealing and violence (3:21–32); haughtiness, lying, false witness, and troublemaking (6:11–19); evil thoughts (15:26); arrogance (16:5); the misuse of power (16:12); the inversion of justice (17:15); scoffing (24:9); etc. In short, anything that dishonors God or violates his commandments, or is in any way unworthy of those who profess to follow him, is described as an abomination. See also ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

A. E. CUNDALL

abomination of desolation. This expression is used in the KJV and other English translations as a rendering of the Greek phrase *to bdelygma tēs erēmōseōs* (Matt. 24:15; Mk. 13:4), itself a rendering of the Hebrew phrase *šiqqûṣîm měšōmēm,* "abomination(s) making desolate" or "appalling sacrilege" (Dan. 9:27; cf. 11:31; 12:11). The term in Daniel was understood by the Jews as a prediction of the profanation of the temple by ANTIOCHUS IV in 165 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:54). Jesus clearly places the event in the future. Some scholars see its fulfillment in the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple (A.D. 70), together with the subsequent erection of a pagan house of worship at the site by the Romans. Many interpreters feel that Paul's brief "apocalypse" of the final "man of sin" (2 Thess. 2:1–12) is an extension of Daniel's and Jesus' prediction. Paul distinctly relates it to our Lord's second advent. See ANTICHRIST; ESCHATOLOGY.

R. D. CULVER

Abot(h). See PIRKE ʾABOT.

Abrah am, Abram ay'bruh-ham, ay'bruhm (אַבְרָהָם *H90,* etymology uncertain, but interpreted as

"father of a multitude" [Gen. 17:5, perhaps a play on words]; his original name, used from Gen. 11:26 to 17:5, was אַבְרָם *H92,* possibly short form of אֲבִירָם *H53,* "[my] father is exalted" [see ABIRAM]). The primary source of information for Abram/Abraham is the narrative account given in Gen. 11:26—25:18. Significant is the fact that throughout the rest of the OT he is mentioned by name more than forty times. The number of references by NT writers exceeds seventy. Numerous archaeological discoveries in modern times have provided a wealth of material for the understanding of the cultural and historical background of the times in which he lived.

1. The life of Abraham
2. The geographical context
3. Chronology
4. Archaeology
5. Religion of Abraham
6. Significance

I. The life of Abraham. UR of the Chaldees, usually identified as modern Tell el-Muqayyar, located 9 mi. W of Nasiriyah on the EUPHRATES River in S Iraq, was the birthplace of Abram the son of TERAH, a descendant of SHEM. Migrating approximately 600 mi. N and W from Ur, Terah and his family settled in HARAN, located on the Balikh tributary of the Euphrates (Gen. 11:21–32).

At the age of seventy-five Abram, with his wife Sarai (see SARAH), his nephew LOT, and all their possessions, departed in response to God's call for the land of Canaan—another 400 mi. Stopping en route at SHECHEM and BETHEL, Abram settled in the NEGEV or S country, but due to a prevailing famine he continued into Egypt. When Sarai because of her beauty unduly attracted the interest of Pharaoh, divinely sent plagues brought about the release of Abram and Sarai. After this crisis Abram returned to the NEGEV (Gen. 12:1–20).

Moving to the Bethel region, Abram and Lot experienced such an increase in wealth that a separation seemed expedient. Abram magnanimously offered Lot the choice of territory with the result that Lot relocated in the JORDAN valley,

The Egyptian tomb paintings at Beni Hasan, dating approximately to the period of Abraham, depict Semitic travelers to Egypt.

Abraham in the Promised Land.

in the sinful city of SODOM. AS Abram settled in the HEBRON area he received the divine promise of the land of Canaan for himself and his descendants, who would be countless in number (Gen. 13:1–18). When Lot and the kings of the Jordan valley had the misfortune of being taken captive by invaders from the north, Abram and his allies overtook them at DAN (PLACE), routing them beyond DAMASCUS to rescue the captives. Upon his return Abram refused to accept rewards, but gave tithes to MELCHIZEDEK, who was priest of the Most High God and king of SALEM (14:1–24).

Although ELIEZER of Damascus had been designated as his heir, Abram responded with faith when God assured him of a son whose descendants would be as numberless as the stars and would become possessors of the land of Canaan. After a special sacrifice came the further revelation predicting Israel's Egyptian enslavement and divine deliverance. God's COVENANT with Abram provided assurance of ultimate possession of the Promised Land for his posterity (Gen. 15:1–21).

After a ten-year residence in Canaan without visible prospects of having a son, Sarai impatiently suggested that an heir could be procured for Abram through their Egyptian handmaid HAGAR. Pregnant with ISHMAEL, Hagar mocked Sarai's barrenness with the consequence of being ostracized to the wilderness, where an angel of the Lord came to her rescue. Upon her return she bore Ishmael to Abram when he was eighty-six years of age.

Significant was God's revelation to Abram thirteen years later. With the covenant restated, indicating that nations and kings would be heirs to these everlasting promises, God changed Abram's name to Abraham signifying that he was to be the father of a multitude of nations. CIRCUMCISION was

established as the sign of the everlasting covenant. With the divine promise of Isaac's birth, Sarai's name was changed to Sarah. Subsequent to this divine revelation Abraham instituted the rite of circumcision in his household (Gen. 17:1–27).

Living in the MAMRE community, Abraham and Sarah had the prospect of Isaac's birth confirmed through another theophany. When Abraham was made aware of God's imminent judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah, he made intercession for Lot, who subsequently was rescued with his two daughters. From the plains of Mamre, Abraham witnessed the terrible destruction of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot escaped to ZOAR where, through incest, his daughters gave birth to MOAB and AMMON, whose descendants were known as Moabites and Ammonites (Gen. 18:1—19:38). Subsequently Abraham migrated to KADESH and GERAR, where the local King ABI-MELECH was divinely warned not to defile Sarah, but rather ask Abraham as a prophet to intercede for him. With his life spared, Abimelech greatly increased Abraham's wealth (20:1–18).

The promised heir ISAAC was born to Abraham and Sarah when the former was 100 years old. Although contrary to custom (see below), Abraham was divinely encouraged to expel Hagar with her son Ishmael, who exerted an unfavorable influence on Isaac. This he did reluctantly. Miraculously, Hagar and her son were spared as they migrated to the wilderness of PARAN with the assurance that Ishmael would become a great nation. After this Abraham made a treaty with Abimelech to secure rights to BEERSHEBA as his dwelling place (Gen. 21:1–34).

Severe and crucial was the crisis when it was divinely revealed to Abraham that he should sacrifice his only son Isaac. In obedience Abraham carried out the command to the point of actual sacrifice in the land of MORIAH when a substitute ram offering was provided. Subsequently the covenantal promise was again confirmed. When Sarah died, Abraham purchased a field with the cave of MACH-PELAH in the Hebron area as a family burial place (Gen. 22:1—23:20).

When Isaac was forty years old, Abraham sent his servant Eliezer to the city of NAHOR in MESOPOTAMIA to secure REBEKAH, the daughter of LABAN, as a wife for Isaac. Abraham designated Isaac as the sole heir to his possessions and the divinely revealed covenantal promise. Other sons born to Abraham were endowed with gifts and sent eastward by Abraham before his death. When Abraham died at the age of 175, he was buried by his sons Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Mach-pelah (Gen. 24:1—25:18).

II. The geographical context. The movements of Abraham extend from the Persian Gulf through the Fertile Crescent to the river NILE in Egypt, with his primary place of residence being the land of Canaan. It was common during Abrahamic times for merchant caravans, envoys, and others to travel back and forth to Egypt and Mesopotamia. From literature of the early part of the 2nd millennium B.C., it is evident that others sent for brides to distant points, making marriage arrangements as Abraham did for his son Isaac (cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and the Old Testament* [1966], 50).

The geographical places identified with Abraham in the patriarchal records are known from archaeological attestation to have been inhabited at that time. The city of Ur on the lower Euphrates River was a large population center, and has yielded extensive information in the royal tombs that were excavated under the direction of Sir Leonard Wooley and the sponsorship of the British Museum and the museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Although no direct evidence of Abraham's residence is available, it is significant that the city of Ur reflects a long history preceding Abraham's time, possessing an elaborate system of writing, educational facilities, mathematical calculations, business and religious records, and art. This points to the fact that Ur may have been one of the largest and wealthiest cities in the Tigris-Euphrates area when Abraham emigrated northward

to Haran.

The vicinity of HEBRON, about 19 mi. S of Jerusalem, seems to have been a favorite place for Abraham to live. This city, known to the patriarchs as Kiriath Arba, apparently was settled at an early period, according to an American expedition (1964) that discovered a mud brick wall on bedrock dating back to about 3000 B.C. The biblical record frequently refers to this Hebron area as Mamre.

BEERSHEBA, located about 48 mi. SW of Jerusalem at a point approximately midway between the Mediterranean Sea and the southern end of the Dead Sea, marks the northern border of the Negev, meaning "dry." Numerous wells were located here, which made it possible for Abraham and his descendants to settle in this area with their flocks and herds. The road identified in the Scriptures as "the way to Shur" passed through Beersheba from the Judean highlands down toward Egypt.

GERAR (Gen. 21:32, 34) is located in the "land of the Philistines." Although Tell Jamneh, about 8 mi. S of GAZA, was thought to be the site of ancient Gerar by W. J. Phythian-Adams (1922) and W. M. Flinders Petrie (1927), later reconsiderations by Y. Aharoni have pointed to Tell Abu Hureireh (Tel Haror). This site, located about 11 mi. SE of Gaza, seems to offer surface potsherd evidence of habitation since Calcolithic times with a prosperous period in the Middle Bronze age when the patriarchs lived. In the Genesis account the relations between Abraham and Isaac and Abimelech of Gerar reflect their mutual interests in the wells at Beersheba. Although the Philistines may not have had a dominating influence in this area before the 12th cent. B.C., they had trading centers in SW Palestine as early as patriarchal times.

SODOM and GOMORRAH are places of unique interest in the biblical account of Abraham's life. These are identified as CITIES OF THE PLAIN eastward of the Bethel-Hebron axis in Palestine (Gen. 13), where Lot settled after parting with Abraham. According to W. F. Albright, it seems probable that these cities were located in the shallow area of the southern part of the Dead Sea. This apparently was a very fertile plain where extensive settlements were located about 2000 B.C. The ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah likely are submerged in the Dead Sea.

III. Chronology. A correlation of external historical knowledge and the Genesis account points approximately to the 19th cent. B.C. as a reasonable date for Abraham. A sharp decrease in the density population estimate for this period is linked by some scholars with the destructive campaign mentioned in Gen. 14. The names of these kings are typical of the Old Babylonian period (2001–1700 B.C.), although it seems improbable that Amraphel is HAMMURABI, as some have thought. The power alliances in which four kings fight against five is typical of political and military coalitions for this particular period. Later, coalitions usually consisted of larger numbers of kings.

The personal names of Abraham and the other patriarchs are similar to names occurring in the literature from the 19th to the 17th centuries. Seasonal occupation of the Negev is reflected in the Genesis narrative as well as in the archaeological data for about 2101–1800 B.C. This was not the situation for the preceding millennium nor for the eight centuries following this period. Some scholars date Abraham centuries later. This late dating is delineated by H. H. Rowley (*From Joseph to Joshua* [1950]) and C. H. Gordon *(Introduction to Old Testament Times* [1953]), but their assumption that the genealogical references in the scriptural accounts provide a basis for calculating a complete chronology is tenuous.

The chronology for Abraham is directly related to the date for the exodus, which has a variable factor of approximately two centuries—c. 1451–1250 B.C. (see EXODUS, THE). If Abraham lived some 600 years before the exodus, the earliest date for his entrance into Canaan would be about 2085 B.C. or later, at which time he was seventy-five years of age. (For discussion of the dating for the exodus

and the time of the patriarchs, see M. F. Unger, *Archeology and the Old Testament* [1954], chs. 9 and 12.) In view of these tenable considerations in the chronology of this early period, it is reasonable to date Abraham at approximately 2001–1900 B.C.

IV. Archaeology. Archaeological discoveries have shed considerable light upon the Abrahamic account (Gen. 11–25). The laws and customs as practiced in the world and age in which Abraham lived have provided insight into his behavior pattern described in the Bible.

Extensive inheritance laws from the excavations at NUZI on the TIGRIS River offer an explanation for Abraham's anxiety about making provisions for an heir. According to these laws, a man could adopt a servant or slave as his legal heir if he did not have a son. In such an arrangement this adopted son would care for his master, provide proper burial, inherit the property, and continue the family name. Abraham was simply conforming to contemporary customs and practices when he considered Eliezer as his heir (Gen. 15:1–4). Should a son be born after such an arrangement had been made, it normally would have been voided in favor of the new heir. (The relevance of materials from Nuzi and elsewhere has been challenged by some scholars who question the historicity of the patriarchal narratives in Genesis. See, e.g., T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham* [1974], and J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* [1975]. For a response, see esp. A. R. Millard and D. J. Wiseman, eds., *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives,* 2nd ed. [1983].)

Another way of providing an heir was through a slave-wife. When childless Sarah secured Ishmael through Hagar, it was natural for Abraham to consider him to be the legal heir (Gen. 16). Humanly speaking, for the next thirteen years it seemed probable that Ishmael would be the heir to all that Abraham had. Although Abraham had been informed by God that Eliezer was not his heir but that he would have a son, it was not until Ishmael was about thirteen years old that the promise to Abraham was given more specifically. A son was to be born to Abraham and Sarah (ch. 17). At this time the rite of circumcision was instituted as a sign of God's covenant with Abraham and his descendants. Even though circumcision was practiced by many people of antiquity, for Abraham and his offspring it became a mark of identity in this covenant relationship.

The law code of Hammurabi made provisions that a slave-wife or handmaid who bore a child to her owner did not take the place of the childless wife in the family household. The latter, however, had no right to dismiss the slave-wife and her child. When Hagar, having acted in a spirit of contempt, was mistreated by Sarah, she fled toward Shur on the road leading to Egypt. After she was divinely urged to submit herself to Sarah, she returned to Abraham's home, where Ishmael was born (Gen. 16). Apparently Abraham had no legal right according to contemporary customs to expel Hagar and her son, and did so only after he was divinely commanded to do so (21:11–21). With it came the divine assurance that out of Ishmael God would make a great nation.

The HITTITE law code seems to shed some light on the real estate purchase by Abraham when he secured a burial plot from Ephron (Gen. 23). Although this law code, discovered at the ancient Hittite capital of Boğazköy in ASIA MINOR, dates back to about the 14th cent. B.C., it is generally recognized that it embodies the practices of the Hittites as far back as the 19th cent. B.C. According to these laws, certain feudal obligations were included when an entire piece of land was sold, which was not the case when only part of the land changed ownership. Although Abraham wanted to buy only the cave, the stipulation by EPHRON was that the entire property be sold, and he likely transferred the responsibility of certain feudal services to Abraham. Trees on this property also were indicated in this real estate transaction as was usually done in Hittite business documents (23:11–18).

V. Religion of Abraham. Although Abraham came from a family of idol worshipers (Josh. 24:2, 14), he responded to God's command to migrate to the land of Canaan. The fact that God revealed himself to Abraham is repeatedly stated in the Genesis account, but the means by which God made himself known is not always indicated. STEPHEN spoke specifically of God's initial manifestation to Abraham, to which the latter obediently complied in leaving his family and settling in the land of Canaan (Acts 7:2).

Occasionally the manner of revelation is indicated to some extent. For example, God "appeared" to Abraham, communicating to him the promise that the land of Canaan would be given to his descendants (Gen. 12:7). God's presence was evident in the form of a firepot that passed through the sacrificial pieces (15:17). God "appeared" for the purpose of enlarging Abraham's knowledge of the covenant and then "went up from him" (17:1, 22). The most explicit theophany was portrayed when three men—one of whom was God—were entertained by Abraham (ch. 18). In the course of these appearances Abraham and God spoke face to face. Subsequently God was often identified as the God who appeared to Abraham. Divine messages also were revealed through the "angel of the Lord." Hagar equated this messenger with God (16:1–14). Abraham likewise acknowledged the "angel of the Lord" as revealing God's command to him (22:1–19). See ANGEL.

Abraham's response to the divine revelation resulted in an intimate relationship between him and God. Initially he expressed his faith and confidence in God by obedience in migrating to Canaan at the cost of separation from his family. Through the altars he erected at various places of residence, he gave public witness to the fact that he was committed to the worship of God in the midst of an idolatrous environment. Progressively his comprehensive knowledge of God was enlarged as God made known to him more details concerning the future plans for Abraham's descendants. Characteristic of Abraham was the fact that "he believed the LORD," and this faith was reckoned to him for righteousness (Gen. 15:6). Through Abraham's faith, obedience, and communion, this divine-human relationship between him and God became so distinctive that he was later known as "God's friend" (Jas. 2:23; cf. also Isa. 41:8; 2 Chr. 20:7).

PRAYER was a vital and normal part of Abraham's relationship with God. This was closely associated with his sacrifice (Gen. 12:8; 13:4), which he offered on the altars he erected in various places throughout Canaan. Through prayer Abraham expressed his practical concerns and questions about God's promises to him (15:4). When Abraham subsequently wished that Ishmael might be accepted as the promised seed, God answered his prayer by another confirmation that the promised son would be born in due time to him and Sarah (17:19).

The sublimity of intercessory prayer is exemplified in Abraham's appeal when God shared with him the solemn fact that divine judgment was about to be rendered upon the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Abraham reasoned on the ground that God as judge of all the earth would do right. Even though the cities were destroyed, God spared the few righteous people who were living there. The efficacy of prayer is also apparent in Abraham's relationship with Abimelech. The latter is divinely assured that his life will be preserved through the intercessory prayer of Abraham (20:7).

Divine guidance through prayer is delineated in the experience of Abraham's servant (Gen. 24). In all likelihood this servant reflects Abraham's attitude of expecting God's guidance in the developing circumstances as a bride was secured for Isaac. In prayer he expressed his dependence upon God and thankfully acknowledged that God had prospered him as the contacts in Mesopotamia unfolded favorably.

Abraham had a perspective of God that was comprehensive and practical. To him God was "the

LORD, God Most High, creator of heaven and earth" (Gen. 14:22), or "the LORD, the God of heaven" (24:7). The omnipotence of this God was a practical reality in Abraham's life as the laws of nature were overruled in the provision of the promised heir (18:11–14). When endangered by Pharaoh in the land of Egypt, Abraham was delivered by God's power.

God's OMNISCIENCE likewise was apparent in the divine assurance of a son to Abraham and Sarah years before Isaac was born. In the course of twenty-five years after Abraham had initially obeyed God by migrating to Canaan, this promise of Isaac's birth was gradually unfolded to Abraham. The sinfulness of Sodom and Gomorrah were likewise known to God (Gen. 18:20). The judgment upon these cities made Abraham conscious anew of the fact that a just and righteous God could not permit such wickedness to continue indefinitely. Although the iniquity of the Amorite was not yet full in Abraham's time (15:16), the time for judgment upon these cities had come. Even for these cities, mercy preceded judgment because righteous Lot lived among these people for some time. His life undoubtedly reflected the righteousness and holiness of God, but his last appeal to some of the residents was not heeded, so that only Lot and his family were rescued before God's judgment was executed.

God's love, provision, purpose, and guidance were constantly evident in Abraham's life. In the sixfold promise given to Abraham when God called

This statuette was found in the Great Death-Pit at Ur and dates approximately 2600 B.C. The motif of a ram reaching up into a thicket is reminiscent of the substitute God provided for Abraham when he attempted to sacrifice his son, Isaac.

him (Gen. 12:1–3), Abraham was made aware of the fact that God's love would abound toward him in blessing so that his descendants would constitute a great nation and ultimately bring blessing to all nations of the earth. Being conscious of God's plan and purpose for him, Abraham magnanimously gave Lot the first choice in land when it was necessary for them to separate (13:8). Likewise he refused to accept a reward from the king of Sodom and gave testimony to the fact that his God is "the possessor of heaven and earth" (14:22 KJV). Furthermore Abraham gave the tithe to Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God (14:11–20).

Abraham was a God-fearing person (Gen. 22:12). His love, reverence, and respect for God were evident in his attitude of faith, obedience, and wholehearted commitment to God, even to the point of sacrificing his only son. Abraham's standard of living in morals and ethics was to reflect the fact that he was serving an almighty God (17:1). It was this God that gave witness concerning Abraham, "I have chosen him, so that he will direct his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD, by doing what is right and just, so that the LORD will bring about for Abraham what he has promised him" (18:19).

VI. Significance. Abraham has occupied a significant and unique place throughout the world for nearly four millennia. For the Jews he is the father of the nation of Israel. In the Islamic world he is regarded in the long calendar of accepted prophets as second only to Muhammad himself. The Koran contains 188 references to Abraham. In the Christian world Abraham is recognized as one of the greatest men of faith of all times.

Israelites were frequently identified as the seed of Abraham. Throughout OT times the truth that Abraham was the father from whom the chosen people descended is significantly emphasized (Isa. 51:2; Ezek. 33:24). Much was made of the fact that God chose Abraham (Neh. 9:7), redeemed him (Isa. 29:22), and peculiarly blessed him (Mic. 7:20).

The divine revelation God made to Abraham is of fundamental importance in Israel's history. It was the God of Abraham who identified himself to Moses and the Israelites in Egyptian bondage (Exod. 2:24—6:8). Subsequently, after Israel was redeemed out of Egypt, Moses appealed for mercy on the basis of God's covenant with Abraham (32:13). Throughout Deuteronomy, Moses reminds the Israelites that God loved their fathers and made a covenant with them. Moses appeals to them to obey so that God can fulfill toward them the covenant established with Abraham (Deut. 1:8; 6:10; 9:5, 21–28; 29:13; 30:20). Canaan, the land the Israelites are about to possess, is identified as the land God promised to Abraham (34:4).

David appealed to the God of Abraham in his prayer for Solomon (1 Chr. 29:18). So did Jehoshaphat with the consciousness that his people were the seed of Abraham, the friend of God (2 Chr. 20:7). Elijah, in challenging idolatrous Baalism, identified Israel's God as the God of Abraham (1 Ki. 18:36). In the days of Jehoahaz, God was gracious and compassionate toward Israel, sparing them from capitulation to the Aramean King Hazael because of his covenant with Abraham (2 Ki. 13:23).

Psalmists (Pss. 47:9; 105:6, 9, 42), Isaiah (Isa. 29:22; 41:8; 51:2; 63:16), Jeremiah (Jer. 33:26), Ezekiel (Ezek. 33:24), and Micah (Mic. 7:20) reflect a consciousness of the importance of Abraham as their father, with whom God had established a covenant and to whom God had manifested his mercy in a particular manner.

In the apocryphal literature and later writings Abraham is also significantly mentioned as a great

prophet and the recipient of the divine revelation through which the covenant was established. Cf. Sir. 44:11–21; *Genesis Rabbah* (passim); *m.)Abot* 5:4; Jos. *Ant.* 1.1–8. Various legends of Abraham's life in Chaldea have been noted in the book of JUDITH and in JOSEPHUS. According to the TALMUD, Abraham was a first-rate astronomer or astrologer and shared his wisdom as he instructed kings of the E and the W.

In the Christian world Abraham is highly esteemed as a great man of faith. Genealogically Jesus is identified as the son of Abraham (Matt. 1:1). Jesus in his teaching and dialogues repeatedly acknowledged the significance of the Jews as being Abraham's seed, but at the same time asserted that he was greater than Abraham. (Cf. Matt. 1:1 –2, 17; 3:9; 8:11; 22:32; Mk. 12:26; Lk. 1:55, 73; 3:8, 21–34; 13:16, 28; 16:21–30; 19:9; 20:37; Jn. 8:31–58.)

In the apostolic preaching much is made of Abraham when appealing to the Jews (Acts 3:13, 25; 7:1–32; 13:26). Paul used Abraham as the outstanding example of a man who was justified by faith (Rom. 4:1–16). In his epistle to the Galatians, Paul asserts that those who are Christ's are indeed the seed of Abraham, who responded with faith to the revelation and promises of God (Gal. 3). The author of Hebrews points to Abraham as the ancestor of the Levitical priesthood (Heb. 7:5), and allots primary consideration to Abraham as a man of faith in his relationship with God and the promises made to him. Since NT times Abraham has been repeatedly a point of reference when faith and obedience in relationship to God have been evaluated. (See further R. W. L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* [1992]; P. R. Williamson, *Abraham, Israel and the Nations: The Patriarchal Promise and Its Covenantal Development in Genesis* [2000]; K. A. Kitchen, On *the Reliability of the Old Testament* [2003], ch. 7; N. Calvert Koyzis, *Paul, Monotheism and the People of God: The Significance of Abraham Traditions for Early Judaism and Christianity [2004]; ABD,* 1:31–41; *NIDOTTE,* 4:351–58; *DOTP,* 1–17.)

S. SCHULTZ

Abraham, Apocalypse of. This important pseudepigraphic work may have originally been written in Hebrew (or Aramaic), but it is extant only in a medieval Old Church Slavonic version, which in turn was probably based on an earlier Greek translation. The work itself seems to be a composite, with the first third (chs. 1–8) being devoted to legends of ABRAHAM'S youth. This section is thought by some to have been written before A.D. 50. The apocalypse proper occupies the remainder of the work. Because it appears to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, most scholars date the work to the last decades of the first century or the beginning of the second. An edition of the text, with English translation, was published by G. H. Box *(The Apocalypse of Abraham* [1919]; for a more recent translation and introduction, see *OTP,* 1:681–705).

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* is somewhat of a midrashic commentary on Gen. 15. An angel, Iaoel (Jahoel, Jaoel), escorted Abraham up to the seventh heaven, where he saw past events such as the fall of Adam and Eve (caused by the sin of sex, and occasioned by the seduction of Azazel), and the Cain and Abel episode. The revelation also included such future events as the destruction of the temple and the coming of the Messiah, accompanied by ten plagues upon the heathen, the gathering of Israel in the Promised Land, and the judgment of the wicked.

The book is a mixture of dualism and monism. Abraham discussed the problem of evil with God. When Abraham asked why Azazel was tolerated, God said that evil comes from the free will of man. From its ambivalent theology at this point, some have concluded that various sources were used in its compilation. The devil is called Azazel, who is somewhat like BELIAL in TESTAMENTS OF THE

TWELVE PATRIARCHS. He is identified with the serpent of Gen. 3. Some have thought that parts of *Apoc. Ab.* dealing with Satan were circulated among the Gnostics (cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 39.5, and the references to Sammael in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY and in heterodox Judaism of the early Christian centuries). The angel Iaoel claims in *Apoc. Ab.* to possess the powers of the ineffable Name. This quality the rabbis ascribed to Metatron *(b. Sanh.* 38b), so in *Apoc. Ab.* Iaoel is being fused with Metatron. And since Michael's tasks are taken over by Iaoel, in a roundabout way MICHAEL is being transformed into Metatron. See also APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

A. K. HELMBOLD

Abraham, Testament of. An ancient Jewish pseudepigraphic writing that purports to give an account of ABRAHAM'S experiences at the end of his life. Abraham, as a very aged man, is informed by the angel MICHAEL that he must die. But Abraham refuses to give up his spirit. The angel then takes him in a chariot through the reaches of the firmament and, as Abraham observes the wickedness of men on earth, he calls down judgment upon them. Abraham is then given a vision of the broad road and the narrow road leading respectively to perdition and to PARADISE. The weighing of souls in judgment is then viewed, and a soul is spared through the intercession of Abraham. At last, while Abraham is still reluctant to give up his soul, "Death" takes him, and brings him, with great honor, to paradise.

The *Testament,* which is extant in many Greek MSS (though none older than the 13th cent.), survives in two different recensions, one about twice as long as the other. Although some believe that the work was translated from Hebrew, recent scholars have argued that it was originally written in Greek in Egypt. There are some Christian interpolations, but the work as a whole is thoroughly Jewish. In addition to the Greek MSS, the work is extant in Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Romanian, and Slavonic versions.

This work has some affinity with the *Testament of Job* and with the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* and has generally drawn its ideas from Jewish sources. The angel Michael figures largely in the book and occupies the position of supremacy usually assigned to him by Jewish writings of the time. "Death" is portrayed as the OT angel of death but with some foreign traits (possibly Egyptian, Babylonian, or Persian) attached. There are three judgments according to the eschatology of this writing: one by Abel, one by the twelve tribes of Israel, and one by God at the last day. The MESSIAH does not appear at all at any of the judgments, but the whole book still moves well within the spirit of Jewish thought generally. (For a modern English trans. of both recensions, see *OTP,* 1:871–902; full commentary by D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* [2003].)

H. G. ANDERSEN

Abraham's bosom. A figure of speech used by Jesus in the parable of LAZARUS AND DIVES (Lk. 16:22; NIV, "Abraham's side") to designate the state or place of security and significance with which Lazarus was honored upon his death. The figure is drawn from the ancient eastern banqueting custom of reclining upon one's side on couches at the meal. The configuration of the gathered company was such that the head of one would reach the chest of the one next to him. For purposes of conversation and fellowship, the one would lean his head back against the breast of the other. It was especially gratifying to be placed next to a special guest, and even more so, next to the host. To have leaned one's head against the breast of the principal guest, or that of the host, was proof of the existence of a special and intimate relationship with that person (see, e.g., Jn. 13:25; 21:20). Lazarus, therefore, who in his diseased earthly life had had to beg to maintain his existence in contrast to the rich man who had fared sumptuously, is pictured as feasting in the realms of bliss with the father of the race.

Indeed, he is seen to have been given the place of highest honor, being able to recline in the bosom of Abraham.

In the story, Abraham's bosom is seen in strong contrast with HADES. It is seen as the felicitous abode of the righteous poor, while Hades is the place of torment for the wicked rich. The Greek and later Jewish conception of Hades was that of a place that would receive all of the dead, but was divided into two compartments, one a place of blessing and the other a place of torment. This, however, does not seem to be the view taken here. While the two abodes are pictured as being close enough to allow some visual and vocal communication between the two, it is still in Hades itself, rather than in a compartment of it, that the rich man suffers. Further, the facts that there is a great chasm fixed between Abraham's bosom and Hades, and that there is no possibility of crossing the chasm in either direction, would seem to indicate that each is a permanent location or state and not simply a temporary waiting place for judgment. See also BOSOM; HEAVEN; PARADISE.

H. G. ANDERSEN

Abram. See ABRAHAM.

abrech. KJV mg. form of ABREK (Gen. 41:43).

abrek ay'brek (אַבְרֵךְ *H91).* An acclamation of homage of unknown source and meaning, which the populace cried out before JOSEPH when he drove among the people in PHARAOH'S second chariot (Gen. 41:43). Many Hebrew, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Akkadian derivatives have been suggested with such meanings as "Bow the knee!" (KJV, NRSV, as if from Heb. *bārak H1384,* "to kneel"), "Prostrate yourself!," "Bow your head!," "Make way!" (NIV), "Rejoice!," or "Watch out!" E. Mack (in *ISBE,* 1:18) follows Friedrich Delitzsch and M. G. Kyle *(Moses and the Monuments* [1920], 29), who judge the source to be the Assyrian *abarakku,* meaning "grand vizier" or "friend of a king." Some have thought that the word and practice was brought to Egypt by the HYKSOS.

E. S. KALLAND

Abron ay'bruhn (Αβρωνα; some MSS Χεβρων or Χευρων). A river of uncertain location mentioned in Jdt. 2:24 (KJV, "Arbonai"). Some identify it with the HABOR, a tributary of the EUPHRATES (2 Ki. 17:6; 18:11; cf. 1 Chr. 5:26); others point to the town of ABDON (Josh. 21:30; 1 Chr. 6:74). The Greek may be a misunderstanding of the Hebrew phrase ʿ*ēber hannāhār,* "beyond the river," read as a proper name.

E. S. KALLAND

Abronah uh-broh' nuh (עַבְרֹנָה *H6307,* perhaps "crossing, ford"). KJV Ebronah. A camp of the Israelites during their wilderness journey, one stop before EZION GEBER at the Gulf of AQABAH on the border of EDOM (Num. 33:31–35; not mentioned in Deut. 10:1–7). Possible identifications include ʿAin ed-Defiyeh (Heb. ʿEin Avrona, about 9 mi. N of Ezion Geber) and ELATH (on the northern shore of the gulf).

E. S. KALLAND

Absalom, Abishalom ab'suh-luhm, uh-bish'uh-luhm (אַבְשָׁלוֹם *H94* and אֲבִישָׁלוֹם *H58* [only 1 Ki. 15:2, 10], "[my] father is peace"). (1) The third son of DAVID, born at HEBRON to his third wife MAACAH,

the daughter of TALMAI, king of GESHUR (2 Sam. 3:3). The person of Absalom is described in great detail (14:21–27). All Israel praised his beauty, for there was not a blemish in him from "the top of his head to the sole of his foot." So heavy was his hair that the weight of that gathered from his occasional cuttings would run at about five pounds.

His sister TAMAR was a beautiful girl, and this was to be the beginning of misery and grief in many Israelite lives. David's first son by AHINOAM of Jezreel, named AMNON, fell in love with Tamar, and his frustration caused him to become ill (2 Sam. 13:1–2). Since his half sister was evidently kept in close guard, there was no way to gain access to her. Amnon's friend JONADAB, the son of David's brother Shimeah, suggested a crafty way of realizing Amnon's objective: the custom that a sick person could request a special meal his heart desired (vv. 1–6). Soft-touch David granted Amnon's request to have Tamar perform this custom, and Amnon seized the opportunity to force Tamar. She tried to talk sense and offered counterproposals, but the fool would not listen. Having disgraced Tamar, Amnon hated her with a stronger passion than that with which he had just previously loved her. Tamar was promptly dismissed to lead a solitary life as a widow even though she had never been a wife.

Absalom, as Tamar's brother, waited in a rage to see if their father David would act against Amnon, but it was useless. After two years had elapsed, Absalom planned his revenge for the dishonor of his sister at a royal feast on the occasion of the sheep-shearing festivities. Apparently, Absalom owned some estates and pasture land N of Jerusalem (2 Sam. 13:23) in the territory of BENJAMIN. This was similar to such a festival in connection with NABAL and David (1 Sam. 25:1–8), so Absalom planned to celebrate his sheep-shearing by inviting the king and the king's sons. The king had to decline, but he gave his consent to Amnon to attend (2 Sam. 13:21–27). A plan was laid whereby the servants would openly murder Amnon at a given signal from Absalom. No attempt was made at concealment, for the princes were to be forced into being witnesses to a just revenge to give it due legality. Amnon had come to the feast feeling that the invitation was a sign of forgiveness and reconciliation; but he was wrong. In the pandemonium that followed, everyone mounted his mule (sign of nobility) and rode off; Absalom himself decided to hasten across the Jordan to Talmai, king of Geshur, where he stayed for three years in exile (vv. 21–29, 37).

In this incident one sees the character of Absalom: tender, jealous, and fierce in his love for his sister Tamar; crafty, false, and sinister in his success in inducing David to allow Amnon to join the feast; daring, reckless, and foolhardy in his murder of Amnon; and ambitious, covetous, and heady in his designs on the throne of David now that his elder brother had been put to death. Nothing was said of KILEAB, the only other older brother. Should not he be the next legitimate king to reign since he now was the eldest son, and probably the first son to be born to David after he began to reign in Hebron? Did he not also have royal blood in his veins from his mother's side? Perhaps he too had died.

The news was a shock David didn't forget for years, for even after Absalom was restored at the end of three years (2 Sam. 13:38), it took an additional two years before he was admitted to the king's presence (14:28). Actually, even Absalom's return from exile was brought about by the clever engineering of JOAB, David's chief of the military. Joab employed a wise woman from TEKOA (the village from which the prophet AMOS came), and together they devised a story ostensibly to secure the king's help in the woman's personal domestic life, but actually to involve the king psychologically because of the parallelism between his own son Absalom and the woman's. The story involved the case of two sons in which one smote the other and now the woman stood in jeopardy of losing the other son because of the custom of blood revenge. Craftily she repeatedly obtained the oath of the

king that no one would kill the brother, and finally she introduced the Lord God's name in the repeated assurances given to her by David. The king then even swore to her by the name of Yahweh that there would be no new killing (14:11).

Instead of leaving satisfied, the woman pressed for one more objective and boldly substituted the "people of God" for the family and the "banished" son for her fictitious son in her parable. She named David the

Because of the rebellion of his son Absalom, David was forced to flee his palace escaping through the Kidron Valley. (View looking : W from the Kidron to the City of David.)

king as "the guilty one" (2 Sam. 14:13). Sensing that the king was catching on too quickly, the woman tried to do a type of double-talk and make it appear that she was still describing her own case, when in fact David knew better. David, knowing Joab's views on the matter, asked the woman, "Isn't the hand of Joab with you in all this?" Quickly the woman revealed the truth and praised the king's wisdom in extravagant terms (vv. 11–20). The permission was given to Joab to restore Absalom, but Absalom remained unhappy because he had not been brought to a full reconciliation. When Joab refused to do anything more for Absalom, his temper flared and he ordered his servants to set Joab's field of barley on fire. Joab quickly came to see Absalom, and the arrangements to see David were completed (vv. 21–33).

Reinstated, Absalom lost no time in going after his father's throne. With his retinue of horses, chariots, and fifty retainers to run before him he began to capture the imagination of Israel (2 Sam. 15:1). Early each morning he arose to see the people who had come to see the king for adjudication. With innuendo and insinuation, he intimated that if he were king things would straighten out in a hurry (15:1–4) and so he "stole the hearts of the men of Israel" (15:6). While the MT reads that it was after a period of "forty years" that Absalom made his move for the throne by asking the king to allow him to go to Hebron to pay an old vow to the Lord (15:7), most authorities, on the basis of the SEPTUAGINT and the Syriac Peshitta, agree it should read "after four years" from his return from his grandfather's home in Geshur. This excuse revealed the same Absalom who once before had asked David to allow Amnon to attend a feast. He retreated to the old capital of David in Hebron with two hundred men. He then called for AHITHOPHEL, David's wise counselor, to be his strategist (17:23).

When David learned of the planned rebellion, he immediately left Jerusalem. Apparently the opposition of the Saulist party and the defection of the tribes was so serious that the aging king decided to escape to MAHANAIM, E of the Jordan with the Kerethites, Pelethites, Gittites, Zadok the priest, Hushai the counselor, Ahimaaz son of Zadok, and Jonathan son of Abiathar (2 Sam. 15:11–30).

Absalom was proclaimed king in Hebron and he took Jerusalem without any opposition at all. Nevertheless David was able to upset and defeat the wise counsel of Ahithophel by the spy infiltrator HUSHAI (15:32; 17:14). The messengers for David's spy network were the sons of the two priests, AHI-MAAZ and JONATHAN (17:11–24).

Ahithophel counseled Absalom to publicly violate the harem of David left behind in Jerusalem and thus establish his legitimacy to the throne (2 Sam. 16:21–23). Next he counseled the usurper to attack David immediately before he could gather support (17:17), but fortunately for David, Hushai's counsel was heeded instead, and David had the time he needed due to the elaborate story which Hushai improvised and which contained great eulogies built to cater to Absalom's vanity and pride (17:1–13).

When the battle finally took place, David's forces had been neatly divided into three groups under Joab, ABISHAI, and ITTAI (2 Sam. 18:1–2). Absalom was caught by his hair in the branches of an oak tree while his mule rode out from under him, and there a certain man found him (vv. 9 – 14). Joab had promised ten shekels of silver and a wrestling belt to the man who slew Absalom, but the man declined the offer. Joab, refusing the softhearted king's request for mercy, thrust three darts into Absalom and thus the curtain fell on his career. He was buried on the spot, and a heap of stones marked the rebel's grave (vv. 11–17). During his lifetime, Absalom had erected a pillar to his name in the KING'S VALLEY (v. 18; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 7.10.3), since his sons apparently had died in their youth (2 Sam. 14:27). Nothing is known with certainty about this monument. David did not rejoice in the death of his son, but lamented over and over, "O my son Absalom! My son, my son Absalom!" (18:33; 19:4). (See C. Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom! Narrative and Language in 2 Samuel 13—20* [1978].)

(2) Abishalom (a variant of Absalom) in 1 Ki. 15:2, 10 may be the same as (1) above, in which case he also had a daughter or granddaughter named Maacah. Some believe this passage refers to a different person (see ABIJAH).

(3) One of two envoys sent by Judas MACCABEE to the Syrian commander LYSIAS in 164 B.C. (2 Macc. 11:17, *Abessalōm)*. Some scholars associate this individual with "the house of Absalom" mentioned in the *Habakkuk Commentary* from Qumran (1QpHab V, 1–10).

(4) The father of a certain Mattathias, who was one of the commanders in the army of Jonathan Maccabee in 145 B.C. (1 Macc. 11:70). He is probably the same person referred to later (13:11) as the father of an envoy named Jonathan, sent by Simon Maccabee to occupy JOPPA. In both of these passages his name is spelled *Apsalōmos*.

W.C. KAISER, JR.

abstinence. See FASTING; SELF-CONTROL.

Abubus uh-boo'buhs ('Aβοῦβος). The father of Ptolemy, military governor of JERICHO, who murdered his father-in-law, SIMON MACCABEE, and his two sons in that city in 135 B.C. (1 Macc. 16:11–17).

abyss. The Greek term *abyssos G12* (originally an adjective, "bottomless, unfathomable," then a noun, "deep place") is rendered by the KJV with "the deep" (Lk. 8:31; Rom. 10:7) and "bottomless pit" (Rev. 9:1–2, 11; 11:7; 17:8; 20:1, 3).The NIV treats it as a proper name, "Abyss" (except in Romans).

Classical writers used the word to describe things so deep or great as to be without measure, such as pools, fountains, and wealth. It occurs frequently in the SEPTUAGINT, usually translating the

Hebrew noun *tĕhôm H9333* to signify the great ocean depths (e.g., Ps. 33:7; 107:26); in Gen. 1:2 it refers to the primeval sea. In Hellenistic times the concept of the underworld was suitably expressed by the same word. Its application in Lk. 8:31 to the place to which the demons are loath to go is understandable. Some see a connection with the SPIRITS IN PRISON mentioned in 2 Pet. 2:4 and Jude 6, though the word *abyss* is not used there. Care is necessary, of course, lest non-Christian concepts of the underworld govern the interpretation of the NT. Paul uses it to refer to the state or place of Christ in death (Rom. 10:7; this verse is an adaptation of Deut. 30:13, which has the word *yām H3542,* LXX *thalassa G2498,* "sea").

The passages in Revelation describe the Abyss as an abode of evil beings. In Rev. 9:1–12 brutal locusts, whose king is ABADDON ("Destroyer"), proceed from this pit. The Abyss is also mentioned in 17:8 as the place from which the beast who bears the harlot BABYLON arises. It is the location of Satan's confinement for one thousand years (20:1, 3; see MILLENNIUM). The varied uses of the term in Jewish, pagan, and Christian literature have in common the idea of an immense and terrifying place, though the specific applications differ according to context.

W. L. LIEFELD

Abyssinia. Alternate name for the country of ETHIOPIA.

Acacia tree located in the barren region of N Sinai.

acacia. There are several acacias (i.e., different species under common names) mentioned in the Bible, some of which yield gum arabic. In Exod. 3:1–4, the word "bush" *(sĕneh H6174)* is probably the thorny *Acacia nilotica,* that is, Egyptian mimosa, rightly translated "thorn bush" by Moffatt. It is seen around the DEAD SEA. Some think it may be *Acacia arabica;* still others suggest L*oranthus acaciae.* See FLORA (under *Loranthaceae).*

The term *"šiṭṭâ H8847,* usually in the plural *šiṭṭîm,* is *Acacia seyal* or *A. tortilis* (Exod. 25:5, 10, 11–23, 28; also chs. 26; 30; 31–38; Deut. 10:3; Isa. 41:19). KJV usually gives the transliteration "shittim" (in Isa. 41:19, "shittah tree"). These species flourish in barren regions, and *A. tortilis* (sometimes referred to as A. *raddiana)* is common even today. The wood is very hard, browny-orange in color, and was used for cabinet-making; it is still used for furniture. The word *seyal* means "torrent," reflecting the fact that the tree often grows by fast-moving streams. These trees were

probably plentiful in OT times, and were massed in desert valleys which became torrents in the rainy seasons. The wood is said to make the best charcoal.

The reference to "henna blossoms" (*Lawsonia inermis)* in Cant. 1:14 may allude to *Acacia catechu,* for HENNA paste is made by mixing the henna leaves when dried, and powdered with an extract of the wood of this particular tree. Probably the acacia was not native to N Palestine, as it is not mentioned at all in the later biblical books. (See *FFB,* 81–88.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Acatan ak'uh-tan. KJV Apoc. form of HAKKATAN (1 Esd. 8:38).

Acbor ak'bor (עַכְבּוֹר *H6570,* "mouse"). TNIV Akbor. (1) Father of BAAL-HANAN, an Edomite king (Gen. 36:31–39; 1 Chr. 1:49).

(2) Son of Micaiah and father of ELNATHAN; King JOSIAH commanded him to go with some others to consult HULDAH the prophetess concerning the newly discovered book of the law (2 Ki. 22:12, 14; Jer. 26:22; called Abdon son of Micah in 2 Chr. 34:20).

S. BARABAS

Accad. See AKKAD.

Accaron ak'uh-ruhn. KJV Apoc. form of EKRON (1 Macc. 10:89).

accent. This term is used once by the NIV and other versions to render Greek *lalia G3282,* "talking, speech" (Matt. 26:73). The Greek word likely refers to the dialectical peculiarity of one like PETER, who spoke Jewish ARAMAIC in a way characteristic of GALILEE. "Accent" may be too restricted a rendering, for *lalia* probably included the peculiar use of words and idioms as well as mere accent or intonation.

G. L. ARCHER

accents (Masoretic). See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT) VII.

acceptance. A term meaning that a person or act is received with approval or welcomed by another. The idea is rendered by a variety of words or expressions in the OT and NT. In the Bible the most vital need of the person is to be acceptable to God. Sin separates. Acceptance is a condition of restoration to God. It is clear that God determines who is acceptable to him, and he it is who provides the means of RECONCILIATION of the estranged. God instituted reconciling sacrifices, but sacrifices in themselves are of no use if the worshipers are profane in their manner of life (Isa. 1:11—16). It was the penitent TAX COLLECTOR and not the self-justifying PHARISEE whom God accepted at prayer (Lk. 18:14).

The NT gives the final word on the solution. God provided access to himself through Jesus Christ by his cross (Eph. 2:18; 3:12). Acceptance is, in more personal terms, the equivalent of the idea of JUSTIFICATION, which comes through accepting God's gift by faith (Rom. 5:1–2). We are accepted by accepting God's gift. Since this is so, the believer can offer himself acceptably to God (Rom. 12:1). As a priest, his particular sacrifices are acceptable through Christ (1 Pet. 2:5), such as his gifts, his praise, his well-doing, and his sharing (Phil 4:18; Heb. 13:11–16). All the godly of

whatever race and station are through Christ acceptable to God, as CORNELIUS was (Acts 10:35). And because God has received believers, they are to forgive and accept each other in the fellowship of love (Eph. 4:32; 5:2), even though they differ on details of Christian conscientious behavior (Rom. 14:1, 3; 15:7 NEB).

N. B. BAKER

access. A word used to translate Greek *prosgōgē G4643,* which appears three times in the NT (Rom. 5:2; Eph. 2:18; in Eph. 3:12 NIV uses the term "approach"). Commentators are not agreed as to whether the word should be taken in the transitive sense, meaning "introduction," or in the intransitive sense, meaning "access, personal approach." In the NT it is always used of the work of Christ. He introduces a person into the royal presence of God. The redemptive blessings that belong to the believer are made possible through Christ by faith.

S. BARABAS

Aerial view of the Crusader city of Acco (looking NE).

Accho. KJV form of Acco.

Acco ak'oh (עַכּוֹ *H6573; II G4767).* KJV Accho; TNIV Akko. A Canaanite-Phoenician coastal city in the territory of ASHER, known as Ptolemais in NT times; identified as modern Acre.

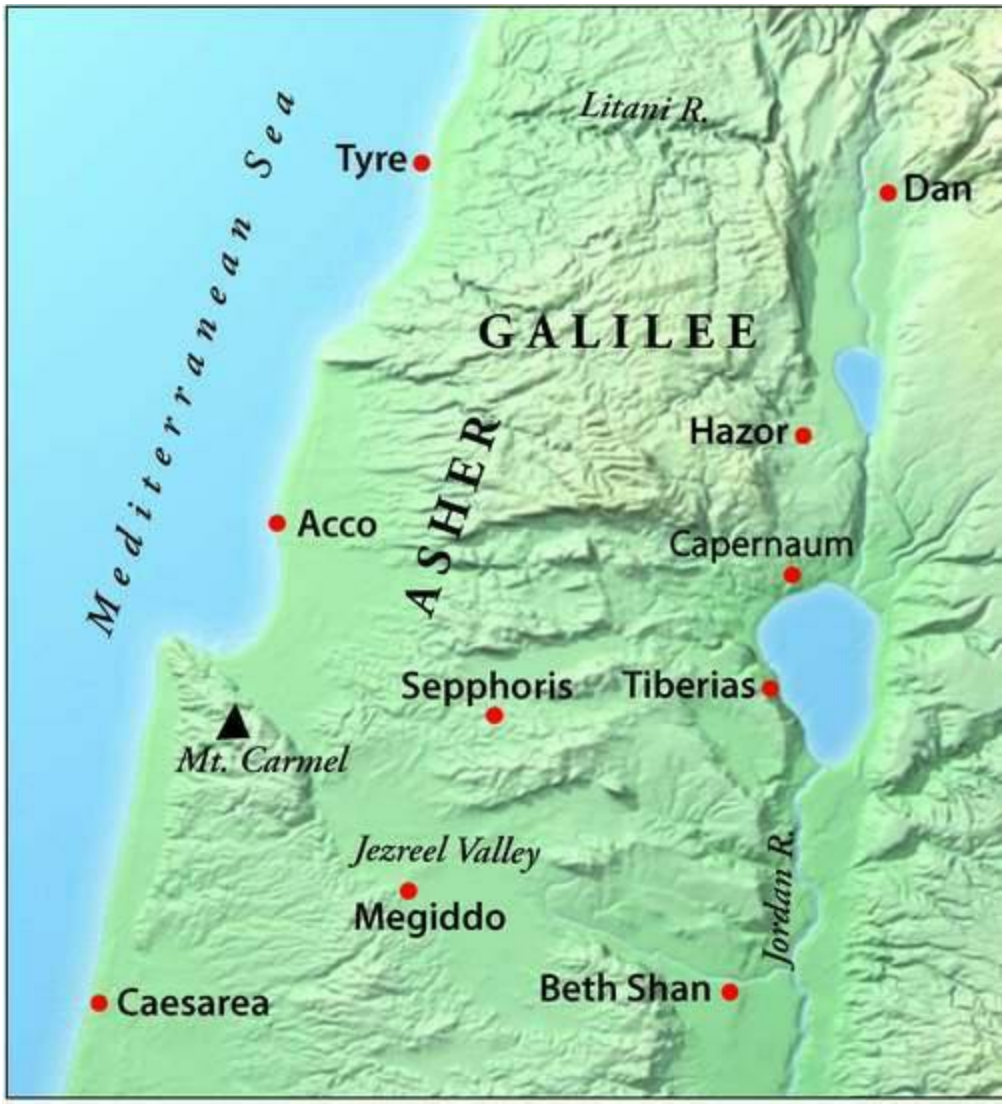
I. Location. In OT times the city was located at Tell el-Fukhkhar, one of the most impressive mounds in PALESTINE. The site stands at a natural dividing line between the southern and northern halves of the coastal plain, between the Carmel headland (see CARMEL, MOUNT) and the LADDER OF TYRE (Ras en-Naqurah). To the S there is a sandy beach that extends for quite a distance inland; in classical tradition, this was the source of an excellent type of sand used in the manufacture of glass (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.25; Jos. *War* 2.10.2 §§181–91; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.75; 36.191; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.7). The N shore line is rocky and rugged down to the water's edge. The northern cove of the Haifa bay has served as Acco's seaport, probably from time immemorial. There was probably a small town on the shore even in the Israelite period, but during the Hellenistic age the town spread from its tell to the site of the present town (Ptolemy, *Hist.* 5.15.5).

II. History

A. Bronze Age. Acco was an important Canaanite city state in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Its first recorded appearance is in the Egyptian EXECRATION TEXTS of the 19th cent. B.C. (where it is written *(ky);* its prince was Turi-(Ammu (G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* [1940], No. E 49; *cf. ANET,* 329 n. 8). In mid-15th cent. B.C. it was conquered by THUTMOSE III, apparently during his first campaign (No. 47 on his list, (k)). During the next century Acco continued to play a major role in the affairs of Canaan, since it is mentioned repeatedly in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters. The names of its two known rulers are evidently non-Semitic, perhaps Indo-Aryan. During the 13th cent. B.C. Acco was again of key importance to the pharaohs of the 19th dynasty. Seti I was there on his first campaign to Canaan. One of RAMSES II's wall reliefs depicts the conquest of Acco. A school text (Papyrus Anastasi I) records Acco as one of the principal towns on the coastal route.

B. Iron Age. The only sure mention of Acco in the OT (unless the suggested reading of "Acco" in some Gk. MSS of Josh. 19:30 be accepted) is the comment that Asher did not "drive out those living in Acco" (Jdg. 1:31). The city, therefore, became an integral part of the Israelite monarchy only under DAVID; sometime in SOLOMON'S reign its region (called after CABUL) was transferred to Tyrian control (1 Ki. 9:11–13; 2 Chr. 8:1–2). Thus it remained Phoenician territory throughout the rest of the OT period (see PHOENICIA; TYRE). When SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria, made his punitive expedition to Palestine (701 B.C.), his forces took Acco *(ak-ku-ú)* along with the other fortified towns belonging to the king of SIDON at that time *(ANET,* 287). ASHURBANIPAL, on the return march from his campaign against the Arabs (c. 660 B.C.), found it necessary to punish severely the towns of Ushu and Acco *(ANET,* 300).

C. Hellenistic and Roman periods. Acco, renamed Ptolemais, always remained a Phoenician-Hellenistic city. It figured largely in the Maccabean wars, but was never joined to a Jewish kingdom under the HASMONEANS or the HERODS. Under Emperor CLAUDIUS (A.D. 51–54) Ptolemais was raised to the status of a *colonia* (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.17), and the veterans of various legions settled there. The pagan deities worshiped during the Hellenistic and Roman periods were known under nearly a dozen Greek names, but recent evidence suggests that most of these were epithets for the two main Syrian deities, HADAD and ATARGATIS. Because of its pagan influences, the Jewish rabbis disputed as to whether Ptolemais should be included in the "Holy Land." That is, they did not feel that the commandments incumbent upon a person dwelling in "Israel" were in effect for a resident of Acco.



Acco.

Sometime during this period a small Christian community had developed at Ptolemais, because at the end of PAUL'S third missionary journey (A.D. 57), the apostle and his traveling companions stopped there for one day en route from Tyre to CAESAREA (Acts 21:7). The local fellowship had doubtless sprung up among the Jews living in Ptolemais (cf. 11:19, which marked the beginning of the movement in that area), but the Hellenic nature of the city itself was also a probable factor in the reception of Christianity. By this time the Roman coastal highway from Tyre to Ptolemais was probably completed. (See further G. T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander of Sidon and Ake* [1916]; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [1937], 241–42, 251, 257, 281; N. Makhouly and C. N. Johns, *Guide to Acre,* 2nd ed. [1946]; Govt. of Israel, Dept. for Landscaping and the Preservation of Historic Sites, *Acre: The Old City, Survey and Planning* [1962]; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* [1966], 14, 21–29, 39; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], passim; *NEAEHL,* 1:11–31.)

A. F. RAINEY

accommodation. A term used in biblical INTERPRETATION to indicate (1) some meaning other than the literal one, or (2) the recognition of God's need to reveal himself in terms of human understanding. In the interpretation of Scripture the literal meaning is to be followed unless there is some indication that a figurative sense was intended by the author. There are situations, however, in which the

interpreter is entitled to go beyond the specific meaning of a passage. This is called "accommodation." When the passage under consideration makes a particular application of a general principle, the interpreter is legitimately entitled to apply that principle in areas different from the specific consideration of the author. To act in this fashion is not to reject the author's original meaning but simply to offer a broader context to the same principle enunciated by the author.

Another example of accommodation would be the literary device known as "double entendre," in which the author writes in such a way as to open the possibility of two interpretations. Generally one meaning only is to be ascribed to a passage, but the double meaning is intended in some cryptic passages. The writings of JOHN THE APOSTLE in the NT are especially characterized by this device.

ALLEGORY is also a literary device in which the interpreter accommodates the interpretation to the fact that the original plain meaning was not the intended meaning of the author. PAUL'S reference to the law and Sinai is often offered as an example (Gal. 4:21–31). The use of allegory has been much abused and care must be exercised not to treat poetical and metaphorical passages as if they were allegorical.

In interpretation it is necessary to acknowledge the anthropomorphic nature of Scripture (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). God had to accommodate the divine REVELATION to the human mind. The Bible speaks of the corners of the earth. This does not discredit revelation. It simply acknowledges that many ancients thought of the earth as flat and having corners. When God spoke, he used the thought forms of the day and not the scientific terminology of a later age. Heaven is described in terms of human values: gold, silver, jewels. Hell is described in terms of fire and brimstone. God himself is spoken of as having a face, eyes, ears, mouth, hands, feet, etc. In no way does this accommodation affect the truth or the religious value of the passage. That which is declared is real, but intelligible to human beings only through their language and in their thought forms.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

accomplish. See FULFILL.

accord. See UNITY.

Accos ak'oz (Ακκως). Grandfather or ancestor of EUPOLEMUS, a Jewish ambassador in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. 8:17; see MACCABEE).

Accoz ak'oz. KJV Apoc. form of HAKKOZ (1 Esd. 5:38).

accursed. The characteristic OT term for this concept is Hebrew ḥ*ērem H3051,* which signifies a person or thing devoted to Yahweh and therefore not to be used or even touched by human beings. Usually it was to be devoted to destruction, as in the case of JERICHO and all its inhabitants and livestock (Josh. 6:17), which as the most degenerate of the Canaanite cities was to be completely destroyed (except for its vessels of silver, gold, brass, and iron, which were to be dedicated to God in the sanctuary). Anyone touching such a thing incurred the curse of God, and like ACHAN, had to be destroyed; the taint of his sacrilege put all Israel under this curse (7:12) so that they were routed by the defenders of AI. The cognate verb *(ḥāram H3049,* hiphil) means "render accursed" or "utterly destroy" (e.g., Num. 21:1–3, with reference to the cities of ARAD); JOSHUA warned Israel not to take any spoil from Jericho, "lest you make yourselves accursed" (Josh. 6:18; NIV, "so that you will not

bring about your own destruction").

In Deut. 21:23 a criminal hung on a tree is said to be "accursed of God" (NIV, "under God's curse"), but here the term used is the noun *qĕlālâ H7839* (from the verb *qālal H7837* piel, "to regard as light, worthless, vile," and hence "to curse"). Similarly in Isa. 65:20 (speaking of longevity in the kingdom age): "he who fails to reach a hundred will be considered accursed."

The SEPTUAGINT renders *ḥērem* by *anathema G353,* which originally meant "something set up" (as a votive offering), but here was used of "something devoted to God for judgment and destruction," such as the teacher of a false gospel (Gal. 1:8; NIV, "eternally condemned"), or as PAUL wished himself to be if it could bring the Jewish race to a saving knowledge of Christ (Rom. 9:3). A term familiar in classical Greek was *kataratos,* "bound under a curse," a compound of which, *epikataratos G2129,* is used by Paul in Gal. 3:10, 13. A different term with similar meaning is *eparatos G2063* (Jn. 7:49). See also ANATHEMA; BAN; CURSE; EXCOMMUNICATION.

G. L. ARCHER

Accuser. See SATAN.

Aceldama uh-kel'duh-muh. KJV form of AKEL-DAMA (Acts 1:19).

Achaea. See ACHAIA.

Achaemenids uh-kee'muh-nuhd. Dynastic name (from a 7th-cent. king named Achaemenes) applied to the rulers of the Persian Empire. See PERSIA III .C.

Achaia uh-kay'uh *('Αχαία G938).* Also Achaea. A Roman province that included all the Peloponnesus (the peninsula S of the Gulf of CORINTH), much of central GREECE, and the Cyclades islands. The name is derived from *Achaioi,* a common designation in Homer for the Greeks who besieged Troy in the 12th cent. B.C. It is generally applied to the followers of Agamemnon, who came from the fertile plains of Argos and the surrounding areas, and to the men of Achilles who came from Pithian Thessaly in the NE. It is also the name for the Greeks used in Hittite and Egyptian texts of the period 1401–1200 B.C. That they were Greek-speaking people is borne out by the decipherment of Linear B tablets from Late Bronze Age (Mycenaean) settlements at Mycenae, Pylos, and Thebes (see GREEK LANGUAGE). HERODOTUS (*Hist.* 7.94) was no doubt wrong when he stated that they supplanted the Ionians in the Peloponnesus after they moved from their original home in Thessaly. They were instead Greek-speaking intruders who replaced the original inhabitants of both regions, probably at the end of the Middle Bronze Age.

In historical times the name was applied to the N central part of the Peloponnesus. It extended from Elis to Sicyon and comprised the narrow, fertile plain and foothills between the Gulf of Corinth and the mountains behind. The twelve small towns located in this region formed a federal league that met first at Helice and later at Aegium. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. the league became the chief power of Greece. The league was remarkable as one of the most perfect examples of federal government. Every city had equal rights and managed its own internal affairs. In foreign affairs the


MACEDONIA
Philippi
Thessalonica
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Pergamum
Smyrna
ASIA
ACHAIA
Athens
Corinth
Ephesus
Peloponnesus
CRETE
Mediterranean Sea

Achaia.

federal government was supreme. It consisted of all citizens of all the towns and met twice a year to consider matters of common interest. The Achaian constitution was used as a model by the framers of the American Constitution.

After the conquest of Greece by the Romans in the middle of the 2nd cent., the league went into a sharp decline. The region was administered by the Roman governor of MACEDONIA until 27 B.C., when the emperor AUGUSTUS divided Greece into two parts, Macedonia and Achaia. The latter became a senatorial province. CORINTH, which had been rebuilt in 46 B.C., became the capital and the residence of the proconsul. Because of a dispute over taxes, TIBERIUS in A.D. 15 reunited Achaia with Macedonia and Moesia under the administration of an imperial legate, but in 44 CLAUDIUS again made it a senatorial province. On the 28th of November of the year 67, NERO declared Greece free at the Isthmian games, but VESPASIAN soon made it a senatorial province again.

During his first visit to Corinth, PAUL was dragged before the governor of Achaia, L. Junius Gallio Annaeus, by Jews who resented his teachings (see GALLIO). The magistrate refused to become involved in their religious dispute, nor did he interfere when the crowd beat SOSTHENES, the ruler of the synagogue, in front of the judgment seat (Acts 18:11–17). The name Achaia is used in the NT to refer to the Roman province or to its inhabitants (Acts 18:27; 19:21; Rom. 15:26; 1 Cor. 16:15; 2 Cor. 1:1; 9:2; 11:10; 1 Thess. 1:1–8).

A. RUPPRECHT

Achaicus uh-kay'uh-kuhs *(*Ἀχαϊκός *G939,* "belonging to Achaia"). A respected Christian of CORINTH. From his name some have inferred that he may have been a slave or ex-slave of the family of L. Mummius, conqueror of Achaia. He is mentioned only in 1 Cor. 16:17 as the third member of a three-man delegation coming to PAUL in EPHESUS with a letter from the Corinthian church (7:1). Some MSS also insert the three names of the delegation in 16:15. Their arrival refreshed Paul, giving him the needed direct contact with the church. They returned to Corinth, apparently taking with them 1 Corinthians (cf. the subscription after 16:24 in most MSS).

D. E. HIEBERT

Achan ay'kan (עָכָן *H6575,* derivation unknown; in 1 Chr. 2:7 the name appears as עָכָר *H6580,* "Achar," which means "troubler"; LXX has Ἀχαρ throughout). Son of Carmi and descendant of JUDAH through ZERAH (one of the twins born to Judah by his own daughter-in-law, TAMAR). Achan was stoned to death for violating the BAN during the conquest of JERICHO (Josh. 7:1 –26). Achan stole 200 shekels of silver, a Babylonian garment, and a wedge of gold weighing 50 shekels, and hid them in the earthen floor of his tent (7:21).

The effect of this violation of the ban (Josh. 6:17) was immediately felt upon all Israel as they attempted to take the city of AI. Jericho had been offered to God as a sort of FIRSTFRUITS, wholly given to him and utterly withdrawn from human use forever; Achan thought he knew better! JOSHUA soon learned upon asking of God the reason for the military failure at Ai: that one man's sin had affected the whole group (7:1–13). The response of God was: "Israel has sinned; they have violated my covenant" (v. 11). With this evidence for CORPORATE PERSONALITY or solidarity of the community one may also note Achan's personal confession (vv. 21–21).

Not all scholars accept this narrative as evidence for corporate solidarity between a group and the actions of individuals within that group. J. R. Porter has denied this explanation of collective responsibility and argued for an infectious holiness that spreads to all who touch it, which in turn

earns the death penalty (*VT* 15 [1965]: 361–73; Hag. 2:12 would seem to negate Porter's explanation).

When Achan was exposed after the lot fell upon him, all his family and their possessions were brought to the Valley of ACHOR for punishment. Whether the sons and daughters also were stoned depends on two questions: (a) whether the plural "them" (Josh. 7:25) refers to his possessions only or includes his sons and daughters; and (b) whether the children were knowingly involved in the crime, for the law of Moses prohibited children from being put to death for the sins of the fathers (Deut. 24:16). One cannot appeal to Josh. 22:20 ("He was not the only one who died for his sin") as settling the case, since this verse may refer to the thirty-six men who also lost their lives in the unsuccessful attack on Ai. The Valley of Achor ("trouble") symbolized for the prophets (Isa. 65:10; Hos. 2:15) the opposite of the eschatological "door of hope" and thus became a byword.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Achar ay'kahr. See ACHAN.

Achaz ay'kaz. KJV NT form of AHAZ.

Achbor. See ACBOR.

Achiacharus ak'yuh-kay'ruhs. KJV Apoc. form of AHIKAR (Tob. 1:21–22; 2:10).

Achias uh-ki'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of AHIJAH (2 Esd. 1:2).

Achim ay'kim. See AKIM.

Achior ay'kee-ohr ('Αχίωρ, possibly representing Heb. אֲחִיאוֹר, "brother of light"). An Ammonite chief captain who, after giving a favorable report on the Israelites to HOLOFERNES, the commander of the Assyrians, was left bound in Israelite territory. When JUDITH later showed Achior the severed head of Holofernes, he "believed firmly in God" and was converted to Judaism (Jdt. 5:5—6:21; 14:1–10).

E. S. KALLAND

Achish ay'kish (אָכִישׁ *H429,* possibly from Hurrian *akk sha(rur),* "the king gives" [so R. W. Corney in *IDB,* 1:27]). A PHILISTINE king of GATH to whom DAVID went for refuge when he had to flee from SAUL, after receiving the bread of the presence and the sword of GOLIATH from AHIMELECH the priest. When the servants of Achish disclosed who David was, David pretended he was insane and so escaped to ADULLAM (1 Sam. 21:11–15; 22:1). Later, when David had been some time a fugitive from Saul, he again sought asylum with Achish and was well received. Subsequently Achish gave him ZIKLAG as his home town. Though David raided other towns in the NEGEV, he informed Achish that his forays were against Judah, so that Achish trusted David (1 Sam. 27:1–12).

After the death of SAMUEL, the Philistines gathered their armies to attack Israel, and Achish asked David to go with him to battle. When the Philistine commanders saw David and his company, they insisted that David be sent back. Though Achish entreated for David, David and his men were sent back to the S country (1 Sam. 28:1–2; 29:1–9).

The "Achish son of Maacah" to whom two of Shimei's slaves fled (1 Ki. 2:39; Achish is called "son of Maoch" in 1 Sam. 27:2) may be the same king, though the time was about forty years later. The superscription to Ps. 34 says that David feigned madness before Abimelech, perhaps another name for Achish; but see ABIMELECH #3.

E. S. KALLAND

Achitob ak'uh-tob. KJV Apoc. form of AHITUB (1 Esd. 8:2; 2 Esd. 1:1).

Achmetha ak'muh-thuh. KJV form of ECBATANA (Ezra 6:2).

Achor ay'kohr (עָכוֹר *H6574,* "trouble"). The valley in which ACHAN, apparently with his family, was stoned to death because he had taken a beautiful Babylonian mantle, 200 shekels of silver, and a 50-shekel bar of gold from JERICHO, although God had instructed the Israelites that no booty was to be taken. Because Achan's sin brought trouble to Israel by the defeat at AI, the place was named the Valley of Achor (Josh. 7:21–26). The valley is on the northern boundary of the allotment of JUDAH (Josh. 15:7) and is thought to be the modern el-Buqeʿah, SW of Jericho. The term "Valley of Achor" is used prophetically by both Isaiah and Hosea to indicate that the Lord (Yahweh) will bring blessing in the future in the places of trouble caused by their sin (Isa. 65:10; Hos. 2:15). (See *NEAEHL,* s.v. "Buqeiʿa, El-," 1:261–69.)

E. S. KALLAND

Achsah ak'suh. See ACSAH.

Achshaph ak'shaf. See ACSHAPH.

Achzib ak'zib. See ACZIB.

Acipha uh-sz'fuh. KJV Apoc. form of HAKUPHA (1 Esd. 5:31).

Acitho as'uh-thoh. KJV Apoc. variant of AHITUB (Jdt. 8:1).

Acra ak'ruh. The Greek term *akra* means "citadel" (cf. the LXX at 2 Sam. 5:9; 1 Ki. 10:22) and is used especially of the fortress built by the Syrian forces near the temple in Jerusalem in 167 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:31–36). See JERUSALEM II.D.3

Acraba ak'ruh-buh (Εγρεβηλ). A place near which part of the army of HOLOFERNES encamped when besieging the Israelites at BETHULIA (Jdt. 7:18 RSV; the KJV has "Ekrebel," and the NRSV, "Egrebeh" [apparently a typographic mistake for "Egrebel"]). It is usually identified with modern Akrabeh/Akrabeta, 25 mi. NNE of Jerusalem. In NT times the area between SAMARIA and SHILOH was called the Toparchy of Acrabet(t)a (or Acra-batene; cf. Jos. *War* 2.12.4 §235; 4.9.9 §551). See also AKRABATTENE.

Acre ah'kuhr. See ACCO.

Acropolis uh-krop'uh-lis ('Ακρόπολις, "upper city"). The Greek term can be used of the main fortress protecting a city and situated in a commanding position, but it is used especially of the citadel of ATHENS; it was also the principal sanctuary of its patron goddess, Athena. (See J. M. Hurwit, *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles* [2004].)

acrostic. This term (Gk. *akrostichis,* from *akros,* "top, extremity," and *stichos,* "line" of verse) refers to a poem in which the first letters of consecutive lines or stanzas follow the alphabet or form words. The NT contains no acrostics. The OT, however, contains fourteen acrostic poems, in which the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear, with slight variations, at the beginning of one of the following:

(1) each line of one-line verses (Lam. 3)

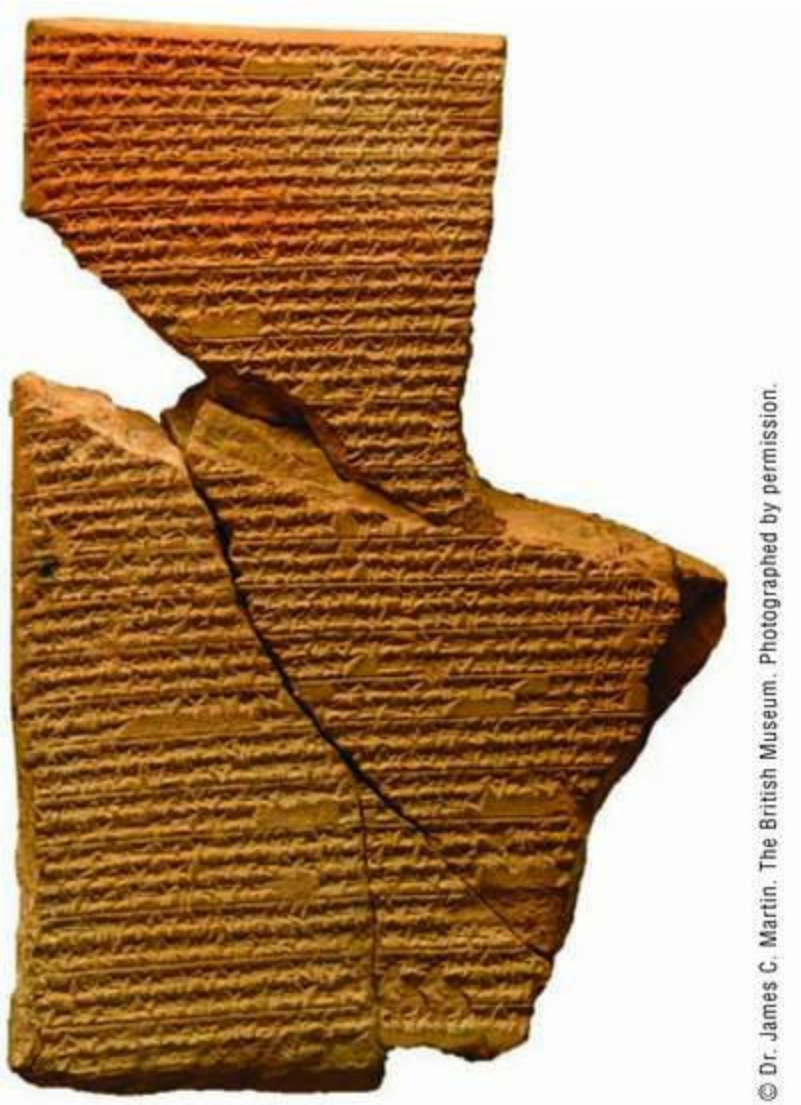
(2) each line, or each half, of two-line verses (Pss. 111; 112)

(3) each verse = every other line of two-line verses (Pss. 25; 34; 119; 145; Prov. 31:11–31; Lam. 4)

(4) every other line, or each half, of four-line verses (Nah. 1:1–10)

(5) each verse = every third line of three-line verses (Lam. 1; 2)

(6) every fourth line, or every two verses, of two-line verses (Pss. 9; 10; 37)



Cuneiform tablet with an acrostic prayer from Ashurbanipal to the Assyrian deity, Marduk. Reading the first sign in each line down the left edge yields the words, "I am Ashurbanipal."

A strophic arrangement, in which each letter begins three successive verses, appears in Lam. 3 (total, 66 vv.); similarly, each letter begins eight successive verses in Ps. 119 (total, 176 vv.).

The order of letters in the Semitic ALPHABET is now known to date back to Mosaic times (15th cent. B.C., UGARIT), confirming the possible antiquity of the acrostic psalms and their claim to Davidic authorship. Therefore, Ps. 10 must go with Ps. 9, since the two form one acrostic.

Acrostics aid in memorization. Awareness of acrostic structure has also assisted in the textual restoration of some verses, such as Pss. 25:5, 19; 34:7; 37:28; and 145:13 (the original text of Nah. 1:1–10, however, apparently incorporated only a portion of an acrostic). No acrostics are found in the NT, but an example from early Christianity is the use of the fish as a symbol of Christ, because the Greek word for "fish," *ichthys G2716* (in capital letters, ΙΧΘΥΣ), serves as an acrostic of *Iēsous Christos Theou Hyios Sōtēr,* "Jesus Christ, God's Son, Savior."

J. B. PAYNE

Acsah ak'suh (עַכְסָה *H6578,* possibly meaning "anklet"). Also Achsah; TNIV Aksah. A daughter of CALEB who was given in marriage to OTHNIEL, son of Caleb's younger brother KENAZ, in fulfillment of Caleb's promise that whoever captured KIRIATH SEPHER would be given Acsah as his wife. (Some scholars believe this marriage was intended to strengthen the ties between the clans of Caleb and Othniel. *Cf. ABD,* 1:51–57.) Acsah persuaded Othniel to ask for an additional area, and then she herself asked for sources of water. She was given the upper and lower springs (Josh. 15:11–19; Jdg. 1:11–15; 1 Chr. 2:49).

E. S. KALLAND

Acshaph ak'shaf (אַכְשָׁף *H439,* "sorcery, enchanted [place]"). Also Achshaph; TNIV Akshaph. An old (Bronze Age) Canaanite town on the border of the territory given to ASHER at SHILOH (Josh. 19:25) after JOSHUA led the Israelites into northern Palestine against a coalition of kings under JABIN, king of HAZOR. The king of Acshaph, with many other kings, was defeated by Joshua in a battle by the waters of MEROM (Josh. 11:1–12; 12:20).

Acshaph is mentioned in Egyptian EXECRATION TEXTS of the 19th and 18th centuries B.C., in the Karnak list of places conquered by THUTMOSE III in the 15th cent., in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters of the 14th cent., and in Papyrus Anastasi 1 (a 13th-cent. Egyptian letter). Acshaph is tentatively identified with Tell Keisan, c. 6 mi. SE of Acco, or with Khirbet el-Harbaj, c. 12 mi. S of Acco.

E. S. KALLAND

Acts of Andrew. For this and similar apocryphal works, see under the name of the person (e.g., ANDREW, ACTS OF; PILATE, ACTS OF).

Acts of Solomon. This book, referred to in 1 Ki. 11:41 (with the same formula used to describe the "annals of the kings of Judah/Israel" in 14:19, 29 and elsewhere), may be a history of SOLOMON'S reign based on official state documents.

A. K. HELMBOLD

Acts of the Apostles. The fifth book of the NT.

1. Title

2. Author
3. Contents
4. Style
5. Date
6. Sources
7. Purpose
8. Historical value
9. Religious value
10. Chronology
11. The church and the book

I. Title. The accepted title of the fifth book of the NT, the Acts of the Apostles, appears to date from the end of the 2nd cent. Its Greek form, *Praxeis Apostolōn,* is translated into Latin as *Acta (or Actus) Apostolorum (actus* being the term for the acts of a drama; the NT use is not noticed by Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary).* There are few significant variations. Acts, the common abbreviation, is found in ancient times, as well as the expansion into the Acts of the Holy Apostles.

It has been commonly realized that the title is not an exact description of the contents of the book. The preaching, journeys, and adventures of ten of the apostles are by-passed, and significant "acts" of preachers without apostolic rank and distinction are mentioned. Judas, John, and James, from the original Twelve, have incidental mention. The Twelve are listed in the first chapter and have collective reference in such contexts as that of the Jerusalem congress. Properly, the book is the Acts of PETER and of PAUL, and the two themes divide the book with some precision. In fact, there is an Acts I and an Acts II, divided at Acts 15:35. The first section traverses the emergence of the global gospel and the reception of the Gentile Christians into an emancipated church. The second section traces the expansion of the church to the capital of the Roman empire.

The first section could be described as the Acts of the Church, the second, the Acts of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Neither title is inclusive, and to accept the suggestion that the book be called the Acts of the Holy Spirit ignores the fact that the book is primarily a document of history and can be read as such. The Acts of the Apostles must, therefore, retain its title, and if it be pleaded that the story merges into the biography of one great man (Paul), Ralph Waldo Emerson can be quoted cogently: "There is properly no history; only biography."

Cities of Acts.

II. Author. No specific claim to authorship is contained in the text of the book itself. Tradition, however, is clear, ancient, and consistent. Moreover, this tradition is supported by the internal evidence of style and subject matter. It will be convenient to examine the question under several heads.

A. Tradition. As early as the middle of the 2nd cent., the church appears to have believed unanimously that Acts was written by LUKE the physician, friend and fellow-traveler of Paul. The evidence for this is strong. The MURATORIAN CANON, a document mutilated somewhat at its beginning and end, but listing in its eighty-five lines of bad Latin most of the books of the NT, names the third gospel and Acts as the work of Luke the physician. Patristic evidence agrees. IRENAEUS (c. A.D. 131–200), CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. A.D. 151–215), TERTULLIAN (c. A.D. 161–200), and ORIGEN (c. A.D. 185 –254) may be quoted in support. It might be urged that this evidence is not cumulative, but merely the repetition of an original conjecture. On the other hand, a living tradition can span a century, and if leading Christian scholars in the latter half of the 2nd cent. believed that a document frequently quoted throughout the whole of the century was of a certain authorship, there is strong supposition that their belief was soundly based and not the mere repetition of conjecture. And negatively, had the church in the 2nd cent. been forced back upon conjecture concerning a document of such importance, why, unless strong tradition supported the fact, should Luke have been the favored choice?

B. Internal evidence. If the 2nd-cent. tradition arose from the compulsion of the internal evidence, the fact demonstrates the strength and clarity of that evidence. It leads to the following conclusions: (1) It is manifest that whoever wrote the third gospel also wrote the Acts of the Apostles. The preface of the second book refers to an earlier and related composition. Both books open with a formal prologue in the established style of Greek historiography. The dedication to THEOPHILUS links the two, and the end of the first book dovetails with the beginning of the second. The style and language point inevitably to one author, as does also the form of composition, for both books move similarly to

a climax. It is clear that the writer of the second book had the form of the first in mind as he pictured Paul, his face "set steadfastly" toward Jerusalem, and a betrayal, a passion, and a trial at the hands of those who had earlier wrought the death of Christ. Gentile sympathies, the heroism, worth, and ministrations of women, and a polemic and apologetic emphasis mark both works as the conception of the same mind and pen.

(2) A habit of expression and choice of vocabulary common to both books make it highly probable that the author was acquainted with the Greek medical writers. Linguistic evidence so occasional would not in itself finally prove that their common author was a physician, but in support of the tradition that "Luke, the beloved physician" (Col. 4:14) was that author, the phenomenon is of evidential value.

(3) A plain reading of the text of the second book makes it quite clear that the writer was a companion of Paul and a partner of his work in certain defined sections of his travels and endeavors. In four passages of varied length he introduces the first person plural: "we" instead of "they." The sections are Acts 16:11–17; 20:1–15; 21:1–18; 27:1—28:16; and from these the following pattern of events is apparent. The author joined Paul, SILAS, and TIMOTHY at TROAS. He could, indeed, have been "the Macedonian" (16:9) who was seen in a dream. At any rate, the author accompanied the party to PHILIPPI, a city with which he appears to have been familiar, and stayed there when the others moved on. He was still at Philippi (or again there) when, at the close of his third journey, Paul was moving back in the direction of Jerusalem with the money he had collected from the Gentile churches. The author accompanied Paul on this tragic journey, did his best to persuade him to abandon the project, and was at hand two years later to accompany Paul to Rome. The period of Paul's imprisonment was the ideal opportunity for a companion so circumstanced to carry out the fundamental research and to seek the interviews which were so patent a prerequisite for the writing of the two integrated and associated narratives, and so obviously their background and inspiration. These passages in the third person cannot, on the grounds of style, language, or the integrity of the narrative, be dissociated from the rest of the book. The two books were, therefore, written by a friend and companion of Paul who shared with the apostle certain portions of the experiences he details.

(4) Could it be other than Luke? Timothy is excluded by events (Acts 20:1–6). Neither TITUS nor Silas accompanied Paul to Rome, nor were they there in his company. Other companions of the apostle from time to time were SOPATER, ARISTARCHUS, SECUNDUS, GAIUS, TYCHICUS, and TROPHIMUS. None of them can be seriously considered as the writer of the gospel and its sequel. The epistles written during the period of Paul's house confinement in Rome provide a clue. Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, almost beyond doubt, are documents of this period. Two of these letters mention Luke's presence in Rome (Col. 4:14; Phlm. 24). The case, therefore, seems proven. The 2nd-cent. tradition of Lukan authorship is supported by the weight of internal evidence.

C. Luke. Little is known of Luke himself. He was a writer not given to revealing himself in his work. Perhaps there is a glimpse of the man's self-effacing personality in his deliberate turning from the artificial and cultured language of his prologues to the plain vernacular with which he begins, continues, and ends his narrative. He sought not the creation of a literary masterpiece, but the plain effectiveness of his message. He was content to set forth Christ in his first composition, his friend in the second. Tradition has it that Luke was an Antiochene, and some stress has already been laid upon the sturdiness of tradition in this historical context (see ANTIOCH OF SYRIA). On the other hand, a careful reading of the Philippian sections seems to show that Luke, if not a native, was at least a sojourner of the Macedonian town. There is no reason why Philippi and Antioch in Syria should be

exclusive. A Macedonian could easily count as a migrant Antiochene, or a man of Antioch could spend significant years in Philippi. Philippi had some standing as a medical center, and, in the close-knit Mediterranean world of the Roman peace, movement was free, safe, and common. The movements of PRISCILLA AND AQUILA, of APOLLOS, and of Paul himself are evidence enough of such journeyings.

Luke's character shows here and there. Paul's adjective "beloved" says much. His style, mentioned above, is self-effacing and avoids all striving for effect. Tradition mentions that he was an artist, and the artist's touch is evident in his words. His one aim was simplicity and the truth which accompanies it. Loyalty, a virtue allied to simplicity, was a shining mark of Luke's character. He accepted Paul's leadership without questioning, even after the apostle's rejection of advice which circumstances certainly proved sound. Luke's intellectual capacity is reflected in all his work. The gospel and its sequel are the writing of a first-rank historian and a man of exact and careful mind, painstaking in his research, accurate in his detail, and with a flair for the poetic and the dramatic.

III. Contents. The story overlaps the last scenes of the Gospels and shows the risen Christ commissioning his apostles for a worldwide task, and their enabling for its performance by the gift of the Holy Spirit. It describes the first assault upon the world at PENTECOST, with the scattered followers of Christ confident, united, and clear-cut in their message, proclaiming fearlessly in Jerusalem the truth committed to their care. It recounts their confrontation with the guilty hierarchy and the beginning of priestly and political persecution directed equally against the activities and the preaching of two distinct groups: those represented by Peter and the apostles on the one hand, and those represented by STEPHEN and the Hellenistic Jews on the other. The early appearance of the latter group in the internal and external activities of the church is not without relevance in its careful pattern.

The brief but lucid outlines of Peter's sermons and the long defense of Stephen before the SANHEDRIN on the day of his martyrdom reveal the similarities and the differences of the twin movements of evangelism. Both are clear that Christianity is a consummation, that the risen Christ is the authentication of the gospel, and that the gospel finds its point and purpose in a proclamation of repentance. Peter stressed the OT preparation. Stephen, equally insistent on the outworking processes of history, had a wider world in view than the land of Israel, and found historic precedent, as well as prophecy, in the OT. He was the predecessor of Paul and, at this point in the story, saw further than Peter.

The book is, in fact, early preoccupied to show the emergence of a new dynamic witness. Stephen, Philip, Paul is its sequence; Peter, at first the representative of a more exclusive and orthodox Jewry, is shown with subtle art adapting himself to a broader proclamation and merging his activities with those of the vigorous groups of Hellenistic Jews who claimed and won a part and place in the church, and soon were thrust to the forefront of its testimony. Peter was found significantly in the home of a tanner at JOPPA when the historic call to CAESAREA came to him.

It was primarily the enthusiasm and effectiveness of the Hellenistic Jews that precipitated major persecution and insured the expansion of Christianity beyond urban, parochial, or provincial limits. The Christian DIASPORA found a rallying point in Syrian Antioch, which became the second capital of the church. Through these early chapters the attentive reader will note the interweaving of the theme, a feature of the book's style and pattern. Overlap, anticipatory reference, swift brevity, sudden expansiveness, and deliberate repetition reveal Luke's own appraisal of the contents and his sense of

the outworking theme.

From the call of the Gentiles to their formal acceptance by the church at large is a span of six chapters. With firm insistence the book shows that Peter, the champion of orthodoxy, opened the door. Peter is advisedly prominent in this section, though Paul has already appeared—after the overlapping fashion of the book—arrested in his career of persecution on the DAMASCUS road. The story of Paul's missionary incursions into the Gentile world overlaps in similar fashion with the developing theme of Gentile-Jewish relations in the church. A world is visibly opening as the reader turns the pages. ASIA MINOR is listening and eager. Neither Jerusalem nor Antioch could resist the evidence that something novel was afoot, a movement requiring decisions, vast reappraisement, and a wisdom in organization beyond anything envisaged in those first phases of the community's life, which were described with cameo vividness in the opening chapters.

The decisions of the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM bisect the book and officially and formally open the door to the Gentile convert. Christianity is obviously universal and not to be regarded as a reformed sect of Judaism or as a protest movement against corrupt religion, such as that which produced the Qumran community (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). With this vital question settled, the great man, who emerged as leader, adopted his final apostolic role. Paul (no longer Saul) moved along the trade routes to plant his Christian communities in the key cities of the world. It is possible to see the vision of the empire won for Christ forming in his mind. From ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA to ROME itself, that pattern is visible in Paul's evangelism.

The synagogues of the Dispersion were the stepping stones and the first point of contact. Paul was as clear as Peter that Christianity was a consummation and Judaism a preparation. But the blindness and archaism of Jerusalem is as evident abroad as in the metropolis. The readier acceptance, first evident among the Hellenistic Jews of Palestine, is similarly a feature of the wider world. The book keeps this theme vividly in view.

The story moved from Asia to Europe, patiently analyzed the nature of opposition and persecution, and described the first attitudes of secular authority toward the church. Neither the AREOPAGUS in ATHENS nor GALLIO'S court in CORINTH saw anything pernicious or seditious in the new movement. The governor of CYPRUS and the ASIARCHS of EPHESUS were also well-disposed. Two Roman PROCURATORS of Judea and a puppet monarch, the best of the HEROD family, failed to see any basis for legal or penal action against Paul when metropolitan Jewry cornered its archenemy.

Out of such events came an APPEAL to CAESAR, when the Roman citizen from TARSUS, who was also an accomplished Hellenist and a superbly educated Jew, exercised his civic right. With a memorable tale of shipwreck to mark the course of the narrative (see SHIPS IV), and with Paul moved to Rome by way of CRETE and MALTA, the story concluded indecisively with the apostle to the Gentiles under house arrest amid the densest concentration of Gentiles in the ancient world, imperial Rome herself.

Obviously the theme has followed one movement of history, and its reason for doing so will be analyzed in a later section. In the process it has become unwittingly a document of Roman history, revealing life and government in the towns and cities of the empire, glimpsing the provincial proletariat, revealing the form and fashion of travel in that unified and well-policed world, and showing the unmistakable signs of the growing tension that reached breaking point in A.D. 66 with the Great Rebellion and Rome's four years of grim disastrous war in Palestine (see WARS, JEWISH). Apart from the Gospels, few other ancient texts show the empire in action so vividly and from so unusual an angle.

Manifestly, there were "acts" of other apostles and ministries like those of Stephen and Philip.

Apollos of Alexandria was of their order. Who took Christianity to the great Egyptian city of the Nile delta? Who were the disturbing visitors "from Syria," mentioned by Claudius in an imperial communication to the Alexandrians in A.D. 42? There were Christians in Rome awaiting Paul's coming. Of their number were the much traveled Aquila and Priscilla, Paul's hosts in Corinth. They had been expelled from Rome with the whole Jewish ghetto in A.D. 49 following disturbances, if Suetonius is read correctly, arising from the first preaching of Christianity in the capital city of the empire. But, by whom?

Similarly, the message passed unrecorded down other lines of communication and trade. The bearers are mentioned only in tenuous traditions. Was it THOMAS who took Christianity to India? The trade routes were wide open, and the Italian seamen had found the secret of the monsoons. Did MATTHEW die in Persia or in Ethiopia? Who evangelized BITHYNIA, from which Paul was turned aside? In the first decade of the 2nd cent., PLINY the Younger, the Roman governor, found the area strongly Christian. The Acts of the Apostles has nothing to say about these parallel and divergent streams of activity and testimony. It remains a fascinating and often allusive story of one great drive of Christian expansion, one aspect of thirty years of church history. The writer clearly had his purpose and plan and was not to be diverted from it. He set out to use one roll of papyrus and used it well.

IV. Style. Acts is written in clear and competent Greek, with a command of language and expression that marks the writer as an educated man seeking without self-conscious art to communicate efficiently with literate men (see GREEK LANGUAGE). He wrote lucidly in the common dialect that was the *lingua franca* of the Eastern Mediterranean and its second language. At the same time there is found in all Luke's writing more of the flavor of classical Greek than anywhere else in the NT. His language matched his ability as a historian, and that was high. The simplicity of sincerity, conviction, and firsthand reporting shows through, producing some memorable passages of descriptive narrative. The stories of the riot at Ephesus and the wreck of the big grain ship on the Malta beach merit a place in any anthology of ancient descriptive prose. As vivid, if more brief, are the stories of Peter's release from prison, the noontide adventure on Simon's roof where Peter dozed at JOPPA, the debacle at LYSTRA, and the riot and rescue at Jerusalem.

Efficient reporting in brief is a feature of the book. Peter's group of sermons and speeches of defense, the astonishing précis of the Areopagus address, with its allusiveness and evocation of atmosphere, and the communication to the Ephesian elders on the beach at MILETUS are examples. The longer speeches of Stephen, Peter, and Paul are similarly vivid and efficiently interwoven with the theme. The book is in the full tradition of Greek historiography, which uses speeches to evoke a background and to analyze meaning and motive, as well as to report. The speeches are not, however, fictional, but based on reliable report, sometimes at firsthand. They reveal some of the art of the writer, for they are manifestly in character. Not only do Peter, Stephen, and Paul emerge in their reported words in sharp characterization, but even such minor characters as GAMALIEL, the incisive town clerk of Ephesus, and the rhetorical TERTULLUS stand out clearly and individually.

The book, in short, is the writing of one who had command of his material, who knew what he wished most to say, who could stress with patience and repetition his most significant reports, and could cut and abbreviate ruthlessly when his main purpose was not directly furthered by the narrative. Such decisiveness requires a clarity of mind and a literary ability of no mean order.

V. Date. The date of publication is to some extent decided by its authorship. If Luke wrote the book,

a 2nd-cent. date is forthwith excluded on this ground alone. The date of Luke's death would determine the narrower limits, and on this there is no information. Luke was with Paul during his last imprisonment, perhaps in A.D. 66 or 67 (2 Tim. 4:11), and there is a strong presumption that he did not long survive his friend. A historian so diligent and accomplished would surely not have neglected the great and obvious duty which confronted him—to continue the story beyond its inconclusive ending in his second treatise. The trial before NERO, Paul's further adventures, the arrest, and the end would have made a third book of surpassing interest and power. The fact that there is not even a tradition of such a book surely means that Paul's chronicler did not survive long enough to write it. The Lukan authorship, therefore, if that is established, also precludes a late 1st-cent. date. The allegation that Luke was familiar with the *Antiquities* of Flavius JOSEPHUS, published in the year 93, is no impediment. The allegation is quite ill-founded, and it might equally, and perhaps no more cogently, be urged in the contrary direction that the writer of Acts was unfamiliar with the letters of Paul, which appear to have been collected and made generally available about the year 90. The date, late or early, must be determined on stronger grounds than this.

The argument for a Lukan authorship thus confines conjecture to the brief span of years between Paul's first arrival in Rome and Luke's death or incapacity, in other words to the seventh decade of the century. It is possible on other evidence to press the matter a little more closely than this and to argue that the date was probably early in the decade. The main points may be set forth as follows:

(1) The book represents a view of Rome and the imperial power free from the fierce hostility that marks the Apocalypse (see REVELATION, BOOK OF), demonstrating a benevolent attitude that could hardly have survived the savage personal assault of Nero upon the church in July of 64. It most certainly could not have been maintained after the same persecution had been broadened, written into law, and had claimed Paul as one of its victims. When the book was written, apparently there was still reason to hope that a proper presentation of Christianity might convince authority that the new movement was beneficent and certainly not politically disruptive or disloyal. Much less could the book have been written from such a hopeful angle after DOMITIAN (A.D. 81–96) staged his empire-wide attack upon the church.

(2) Consonant with this date is the writer's narrative of events. He writes as an eyewitness or as one in direct touch with eyewitnesses. His account, for example, of the procurator's deference to Agrippa II (see HEROD VIII) is vividly true to life and to the facts of history, at a time when Rome was eager to conciliate influential opinion in an area obviously heading for major rebellion. FELIX is a portrait true to life and consistent with TACITUS'S scorn. The sensible GALLIO, brother of Seneca, appears in character. None of these accounts could have been written at a time too remote from the occurrences of the incidents described. References to titles, details of administration, life and government under Roman rule, exact in varied nomenclature and true in atmosphere, similarly fit a 1st-cent. context in a manner hardly to be achieved by other than a contemporary.

(3) The evocation of atmosphere may be further stressed, for it points with some cogency to the date here advocated. The writer obviously knew Palestine when the heat and pressure of Jewish nationalism was building up for the great explosion of A.D. 66. He was also aware of the closely knit character of worldwide Jewry, where sympathetic passions were rife. The fact that Jewish sedition was a wider and more serious imperial problem than even the costly and perilous revolt in Palestine has been adequately appreciated among historians only recently. It has been suggested that the absence of any reference to the grim climax of the war, the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, also points to a date for the book earlier than A.D. 70, the fatal year, but too much weight cannot be given to this. Luke was a competent historian and knew what to exclude. His focus was upon ten years

earlier, and he reflected the spirit of that time with exactitude.

(4) Also consonant with an early date is the simplicity of the theology evident in the book. The resurrection is a prominent theme, and it might be supposed that this was the first and most relevant Christian emphasis. Later, mainly owing to the work and elaboration of Paul in his epistles, the doctrine naturally and salutarily took its place in the developed corpus of Christian truth. The primitive organization of the church is described as if it were recent and relevant experience. The question of Gentile acceptance had a similar prominence and is stressed in a manner that would hardly have been necessary a generation later after the blow received by Jewry in the destruction of its home and center, together with the world-wide repercussions that must have followed.

VI. Sources. This theme is one of comparative simplicity and may be set forth as follows. (1) Major portions of the second half of the book are the report of an eyewitness and a participant in events. The account of the visit to Philippi in Acts 16 and that of the two voyages in chs. 21–21 and 21–28 read like a personal diary. The use of the first-person pronoun claims this authenticity, and the style and detail of the narrative in no way impugn the claim.

(2) Events between Acts 21 and 27, where no personal participation is implied or claimed, nevertheless took place while Luke was in contact with the situation, and these are recounted with a detail and a sureness of touch that mark them either as the work of an eyewitness or one in immediate contact with reliable witnesses. As for the speeches, Paul was a highly educated man and moved in a literate society. It would be quite surprising if he had retained no written outline of his major pronouncements. This applies to earlier speeches as well as the elaborate apologies of the later chapters, and notably the Areopagus address.

(3) Events falling between Acts 16 and 20 took place not far outside the orbit of Luke's personal knowledge. He remained at Philippi when Paul, and later the rest of the party, moved on to Athens and Corinth, which was civilized territory with well-developed roads. There is no reason why a resident of Philippi who crossed to Troas to meet Paul should not have visted him in the course of ministries or sojourns in Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and even Ephesus. Some of the events in these places are described with peculiar vividness.

(4) Apart from personal knowledge, there was abundant opportunity to consult with eyewitnesses and participants. There was much coming and going among the apostolic community. Silas, for example, Titus, Timothy, Apollos, and Aristarchus seemed to have traveled extensively. It was not a world of rigid frontiers, and although the footpad haunted the more remote mountain roads and constituted one of the trials of Paul's arduous journeying (2 Cor. 11:26), travel on the main routes was easy and comparatively safe. Lydia of Thyatira conducted her business in Philippi. Apollos moved from Alexandria to Ephesus and thence to Corinth. Aquila had been born in Pontus, traveled to Italy where he met and married Prisca (or Priscilla, to use the diminutive and more familiar form), and then under Claudius's ban, moved to Corinth. Timothy came from Lystra, and Barnabas from Cyprus. Luke would have had rich opportunity to collect information from reliable and experienced witnesses, whose active memories extended back over two generations.

Consider the following inferences: (a) If Luke was an Antiochene, though he may have later moved to Philippi, he could have first met and appraised Paul in his earlier ministry and heard from him personally the story of Stephen, the Damascus road, and its sequel (Acts 1–9). The account of the first missionary journey (chs. 11–14) could have been heard on the same occasion. It may have existed as a written report in the archives of the church. It was a common Greek habit to record details of travel and adventure. Xenophon's *Anabasis* was more than four centuries old; biographical

material in Herodotus, the historian and traveler, was older still. At Antioch (13:1) Luke could have met Barnabas, Simeon Niger, Lucius, and Manaen, the sources of information recorded and condensed in Acts 4:31–37; 9:21–36; 11:20; 12:21–23; 25:13.

(b) He would hear in Philippi the condensed account of the Asian section of the second journey, briefly outlined in Acts 16:1—11, from Paul himself. The continuation of that journey and the stirring events of Paul's ministry and travel up to the reunion at Philippi (20:5) would again find basis in Paul's personal narrative. He and Luke were frequently together. There were others in the party (20:4) who were also in a position to supply vital information.

(c) A vivid account of Philip's early ministry is interpolated in Acts 8, significantly linked with the story of Stephen. Again the source is personal and firsthand. Philip resided at Caesarea and was Luke's host (21:8) as the party passed that way on the journey to Jerusalem, and no doubt frequently again during Paul's two-year incarceration in the garrison city.

(d) During this same period, Luke had opportunity for a good deal of travel and interviewing. The early chapters of his gospel reveal his diligence in research and suggest a worthwhile contact with Mary. During the same period he may have met Peter and Peter's protégé, John Mark. Mark was in Rome at a date a little later than this, and it is not known when he went there, but Luke was with him (Col. 4:10, 14). Peter and Mark could be the authorities for the events of Acts 10 and 12, which Luke vividly recorded. See MARK, JOHN.

(e) MNASON (Acts 21:16), an original disciple, no doubt possessed valuable information and was conveniently at hand for the historian. It is manifest, therefore, that Luke had full facilities for the collection of material on the two themes of his writing, and that his claim to have carefully sought out firsthand material (Lk. 1:2) is one which the two books appear to justify, and known circumstances to have amply facilitated.

(5) Nor is it impossible that there were written records. Luke, at the beginning of his gospel, speaks of many written accounts of Christ's ministry, and these narratives are likely to have covered the events of the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, which follow in natural sequence on the closing chapters of the "former treatise." A certain episodic character in the first five chapters of the book could be accounted for by the supposition of written accounts. R. B. Rackham *(The Acts of the Apostles* [1904], xliii) goes so far as to suggest that John was the first historian of the church, and supports his suggestion by an analysis of style and language that is not without effectiveness. Such fragments of narrative as the story of the woman taken in adultery, found in Jn. 8, though apparently by another hand than his, suggest a habit of recording and a disposition to grant authority to such records and to accept them on their merits. Luke may have had access to collections of such memoranda. It is again emphasized that it was a literate age. The Jerusalem council of Acts 15 would not have adjourned without something in the nature of minutes and a record of the debate that preceded the final decision. What were Paul's treasured "parchments" (2 Tim. 4:13)? The possibility already mentioned that Paul's speeches, and perhaps Peter's also, existed in written form, in full text or in précis, is also strong. The early Christians became rapidly aware that they were part of a great movement of history. It is the natural instinct of such people to record.

This account of the book's sources presupposes both Lukan authorship and the essential unity of the document. It has, therefore, by-passed the many suggestions of source and origin that arise from, or are invented to justify, sundry theories of authorship, date, and composition which a determined rejection of tradition and authority have inspired. Extravagance and audacity in theorizing and conjecture, which scarcely would be tolerated in other spheres of literary study, have been too frequent a feature of biblical scholarship over a century, and Acts has not escaped such destructive

attention. (Those interested in the major curiosities of this criticism will find a brief but documented summary in D. Guthrie's competent *New Testament Introduction,* 4th ed. [1990], 381–97.)

VII. **Purpose.** Every writer has his reasons and his motives, a point of view to urge upon his readers, a message to communicate, and vital information to set down and transmit. He is measured by the power of his persuasion, by the art with which he marshals and balances his facts, by the worth of what he has to say, and by the value of the history that he preserves and records. The writer's purpose can be multiple, and to compass successfully more ends than one in a piece of historical writing is a heavy demand upon intelligence and conviction. Such success is the mark of Luke's ability. More than one aim and purpose have been attributed to him by sympathetic commentators. They are not exclusive, and three of them may be considered.

A. History. Luke sought, like any historian, to give permanence to extraordinary events and to record the birth of a movement which he sensed would change the course of history, and in which he himself was a privileged participant. His aim, in short, was that of the most austere of the great Greek historians, Thucydides of Athens. The Great War, which determined the future shape of Greece and ended the Golden Age of Athens, had broken out between Thucydides' Athens and the grim state of Sparta. The young historian, for Thucydides was no more than thirty years of age, set to work, "believing it would be a great war, and more worthy of relation than any which had preceded it." Indeed it was, he believed, likely to be "the greatest movement yet known in history." Luke might have had these words in mind when he penned the prologue to the gospel, of which the Acts of the Apostles is its necessary sequel.

The Great Commission spoke of expanding areas of witness from Jerusalem to Judea, to Samaria, and the uttermost parts of the earth. Luke's book interprets the words. The gospel had set out to record with historical exactitude all that Jesus "began to do and to teach." The word "began" is significant because the first book was a beginning; the second recorded the next phase of the vast movement, with Christ's power operative in the lives of his disciples. Six sections of the book seem to record the outward surge of the apostolic witness. Each ends with a general statement and comment upon the process.

The first section is Acts 1:1—6:7, with the conclusion: "So the word of God spread. The number of disciples in Jerusalem increased rapidly, and a large number of priests became obedient to the faith." The Hellenistic evangelism begins with 6:8, and the story runs to 9:31, concluding with a clear reference to the Great Commission: "Then the church throughout Judea, Galilee and Samaria enjoyed a time of peace." The next section begins with Peter's momentous incursion into the Philistine coast and continues to 12:24: "But the word of God continued to increase and spread." From 12:25 to 16:5 runs the account of a great movement of Gentile evangelism. It concludes: "So the churches were strengthened in the faith and grew daily in numbers"—"churches" now, not simply members. From 16:6 to 19:20 Paul's progress is traced to its climax in Ephesus: "In this way the word of the Lord spread widely and grew in power." The final section takes the whole book to a logical conclusion. The scene has moved from Jerusalem to mighty Rome. The concluding words are a general comment similar to the five verses already quoted.

The divisions thus marked seem clear in the writer's purpose, but refraining from punctuating the theme, the reader cannot fail to see the expanding purpose and the emerging dynamic Christian community, zealous, aggressive, experimenting, organizing with widening aim, vision, and endeavor. It is an honest picture. The abortive experiment in a community of possessions is shown for the failure

it was, without unnecessary comment. Luke similarly recorded without comment the premature attempt to fill Judas's place. He mentioned with frankness the tension between the Hellenistic and metropolitan Jews in the charitable ministrations of the church (Acts 6:1). He told in full the somber story of ANANIAS and SAPPHIRA. In spite of the common hostility of the Jewish establishment against the church, Luke recorded with consistent fidelity every favorable Jewish reaction (5:34; 6:7; 17:11; 28:24). The picture of the primitive church—its personalities and problems and the major movement of its Gentile witness—is sharp and clear. If Luke had no other purpose, he had this, and fulfilled it well.

B. Universality. A second purpose, necessarily interwoven with the first, is to set forth the universality of Christianity. Luke had only to tell with sympathy and understanding the story of Paul's progress from Antioch and Jerusalem to Rome, to write simultaneously a commentary on Paul's own contention: "Here there is no Greek or Jew…slave or free, but Christ is all, and is in all" (Col. 3:11). He is careful to show that the liberal policy of Paul antedated the apostle and was no exotic invention of the scholar from Tarsus imposed upon a new movement of Judaistic reform. Philip went to the Samaritans and found acceptance among them. Stephen died for a wider gospel. Peter, not Paul, persuaded the church to open its doors to the non-Jewish world after his adventure at Caesarea. Luke stressed the Gentile membership of the church at Antioch, where the Christians first found their name and where, perhaps, he himself first became interested in Christianity and first met the man who was to be the greatest influence in his life.

C. Defense. The allegations and insinuations of the hostile Jewish hierarchy, beginning with the trial of Christ himself and reflected in the attitudes of many synagogues, made it relevant and urgent to stress the fact that Christianity was neither seditious nor disruptive. Apart from Jewish slander and intrigue, anyone who read aright the significance of such outbursts of hostility as the riot at Ephesus might have seen the urgency of such apology. Persecution was based in the proletariat. When the proletariat sickened of his cruelty, Nero himself was forced to call off the torment and murder of the Christians of Rome (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44). PLINY the Younger, the governor of BITHYNIA, at the end of the first decade of the 2nd cent. was forced, at the insistence of the guild of the butchers, to commence formal suppression of Christianity in his province (*Ep.* 10.56, 97). The shadows were gathering. Paul's great vision of the empire for Christ was to be lost in their murk. Luke's endeavor to show by repeated incidents that competent authorities had seen the church in action, had heard the allegations against it, and had cleared it of all disloyalty, malice, or sedition was a highly relevant action. He did this effectively in a manner arising from the development of his theme. It is, in fact, an emphasis carried consistently forward from the gospel, where neither the procurator, Pilate, nor Herod Antipas found substance in the charges brought against the prisoner, and a Roman centurion paid his tribute at the scene of death.

Sergius PAULUS, the proconsul of CYPRUS, was convinced of the claims of Christianity. In Philippi, the Roman colony and military bastion of northern Greece, the magistrates panicked when they found they had illegally assaulted and confined a Roman citizen (Acts 16:31–39). In Corinth, Gallio pompously swept the case from the order paper as one with which a Roman court had no valid concern or jurisdiction (18:11–16). The Asiarchs of Ephesus were manifestly well-disposed (19:31). The commandant of the Jerusalem garrison was respectful and had no reproach to make in his careful report to Caesarea (23:29). FESTUS saw no cause for punishment in the case as it was presented to him (25:21–27). Agrippa II, a cultured and well-informed Jew, agreed.

It has even been suggested, in the light of this consistent stress, that Luke looked upon his book as a brief of Paul's defense before the imperial tribunal in Rome. No doubt the book supplied sufficient detailed information for such a purpose, but Luke looked to a wider audience than the judge or judges of Paul's appeal. Moreover, the apologetic theme is interwoven and not to be disassociated from the narrative as a whole. Luke told his story, doubtless with these emphases, but the events of significance which he underlined were meaningful in the same manner in the context of their occurrence, and at the time of their happening. Rome was a very real goal in Paul's evangelism. It ranked with educated Jewry. To Rome, in the wide pattern of its imperialism, and to the devout Jews of his own Pharisaic caste, Paul sought with passion to bring the enlightening truth he had received. That he failed in both objects, within the narrower span of his life's effectiveness, does not diminish the value of a ministry that still influences history. Luke saw Jewry at large turn its back. At the time of Paul's stay in Rome, the object of winning the empire, or at least winning freedom to preach and teach without hindrance wherever the writ of the empire ran, was still a real and attainable goal, canvassed in conversation and watchfully observed in its progress. That the apologetic thread should be visible and prominent in the whole woven skein of the book was inevitable and a tribute to the writer's art.

VIII. Historical value. This theme has been touched at various angles under earlier headings, but it will be convenient to summarize and introduce a few other matters of importance. (1) If the Acts of the Apostles was written by Luke before A.D. 64, it was a contemporary document, both of the early church and the 1st cent. of the Roman peace, of paramount importance. It portrayed life in the provinces of the empire from the point of view of the alien, underlined problems and difficulties of government, revealed the machinery of imperialism in varied action, and provided vivid glimpses into the daily life of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean not to be matched elsewhere. Roman history, for the period from Tiberius's closing years to the principate of Nero, is dependent upon literary sources that were Rome-centered, and epigraphical sources that were impersonal and often problematic. Luke's narrative fills in some of the gaps in this one-sided and fragmentary record.

(2) It is fortunate that such a work was that of a trained mind and of a historian dedicated to accuracy and truth. The unity of the book has already been stressed. It builds to a climax and welds a complex variety of material together, omitting but never suppressing, emphasizing but never exaggerating, in a manner that demonstrates consistently the writer's clarity of purpose and complete honesty of mind. The frank revelation of the shortcomings of the early Christians is matched by the plain report of the "sharp contention" (Acts 15:39) between Paul and Barnabas, and the obvious disapproval with which Luke viewed Paul's last journey to Jerusalem. Paul had Luke's unstinted admiration and strongest loyalty, but neither quality quenched Luke's independence of mind and pursuit of historical truth. He wrote down what he judged worthy of transmission.

(3) Authenticity may be tried at various points. Luke's narrative traverses an immense tract of scene and circumstance and provides varied opportunity for that acid test of all historical writing—truth to life and veracity of detail. Paul went to Lystra and found himself in a Gentile environment, both alien and primitive. He and Barnabas became the center of an embarrassing experience, were mistaken for Hermes and Zeus in human form, and almost became the objects of worship and sacrifice (Acts 14:1–19). It is curious to find the Roman poet Ovid writing half a century before and detailing the story of Philemon and Baucis, which explains the local cult of Zeus and Hermes and accounts for the mistake of the rustic Lycaonians (*Metam.* 8.621–724). Let the story be probed a little more deeply in detail. Paul was the speaker, and thus he filled the role of Hermes, the gods' interpreter. Barnabas,

more silent and withdrawn, was called Zeus. The population prepared to sacrifice "before the city." Archaeologists have uncovered at Isauria, not far away, an altar to "Zeus before the gate." An inscription from Lystra dedicates an altar to the same two deities. The consistency of the evidence is striking.

Other localities are the scene of experiences just as revealing. With the ready adaptability that was the product of his Hellenism, Paul proceeded to Athens and forthwith adopted the manner and method of a Socrates. He argued and taught in the agora (Acts 17:17; see MARKET) with any who would talk and listen, and the scene might be

A view of the acropolis of Lystra (looking W), where Paul and Barnabas were mistaken for Hermes and Zeus (Acts 14:1–19).

duplicated from more than one Platonic dialogue. The Areopagus Court, which appears to have held some jurisdiction over who should teach in Athens, invited Paul to explain himself. Addressing himself rather to the STOICS with whom he had some points of contact, both in basic theology and by virtue of his Cilician origin, Paul spoke in a manner superbly adapted to the occasion, and with a relevance and understanding of his audience which no one acquainted with Athenian thought and Athenian literature could possibly miss.

Was it not the same Paul in an utterly different context, but betraying the same rhetorical technique, who addressed himself to the Pharisaic section of the Sanhedrin, with whom he had some intellectual contact, disregarding the SADDUCEES as he disregarded the EPICUREANS? And was it not the writer who thus briefly but surely depicted the same mind in action, simultaneously passing a stringent test of historiography? Ephesus is equally instructive. In smaller compass is the scene on the storm-driven galley, replete with details of ship and navigation, and vivid in its stark reporting.

(4) With similar surety Luke moved through the ramifications of imperial administration. Detail again provided a test. In 22 B.C., for example, Augustus made Cyprus a senatorial province. In the disguised autocracy called the empire, provincial administration was divided between the emperor and the now largely impotent senate. Senatorial provinces continued to be governed by proconsuls—the deputy of Acts 13:7 being an officer of this order. In a chapter further on (14:6), it is implied that in passing from Iconium to Lystra, Paul and Barnabas crossed an administrative frontier. Literary evidence from the 1st cent. appeared to contradict this assumption, and Luke seemed convicted of geographical error. The evidence as a whole, however, shows that Luke was correct (cf. F. F. Bruce *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary,* 3rd ed. [1990], 319).

Luke's accuracy in the terminology of magistracy was mentioned in connection with the proconsul of Cyprus. It may be similarly tested in Greek political contexts. In Philippi, for example, the officials are called by a Greek term *(stratēgos G5130)* that is the equivalent of Latin PRAETOR

(Acts 16:20, 35). It can be demonstrated from epigraphical evidence that this was a courtesy title for the *duumviri* of a Roman colony. Cicero speaks a little ironically of the practice *(Agr.* 2.93).

In the following chapter, where Luke mentioned the magistrates of Thessalonica (Acts 17:6, 8), the term *politarchēs G4485* is used, a title not found elsewhere in extant literature. It was once dismissed as ignorance on Luke's, or the writer's, part. Sixteen epigraphical examples have since come to light from the area to prove that it was a Macedonian term. Epigraphy similarly confirms Luke's title for "the first man" of Malta (Acts 28:7; NIV, "the chief official").

These tests of detail support the contention that Luke's book must be treated with deep respect by all historians, not only ecclesiastical but also classical, a fact not sufficiently recognized by the latter class.

IX. Religious value. There must be a certain overlapping of themes, for Christianity is historically based, and the religious value of the Acts of the Apostles is interwoven with its significance and worth as a document of early church history, its evangelism, and its teaching. Luke wrote as a historian, but as a Christian historian.

A. The Christian community. The book reveals the emergence of the Christian church as a separate entity. It is clear that at the beginning the first Christians had no thought of disassociating themselves from the JUDAISM in which they had been bred. They continued to use the temple as their center and rallying point (Acts 2:46; 3:1, 11; 5:21, 42), just as Christ himself had done, and the faithful remnant before him (Lk. 2:37). The priests, from whom numerous converts were drawn (Acts 6:7), no doubt continued in their formal duties. It is true that the church in those first days had the coherence of any protest movement, but that was no uncommon situation. The Qumran sect had sought the desert, in deliberate separation from urban Jewry and its manifest corruption. It was an old instinct of Israel to seek the desert and the old pure sources of undefiled devotion. Urban religion, ever prone to apostasy of one sort and another, was never safe from the sudden irruption of an Elijah, an Amos, or a John the Baptist with a fearless challenge and a call to repentance.

Christianity itself had been preceded by a wilderness movement of unprecedented proportions, but the first Christian groups sensed no call to withdraw or to separate. They remained where they were, predominantly in the cities, it appears, in confrontation with the Judaism they sought to enlighten and reform. But all societies demand a measure of organization, and it rapidly became clear that the church, conscious of the apostles' leadership, and increasingly aware that it was a society apart from both hierarchy and synagogue, needed some framework of authority, hence, the appointment of the DEACONS (Acts 6:1–6).

It was the scattering occasioned by persecution (Acts 8:1) that accelerated the process of self-awareness. Driven from Jerusalem, and finding a second headquarters in Antioch, the Christian community that separated from the apostles' authority seems to have developed a democratic organization on the model of the Greek political *ekklēsia G1711* (11:29; 13:1–3), which assumed responsibility for the dispatch of missionaries (13:2) and relief of the poor (11:29). The primacy of the Jerusalem community was recognized, both because of the presence of the apostles and because of the ancient sanctity of the Holy City. This preeminence was to pass with the destruction of Jerusalem in the Great Revolt (A.D. 61–70). There are indications that this tragedy was for the health of the church, for Jerusalem was clearly the home of the Pharisaic wing of the Christian community, more rigid in its Judaism than the task of world evangelism warranted, and aloof from Gentile participation. The scattering of the Jerusalem church members relieved Christians at large from the

embarrassment felt by Paul and James before the intransigence of this group (21:11–26).

Luke described frankly enough this potential schism, but was more impressed by the emerging unity of the church than by any of its divisions or differences. Paul is revealed as the model of all church statesmen, strong in controversy (Acts 15:2), conciliatory, as his worldwide collection for the poor of the Judean church pathetically demonstrated, clear-cut in his doctrine, and unwavering in the drive to his goal. The whole attitude of the church, as the book reveals it, was a zeal for expansion and extension, a sense of mission, which has inspired the missionary effort of all the centuries. The book is "the great handbook of Christian missionary enthusiasm" (A. W. F. Blunt, *The Acts of the Apostles* [1923], 39).

B. Preaching and doctrine. The book records the content of the first Christian preaching, and the first formulation of doctrine. In the first five chapters there is reference to four sermons or speeches of Peter (Acts 2:11–40; 3:11–26; 4:1–12; 5:31–32). The outline is brief, but Luke is something of a master in the art of précis, and the account of what was said was probably direct from Peter himself. An examination of these four short statements is enough to establish certain significant facts. It is clear that Paul's CHRISTOLOGY was not the elaborate invention of the apostle to the Gentiles. It is visible in its fundamentals in Peter's doctrine. The approach is invariably an appeal to the OT with full acceptance of its authority. Christ was the promised Messiah, whose coming, death, and resurrection were foretold in prophecy. The bodily historical RESURRECTION is given prominence. This, it should be noted, took place in Jerusalem, where the verification of the empty tomb was a simple matter. In short, Luke's revelation of the first forms of Christian doctrine gives no manner of encouragement or excuse to any modification or corruption of Christianity that diminishes the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, denies the full messiahship of Christ, or questions the historicity of the resurrection. It must be noted that Peter in his earlier pronouncements, like Paul after him (17:31–31), preached for decision and pointed his appeal with a strong call to repent. Little is said in these early speeches of the life and ethical teaching of Christ, but the context of the utterances accounts for this omission. The church was first in confrontation with the world. These were not directions to Christian communities anxious to interpret their Christian faith in daily behavior and social attitudes.

Stephen's long statement before the hostile Sanhedrin is revealing as the utterance of a Hellenistic Jew and a spiritual and intellectual predecessor of Paul. He began with OT Scriptures, showing on a broader scale than Peter how the whole history of Israel and the message of its prophets found fulfillment and meaning only in Christ. To him he ascribed a messianic title, "the Righteous One" (Acts 7:52). The speech was interrupted by tumult, and it is clear enough that the end is hurried and abbreviated. In 7:56, however, there is the clearest declaration of the resurrection.

It is interesting to set the first reported sermon of Paul alongside the statements of Peter and Stephen. The four elements noted earlier are all present: the deity of the crucified Christ, the witness to the resurrection, the confirmation of the OT, and the call to repent. It is the same with the addresses to Gentile audiences, of which there are two interesting examples. All the elements noted are present except that of OT confirmation, irrelevant in such a context. Paul resorted to natural theology in the case of the sermon at Lystra, and to philosophic, theistic speculation in the case of the more sophisticated approach to the Areopagus Court in Athens. The whole speech was a brilliantly interwoven structure of Hebraic and Hellenic thought.

A complete Christology can therefore be constructed from the Acts of the Apostles alone. That he "suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, descended to the Unseen World, rose again on the third day" can be taken phrase by phrase, like the rest of the Apostles' Creed, and

illustrated and documented by quotation from the book. The doctrine of the INCARNATION of Christ is implicit. He bears messianic titles. The ATONEMENT is implied in the call to REPENTANCE and FAITH, and BAPTISM for the forgiveness of sins. The HOLY SPIRIT is a fact of daily experience, enabling, guiding, enlightening.

Blunt *(The Acts of the Apostles,* 42) summarizes well: "The impression, which Acts gives, is of a society with an astonishing spiritual power and vigour, of a common life which has not yet learnt or tried fully to define the conditions of its own existence, but which understands enough to acknowledge, in Jesus Christ exalted at God's right hand, the source from which it flows, and to rely on the Spirit of Christ as its permanent principle of vitality. Interpretation and formulation were necessary stages, and soon followed; but this was the first and originative phase in the story of the doctrinal development of Christianity."

To underline then, in conclusion of this section, a point already made: without Luke's narrative of this first generation of the preaching and endeavor of the church, the epistles of the NT would have stood apart from the Gospels as mature but isolated statements of doctrine. Since so large a portion of their corpus is from the fertile pen of Paul, it would have been more possible than it now is to disassociate the teaching of Christ and the teaching of Paul. The attempt has been made with persistence and ingenuity enough. The narrative of Luke denies the likelihood or possibility. This is the supreme religious contribution of the book to Christian theology.

X. Chronology. In view of Luke's undoubted carefulness in chronology, it is disappointing to find some quite intractable problems in his second book, for which he is hardly to blame. It was his rejection of all conjecture concerning dates that led to the use of vague phrases, such as "in those days" or "after certain days," in the earlier part of the book. On this point Luke reflected the uncertainty of his authorities, the men and women of the early days of the church, who lived amid fast-moving events of peril and toil and had not considered the fact that they were making history. In the second half of the book, where chronology was more completely the historian's responsibility, Luke was not neglectful in his references to time. The difficulties arise from the lack of external points of reference and sheer paucity of information on matters of importance. Two problems will provide sufficient illustration.

A. The famine visit. Just prior to the record of Herod Agrippa's persecution of the church and the story of the king's own horrible death, there is a brief report of a threatened famine, a reference to a relief fund in Antioch, and the employment of Paul and Barnabas to carry the contributions to Jerusalem (Acts 11:21–30). This was, of course, one of those anticipatory references by which Luke habitually prepared the way for the entrance of major actors on the stage of his narrative. At first sight the passage seems to contain chronological promise, for Herod died in the late summer of A.D. 44, and the sharp persecution of the church probably took place in the early months of the same year (see HEROD VII). Was Paul's visit to Jerusalem, therefore, in the closing months of 43, or early in 44? Was it the second visit of Gal. 2:1 in connection with which he makes an ambiguous reference to "fourteen years"? The date of the famine does not help. Josephus mentions a famine that afflicted Judea under the procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander between 44 and 48. It might be supposed that famine relief would be called for in the later rather than in the earlier years of the dearth. This assumption would disrupt a chronological sequence that it is natural to assume between the two successive chapters involved. Or did the church, moved by the vividness of AGABUS'S prophecy and the appeal that doubtless accompanied it, send aid in advance? But since authorities as

diverse as TACITUS, SUETONIUS, Dio Cassius, and EUSEBIUS refer to the frequent affliction of dearth through the Roman world in Claudius's principate, need the famine of Josephus's account be the one referred to in Acts 11:21–30? In other words, the date of Paul's journey to Jerusalem with his future colleague can only be guessed. It was before the outbreak of the Herodian persecution, and probably not long before. The margin of doubt is slight but real.

B. Festus. A problem equally insoluble gathers around the date of Felix's departure from his procuratorship and the arrival of his successor, Porcius Festus. The latter event is a crucial date, for from it Paul's voyage to Rome, his trial, and his probable release are to be relatively dated. Unfortunately the year is quite uncertain. According to Eusebius, Felix left at the end of A.D. 55, and Festus, presumably, arrived soon afterward. But this date is difficult to fit into a reasonable Pauline chronology. Space forbids a survey of the controversial details (R. J. Knowling collects the variant authorities in *EGT,* 2:39ff.), but the situation illustrates the margin of two or three years' uncertainty that haunts the chronology of Acts, and indeed may be traced back to the very date of the nativity.

A tentative chronological scheme may be set out as follows:

(1) The crucifixion, A.D. 29. This follows a date late in 5 B.C. for the birth of Christ. (See E. M.

Aerial view of Herod's palace in Caesarea (looking SE). The Roman Governor, Felix, ordered Paul kept under guard here, where he remained for two years. Porcius Festus then succeeded Felix and took charge over Paul's trial (Acts 21–25).

Blaiklock, *The Century of the New Testament* [1962], 141–51.)

(2) Paul's conversion. This cannot have been as early as A.D. 30. Time must be allowed for the developments in the first seven chapters of the book, probably 33 or 34. Paul's reference to Aretas (2 Cor. 11:32) is no help. It provides another tantalizing problem of two or three years' margin of uncertainty.

(3) The first missionary journey and the visits to Cyprus and Galatia may have occurred in A.D. 46, 47, or possibly 48.

(4) The Council of Jerusalem on Gentile admission can best be assigned to A.D. 48.

(5) The second missionary journey and the crossing to Greece would then belong to A.D. 48 to 52. Aquila and Priscilla, Paul's hosts in Corinth, were expelled from Rome in 49. Gallio came to

Corinth in 52.

(6) Asia and associated activities, A.D. 52 to 55.

(7) Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, A.D. 56.

(8) Incarceration in the garrison town of Caesarea, A.D. 51–58.

(9) Journey to Rome. Late autumn, winter, and early spring of A.D. 51–59.

(10) House arrest in Rome, A.D. 51–61.

(11) Outbreak of imperial persecution, A.D. 64 (July).

(12) Paul's death probably occurred in A.D. 66 or 67.

Conjecture haunts the list. With equal probability, F. F. Bruce thrusts most of the list forward by about a year. No problems of historical accuracy or authenticity are involved. Fuller information, literary or epigraphical, could clear up the major problems outlined. Under the latter head, information could still be forthcoming. See CHRONOLOGY (NT).

XI. The church and the book. Luke's book was not circulated to specific groups like Paul's letters, and there is no clear information on the manner in which it gained currency in the church. Its association with the gospel of the same author was, of course, sufficient to secure its survival and multiplication. It was so obviously a sequel to the first book, that it could hardly be separated when the four Gospels gained authoritative currency early in the 2nd cent.

At the same time, the NT Epistles, and especially the Pauline corpus, gained canonicity. They already possessed the authority that would naturally be granted them in the church communities to which they were originally addressed, and it could easily be assumed that the Acts of the Apostles, gaining popularity at an earlier date in the church, actually stimulated the collection and wider publication of the epistles.

Whatever the case may be, it is clear that the value and significance of the book would be obvious when the two other collections attained their place of usefulness and authority among Christians. Gospels and Epistles were separate, sacred collections and needed a strong link. The Acts of the Apostles provided this link, demonstrated Paul's apostleship, and showed its intimate connection with the apostleship of Peter and the rest. It also demonstrated the unity of the first work and testimony of the church, and provided the indispensable historical background for the letters. It is therefore, as Harnack remarked, the pivotal book of the whole NT, and in a very real sense binds the canon together.

At the end of the 2nd cent., TERTULLIAN was emphatic about the importance and authority of the book, denouncing with quite characteristic vehemence all who fell short in respect of this. Quotations can be traced through the whole century with varying certainty. As early as A.D. 95, Clement of Rome (see CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF) appears to quote the logion of Christ mentioned in Acts 20:35. He could, of course, have drawn it from the same source as Paul. The *Epistle of Barnabas,* in A.D. 100 or thereabouts, and the *Didache* of the same approximate date reflect the language of Acts 4:32. Hermas's *Shepherd,* of a few years later, seems to refer to Acts 4:12. IGNATIUS likewise, and at about the same date, seems to have Acts 1:25 in mind. POLYCARP'S *Epistle to the Philippians,* written about 120, seems to refer to Acts 2:24 and 10:42, and the *Epistle to Diognetus,* of the middle of the century, to Acts 17:21–25. Two passages in JUSTIN MARTYR'S first *Apology,* also of the mid-century, contain an allusion to Acts 17:25. The so-called *Acts of Paul,* by an unknown Christian of Asia Minor about 160, is quite certainly dependent upon the canonical book. Hegesippus, writing about 175, described the stoning of James the Just in words clearly reminiscent of Luke's story of Stephen's martyrdom. A letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons, written in 177, referred similarly to

Stephen and showed knowledge of the regulation mentioned in 15:20.

The date of the book has been fixed on other grounds than these quotations, apparent quotations, and references. None of them could be pressed with certainty. Other explanations of verbal similarities and of resemblances of content are possible. Nevertheless, the cumulative evidence suggests a wide currency for Acts during the 2nd cent. Since that century is not a well-documented period, the traces thus listed are even more convincing.

(Significant commentaries include R. J. Knowling, *The Acts of the Apostles,* EGT [1897]; R. B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles* [1904]; K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury, vol. 3 of *The Acts of the Apostles* [= *The Beginnings of Christianity,* Part 1], ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, 5 vols. [1921–33]; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *The Acts of the Apostles,* MNTC [1931]; A. W. F. Blunt, *The Acts of the Apostles* [1948]; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Acts of the Apostles,* TNTC [1959]; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* [1971]; E. F. Harrison, *Acts: The Expanding Church* [1975]; R. Pesch, *Die Apostelge-schichte,* EKKNT, 2 vols. [1986]; H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* Hermeneia [1987]; F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts,* NICNT, rev. ed. [1988]; id., *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary,* 3rd ed. [1990]; J. B. Polhill, Acts, NAC 26 [1992]; C. K. Barrett, A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1991–98]; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles,* AB 31 [1998]; J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte,* KEK, 17th. ed [1998]; B. Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* [1998]; M. M. Culy and M. C. Parsons, *Acts: A Handbook on the Greek Text* [2003]; D. Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres (1–12)* [2007].

(See also M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* [1979]; R. I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* [1987]; I. H. Marshall and D. Peterson, eds., *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* [1988]; B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke, eds., *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* [1993]; see also subsequent volumes in the series The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting]; D. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the 'Acts of the Apostles'* [2002]; T. Nicklas and M. Tilly, eds., *The Book of Acts as Church History: Text, Textual Traditions and Ancient Interpretations* [2003]; L. C. A. Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context* [2005]; L. T. Johnson, "Luke-Acts, Book of," in *ABD,* 4:401–20; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *The Acts of the Apostles* [2002].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Acua uh-kyoo'uh. KJV Apoc. variant of AKKUB (1 Esd. 5:30).

Acub, Acuph ay'kuhb, ay'kuhf. Respectively, KJV and NRSV Apoc. variants of BAKBUK (1 Esd. 5:31).

Aczib ak'zib (אַכְזִיב *H424,* "lying, deceptive, disappointing"). Also Achzib; TNIV Akzib. (1) A boundary city of the tribe of ASHER on the Mediterranean coast (Josh. 19:29) from which the Asherites were not able to drive out the Canaanites (Jdg. 1:31). EUSEBIUS places Aczib on the road from Ptolemais (Acco) to TYRE. In NT times it was called Ecdippa, now identified with modern ez-Zib, 11 mi. N of Acco. (See *NEAEHL,* 1:31–36.)

(2) A city in the SHEPHELAH of JUDAH, probably to be identified with KEZIB (Chezib) in Gen. 38:5, where several of Judah's sons were born, and with COZEBA (KJV Chozeba) in 1 Chr. 4:21–22, where its inhabitants are called "sons of Shelah son of Judah." Aczib is in the city lists of Judah and Simeon between KEILAH and MARESHAH (Josh. 15:44), and so not far from ADULLAM (cf. Gen. 38:1).

Micah makes a play on the meaning of the name when he says: "Aczib will prove deceptive [*ʾakzîb lĕʾakzāb]* to the kings of Israel" (Mic. 1:14). It is tentatively identified with modern Tell el-Beida, 20 mi. SW of Jerusalem (but see LIBNAH).

E. S. KALLAND

Adad. See HADAD (DEITY).

Adadah ad'uh-duh (עֲדָעָדָה *H6368,* derivation uncertain). A city of the tribe of JUDAH on its SE border near EDOM (Josh. 15:22). Because the SEPTUAGINT (Codex B) reads *Arouēl,* many scholars emend the text to *ʿarʿārâ* and identify the place as AROER (= Khirbet ʿArʿarah), some 12 mi. SE of BEERSHEBA.

E. S. KALLAND

Adah ay'duh (עָדָה *H6336,* "ornament, adornment" or "beauty"). (1) A wife of LAMECH and the mother of JABAL and JUBAL (Gen. 4:11–21).

(2) The first-mentioned wife of ESAU, a daughter of ELON the Hittite (Gen. 36:2). Adah was the mother of Eliphaz (vv. 4, 10), whose sons are called the sons of Adah (vv. 12, 16). The marriage of Esau and Adah introduced Canaanite blood and influence into ISAAC'S family. See also BASEMATH.

E. S. KALLAND

Adaiah uh-day'yuh (עֲדָיָה *H6347* and *H6348* [only 2 Chr. 23:1], "Yahweh has adorned" or "pleasing to Yahweh"; see IDDO). (1) A man of Bozkath; he was the father of Jedidah and thus grandfather of King JOSIAH (2 Ki. 22:1).

(2) A Levite of the family of GERSHON, ancestor of ASAPH, the temple singer (1 Chr. 6:41; apparently the same as IDDO in v. 21).

(3) The seventh of nine sons of Shimei listed among the Benjamite heads of family living in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 8:21, 28). Shimei (Shema in v. 13) was the fifth son of Elpaal.

(4) Son of Jehoram; a priest and head of family who returned to Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:12; a fuller genealogy is given in Neh. 11:12).

(5) Father of MAASEIAH; the latter was one of the commanders who helped JEHOIADA destroy ATHALIAH and enthrone JOASH in Judah (2 Chr. 23:1).

(6) A descendant of Bani. He is listed among those who married foreign women during the exile but put them away during the reformation under EZRA (Ezra 10:29; 1 Esd. 9:30 [KJV, "Jedeus"]). Some believe this is the same individual as #7 below. See also BANI #6.

(7) A descendant of Binnui (Ezra 10:39). See #6 above.

(8) An ancestor of Maaseiah; the latter was a Judahite in Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time whose lineage descended through PEREZ (Neh. 11:5).

E. S. KALLAND

Adalia uh-day'lee-uh (עֲדַלְיָא *H130,* meaning unknown). The fifth of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:8).

Adam (person) ad'uhm (אֲדַלְיָא *H134,* "man, human being, humankind"; 'Aדָם *G77).* The etymology

of this name is uncertain, but it is probably related to the noun *)ăd̄āmâ H141,* "ground," or to the verb *)ādēm H131,* "to be red." The first of these (though possibly dependent on the second) is the meaning indicated by the biblical text (Gen. 2:7).

I. In the OT

A. Common and proper noun. Adam occurs approximately 500 times with the meaning "mankind." In the opening chapters of Genesis, with three exceptions (Gen. 1:26; 2:5, 20), it has the definite article *(hā(ādām),* indicating "man" or "the man" rather than "Adam." The first undisputed occurrence of the name of Adam is in the genealogy of Gen. 5:1–5. It is not necessary to assume thereby that the early chapters of Genesis deal generally with the beginning of human life rather than with the historical details of the first created individual. Of necessity the first created man is "the man" and the designation is equivalent to a proper name.

B. The Genesis narrative. The first chapter of Genesis focuses attention on Yahweh and his creative acts. The creation of "man…male and female" (Gen. 1:21–30) is represented as the crowning act of the whole process, although other beasts were made on the same day. Only in the case of human beings is gender specified (v. 27), which hints at, if it does not specify, a single pair. Man is said to be created in the image of God and given dominion over all other life, animate and inanimate.

The second chapter is not strictly a creation story, for many of the indispensable features of the first chapter are absent. It is a selective account, centering upon man and ultimately connected with Gen. 3, for which it provides an introduction. Man is portrayed as formed from the dust of the ground and animated by the divine breath (2:7). He was set in the Garden of EDEN (vv. 8, 15), where the obligation of obedience to the divine will was introduced in connection with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (vv. 11–17). Names were given to all the animals and birds, but since none of these was a suitable companion for man, the woman EVE was fashioned from his own body (vv. 21–23). Initially they lived together in complete innocence (v. 25).

Chapter 3 recounts the FALL through the subtle insinuations of the serpent, who cast doubts upon the integrity of God and appealed to human pride (Gen. 3:1–5). First Eve and then Adam were involved (vv. 1–7), and it is perhaps significant that they judged themselves by hiding from God (v. 8) before they were excluded from the garden (vv. 22, 24). Other aspects of the punishment included (1) a perpetuation of the enmity between the seed of the woman and the serpent; (2) the cursing of the soil upon which mankind was dependent (vv. 11–19), and (3) the pains of childbirth (v. 16). After this, Adam became the father of CAIN and ABEL (4:2). Following the murder of Abel, Eve gave birth to SETH when Adam was 130 (LXX 230) years old (4:25; 5:3). Adam died at the age of 930 years (5:5). It is perhaps of significance that the only other unequivocal reference to Adam in the OT is in the genealogy of 1 Chr. 1:1; in other references

Akkadian or Neo-Sumerian cylinder seal (2201–2100 B.C.) depicting a female figure and a god on either side of a date palm, with a snake behind them (the cylinder itself is on the upper left; the other objects are impressions, actual size and enlarged, that show the whole surface). Because of its thematic similarities with the Genesis narrative, some early scholars referred to it as the Adam and Eve Seal; we now know that such a depiction was common in banquet scenes.

(Deut. 32:8; Job 31:33) the word is best regarded as a common noun. The absence of allusions to the historical events of Gen. 1–4 is surprising; clearly the Israelites of the OT period traced their national history from ABRAHAM, not Adam.

C. Alleged Mesopotamian affinities. The connection of the Mesopotamian creation accounts with the biblical account is less significant than in the case of the flood narratives (see FLOOD, GENESIS). The common connections are infrequent and tenuous, and it is apparent that each is *sui generis.* The purpose of the creation of man in the Mesopotamian account was to form a labor force to provide for the gods and to free them from arduous toil. This has no genuine counterpart in Genesis, where Adam's toil does not become arduous until after his exclusion from Eden. The method of creation in the nonbiblical accounts is also strikingly dissimilar, the blood and flesh of a slaughtered god mixed with clay and the spittle of the gods (in some accounts) providing the materials for this act. There is no hint of the use of any part of a deity, living or dead, in Genesis.

D. The theological implications. The place of Adam is carefully detailed and safe-guarded in the Genesis narrative. He is other than God, with no actual physical descent from the Supreme Being or from any inferior deity. He is also sharply marked off from all other aspects of creation, being the only object into which God "breathed…the breath of life" (Gen. 2:7). Each stage of creation is approved with the words, "And God saw that it was good" (1:10, 12, 18, 21, 25, cf. 31), and the inference is that the creation of human beings was its consummation and climax. They therefore stand

on the borderline between God and his CREATION. They are of the earth, and yet made in the IMAGE OF GOD and given dominion over the earth.

That human beings were made in the image of God has been interpreted in different ways, but the most acceptable is that they were created as independent, spiritual beings with a capacity for communion with their Maker, a notion that finds expression in the inference of an evening tryst (Gen. 3:8). Man therefore is given a worthy place in God's creation, a concept that caused the psalmist to wonder, but the majesty is all God's, not man's (cf. Ps. 8:1, 9). Adam's disobedience meant that SIN supervened in this relationship and marred it. However, sin is shown to be essentially alien to humanity, which destroys what is fundamentally good, not only in human beings, but also in the whole of creation. The use of the generic "the man" implies that these incidents involve or typify the whole of humanity.

II. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. In the noncanonical Jewish writings, significant developments took place in the interpretation of the character and significance of Adam. He was given a glory which transcended that of every other human being. In Sir. 49:16, at the conclusion of a catalog of the virtues of Israel's great leaders, one reads, "but above every other created living being was Adam." Elsewhere he is described as "a second angel, honored and great and glorious" *(2 En.* 30:11–12; *OTP,* 1:152). Another line of development is that the effect of Adam's sin involved all humanity. Thus 4 Esd. 3:21, "For the first Adam, burdened with a wicked heart, transgressed and was overcome, as were also all who were descended from him." And again, "For a grain of evil seed was sown in Adam's heart from the beginning, and how much ungodliness it has produced until now…" (4:30). These two concepts find a certain reconciliation in PHILO JUDAEUS, the outstanding representative of Hellenistic Judaism. Philo *(Alleg. Interp.* 1.31–32) distinguished between the two types of men (Gen. 1; 2). The first man, the "heavenly man," is uncreated, he is no more than an idea representing the perfection of humanity in the mind of God. The second man (ch. 2) is the "earthly man," the historical Adam, the forefather of sinful humanity.

III. In the NT

A. The Gospels. Christ was questioned concerning the law of DIVORCE (Matt. 19:1–9; cf. Mk. 10:1–9), and in his response he alluded to the creation of Adam and Eve, indicating the fundamental nature of the MARRIAGE bond in the original purpose of God (cf. Gen. 1:27; 2:24). The provision for divorce in the Mosaic law (Deut. 24:1–4) is regarded as secondary and permissive because of man's "hardness of heart" (Matt. 19:8). (It should be noted that in this passage, as well as in all other NT references, it is apparent that Christ and his disciples accepted the historical existence of the first man Adam and his fall as narrated in the early chapters of Genesis.)

Mention has been made of the tendency of the Jews to trace the history of the Jews back to Abraham, the father of the nation. This approach is reflected in the genealogy of Matt. 1:1–17. Luke, whose gospel is directed toward the Gentiles, sets the birth of Christ in a universal context by tracing his descent to Adam, the father of mankind (Lk. 3:21–38). The assertion of Lk. 3:38 that Adam was "the son of God" probably hints at the fact that he, and all his descendants, share in the divine nature.

B. The Epistles. There is a passing reference to Adam in the Epistle of Jude, which notes that ENOCH was "in the seventh generation from Adam" (Jude 14 NRSV). Two passages place stress on the creation of Adam before Eve (who was formed *from* man) as indicating man's essential priority in

the realm of public worship (1 Cor. 11:8; 1 Tim. 2:11–14, with an allusion to Eve's leading part in the fall). There is also an oblique reference to Adam in Phil. 2:6, which says that Christ "did not consider equality with God something to be grasped"; in contrast, Adam succumbed to the temptation to "be like God, knowing good and evil" (Gen. 3:5), and ate the forbidden fruit (cf. 3:22).

The first of three references that are of vital importance in Paul's theology is found in 1 Cor. 15:22. A theme already noted in connection with the intertestamental literature, namely, the involvement of all mankind in Adam's transgression, is repeated. Paul observes that if there is a solidarity in Adam that brings death, there is a corresponding solidarity in Christ that brings life. This theme is worked out in greater detail in Rom. 5:11–21 (see below).

In the context of a discussion on the RESURRECTION (1 Cor. 15:41–49), a fundamental distinction is drawn between the natures of the two great representative men, Adam, "the first man," and Christ, "the second man." The first man was made of dust; he was a physical creature of flesh and blood, a perishable being. All people, because of the fact of racial solidarity, share this nature, which cannot inherit the kingdom of God. But Christ, in the starkest contrast, is the "man from heaven," an imperishable spiritual being and a life-giving spirit. Those who are his partake fully of his nature and bear his image. The lesson drawn is that the resurrection is not to be conceived in material terms but in terms of a fulfillment of this relationship to Christ in the sharing of his immortal spiritual nature (1 Cor. 15:51–54; cf. the illustration from nature and its inference in vv. 31–44).

The same comparison between the solidarity of humankind in Adam and the redeemed in Christ is worked out in Rom. 5:11–21. In this case, however, the context is Christ's work of salvation. Adam's sin is shown to have involved all humanity in judgment, condemnation, and death. Whether this death is spiritual or physical is not made clear; probably both are involved. (There is no disparity between this section with its emphasis upon Adam's sinful act and 1 Cor. 15:41–49, where Adam's sinful nature is prominent. Adam's sin is not mentioned in the latter section, but neither is Christ's work of atonement; both acts, however, underlie the discussion.) This involvement in Adam's sin included the generations born before the giving of the Mosaic law, which made specific the main classes of transgressions.

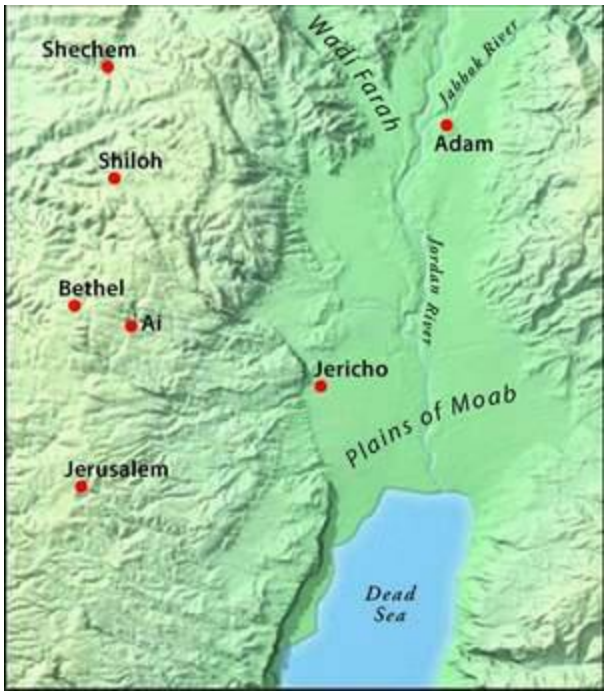
It has been objected that this aspect of Paul's teaching lacks an ethical connection with the individual, since it seems to suggest that people perish because of an inherited depravity, or because they were necessarily involved in Adam's sin. Paul may, in fact, have accepted both of these alternatives (the first is the outcome of the second) as the logical explanation of the universality of sin, which he notes elsewhere (cf. Rom. 3:1–23). The mode of sin's transmission is not uppermost here; Adam's transgression marked the entrance of sin into the world, and in Paul's view, sin was a sufficiently powerful force to affect all human beings, even the would-be righteous person (cf. Rom. 7), until the effective intervention of Christ. In any case, his was no crude or mechanical concept of the crushing effects of heredity. The individual's moral responsibility is made clear in the observation that "death came to all people, because all sinned" (5:12 TNIV).

Paul's main concern, however, is with the broad contrast between Adam and Christ, both viewed as the heads of the human race. Again, there is the sharpest contrast between the effect of Adam's one act of trespass and Christ's one act of righteousness. There is no exact parallel; the act of Christ is markedly superior in its ultimate effects, since it annuls the evil legacy of Adam's transgression. Christ's act was a free gift, following many trespasses that, logically, ought to have received their due punishment. This unmerited gift brought JUSTIFICATION, acquittal, and life for all men. The emphasis is upon the free grace of God that supervened in a situation of death and transformed it into one of life through Christ's perfect act of obedience in his death on a cross. Christ,

therefore, became the new spiritual head of a restored humanity, in contradistinction to Adam, who was the first, physical head of the fallen race.

A. E. CUNDALL

Adam (place) ad'uhm (אָדָם, "man, human being"). A city in the JORDAN Valley where the second largest river of TRANSJORDAN, the JABBOK, empties into the Jordan River. Here, according to Josh. 3:11–16, the Jordan was dammed, probably by the collapse of the 40-ft.-high banks along this narrow stretch of the river, allowing Israel to pass over



Adam.

dryshod opposite JERICHO (c. 16 mi. S of Adam). The name is found in an inscription of Pharaoh SHISHAK, preserved in the Amon temple at Karnak, that describes his invasion of Palestine in the fifth year of REHOBOAM the son of SOLOMON (cf. 1 Ki. 14:25 –26). The site is identified with modern Tell ed-Damiyeh.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Adam, Apocalypse of. A Jewish-Gnostic document preserved in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC V, 5). While the Coptic codex itself is dated A.D. 351–400, the original Greek work may have been composed two or three centuries earlier. It begins with the statement, "The revelation that Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundredth year" (i.e., near the end of Adam's life; cf. the unrelated work ADAM, TESTAMENT OF). After describing the FALL, Adam speaks of his slavery to "the God who created us," a hostile power that is contrasted with "the God of truth." Adam then relates the appearance of three strangers who revealed the future, including the flood and the coming of "the Illuminator of knowledge," who redeems the souls of the seed of NOAH. (For an English trans. and introduction, see *OTP,* 1:701–19.)

Adam, Books of. See ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF.

Adam, second. See SECOND ADAM.

Adam, Testament of. A Syriac work, but also extant in translations into Greek and other languages, consisting of three independent sections: (1) the first two chapters, known as the Horarium, in which ADAM describes the hours of the day and of the night; (2) chapter 3, the Prophecy of Adam as related by his son Seth; (3) the final chapter, the Hierarchy, which catalogs the various categories of angels. The material appears to have a Jewish origin, but it was adopted and heavily revised by Christians. In particular, the third chapter predicts that God would come into the world by being born of a virgin, that he would die and be raised, and that then he would grant Adam the wish of becoming a god. (English trans. and introduction in *OTP,* 1:981–95.)

Adamah ad'uh-muh (אֲדָמָה *H142,* "ground"). One of the nineteen fortified and fenced cities of NAPHTALI listed in Josh. 19:36. Not to be confused with Adami Nekeb (v. 33) or with Adam (3:16), its location has been disputed, but its position in the list would place it N of the Sea of Galilee. Y. Aharoni *(The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 53, 161, 429) identifies it with modern Qarn Ḥaṭṭin (Shemesh-adam in THUTMOSE III's city-list, no. 51), some 4 mi. W of Rakkath, which lies on the W shore of the Sea of Galilee.

E. S. KALLAND

Adam and Eve, Life of. A title applied to a number of noncanonical works dealing with real or imagined events in the lives of the first family. Two major versions of the story are extant, one in Greek, *The Apocalypse of Moses* (preserved also in Armenian and Slavonic translations), and the other in Latin, *Vita Adae et Evae.* Similar material is found in the extensive "Adam literature," such as the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* and the Ethiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve.* See also ADAM, APOCALYPSE OF; ADAM, TESTAMENT OF. Because of the Hebraisms, rabbinic parallels, and the absence of any anti-Christian polemic, L. S. A. Wells *(APOT,* 2:121–27) concludes that the original (prob. Heb. or Aram.) was written by a Jew, perhaps in ALEXANDRIA, some time after A.D. 60 and not later than 4th cent., with the earlier date more likely. (For a recent English trans. of the Greek and Latin texts, plus introduction, see *OTP,* 2:241–95.)

The Greek version begins with the expulsion of the first parents from EDEN. In a dream, EVE foresaw ABEL'S murder by CAIN. ADAM suffered illness and pain for the first time at the end of his life. SETH and Eve attempted to get oil from the Tree of Life to heal him. Seth was attacked by a beast that refused to respect the image of God in man. MICHAEL, the archangel, appeared and told Seth that Adam was incurable. When Adam died, his soul was taken to the third heaven after purification. Eve instructed Seth to record the events of his parents' lives on tablets of stone. Adam was interred by angels with Seth as the only witness. At this time Abel's body was also interred. Eve died a week later. Michael instructed Seth concerning her burial and warned him not to mourn more than six days (cf. *Jub.* 2.23).

Certain elements missing from the Greek text are present in the Latin version. Upon the expulsion, for example, Eve requested Adam to slay her because she had brought this calamity upon them. Adam suggested a period of repentance in which he was to stand in the JORDAN for forty days and she in the TIGRIS for thirty-seven. Eve suffered a second seduction on the eighteenth day when SATAN, as an angel of light, told her to leave the river since she had been forgiven. Adam unmasked his deceit. Satan then explained that he was jealous because God had told the angels to worship Adam.

A. K. HELMBOLD

adamant. This English noun, found twice in the KJV (Ezek. 3:9; Zech. 7:12), refers to a mineral or metal object that is impenetrably hard; it is sometimes used as a synonym for "diamond" (cf. Jer. 17:1 KJV and NEB). Up to the 17th cent. there was a confusion of ideas between DIAMOND (or other hard gems) and the magnetic iron oxide known as loadstone or magnetite (through a false etymology from *ad-amantem,* "having an attraction for"). The corresponding Greek term (*adamas,* "untamed, invincible") was applied by Theophrastus to the hardest crystalline gem then known, the emery stone of Naxos in Greece, emery being a massive form of corundum (aluminium oxide) mixed with iron oxides, which is used for polishing hard surfaces. In Latin (*adamas)* it was used, poetically, for the hardest iron or steel, or anything hard or indestructible. PLINY the Elder used it to refer to a transparent crystalline gem, probably corundum (white sapphire), which among natural minerals is next in hardness to diamond. See FLINT.

D. R. BOWES

Adami Nekeb ad'uh-mi'-nee'keb (אֲדָמִי הַנֶּקֶב *H146,* "ground of the pass" or "red pass"). A site on the border of NAPHTALI (Josh. 19:33). The KJV, following the SEPTUAGINT, divides the name into two, Adami and Nekeb. It is probably to be located at Khirbet Damiyeh (or Khirbet et-Tell, just above it), a Bronze Age site 5 mi. SW of TIBERIAS on the W side of the Sea of Galilee, controlling a pass on a caravan route from the area E of Galilee to the plain of Acco. This site, however, appears to be several miles from the Naphtali-Zebulun border. None of the names in the list of fortified Naphtali cities (19:31–38) are identified with the border cities (vv. 31–34; Adami Nekeb and DAMAH are generally understood to be different places).

E. S. KALLAND

Adar ay'dahr (אֲדָר *H160;* Aram. *H10009).* (1) The twelfth month (late February to early March) in the Babylonian CALENDAR used by postexilic Israel. When necessary because of the lunar year, a second intercalary Adar was used (Ezra 6:15; Esth. 3:7, 13; 8:12; 9:1, 11–21).

(2) KJV alternate form of ADDAR (Josh. 15:3).

E. S. KALLAND

Adasa ad'uh-suh (Ἀδασα). A town mentioned in 1 Macc. 7:40, 45 and JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 12.10.5), located between BETH HORON and JERUSALEM, most likely at the site of the present Khirbet ʿAddaseh, about 6 mi. SE of Beth Horon. Here, after prayer, Judas MACCABEE with 3,000 men defeated the Syrian army under NICANOR, a victory that occasioned an annual observance on the thirteenth of Adar (1 Macc. 7:49).

E. S. KALLAND

Adbeel ad'bee-uhl (אַדְבְּאֵל *H118,* possibly "languishing for God" or "grief of God"). Third son of ISHMAEL and grandson of ABRAHAM by HAGAR the Egyptian (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chr. 1:29). The descendants of Adbeel should perhaps be identified with the Idibaʿileans, a bedouin Aramean tribe mentioned in Assyrian records of TIGLATH-PILESER (A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Critics and the Verdict of the Monuments* [1894], 202; cf. *ANET,* 283, and see F. V. Winnett, "The Arabian Genealogies in

Genesis," in *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament,* ed. H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed [1970], 171–96, esp. 191–96). See also NODAB.

E. S. KALLAND

Addai ad*'i.* The founder of the church at EDESSA, according to Syriac tradition. Ancient writers identified him with the apostle THADDAEUS (cf. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 1.12.3; 1.13.1–22). See DOCTRINA ADDAEI; THADDAEUS, ACTS OF.

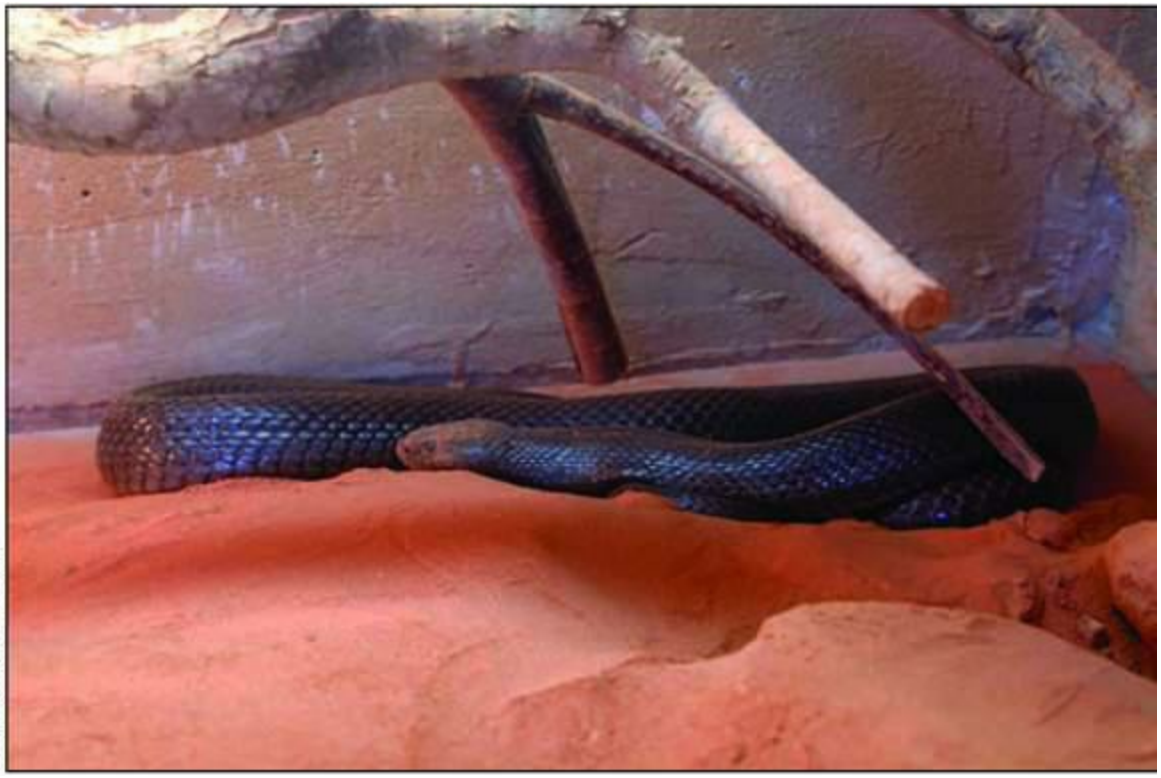
Addan ad'uhn. See ADDON.

Addar (person) ad'ahr (אַדָּר *H161,* "glorious"). Son of BELA and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:3), also called ARD (Num. 26:40; in Gen. 46:21, Ard is included among the "sons" [probably meaning "descendants"] of Benjamin). The name Addar in 1 Chronicles may be the result of a scribal transposition of the consonants *d and r.*

Addar (place) ad'ahr (אַדָּר *H162,* "glorious," or less likely, "threshing floor"). A fortified city on the S border of JUDAH near KADESH BARNEA (Josh. 15:3; KJV, "Adar"). Addar may be the same as HAZAR ADDAR (Num. 34:4), and a possible location is ʿAin Qedeis, about 5 mi. SE of Kadesh Barnea.

E. S. KALLAND

adder. A word used in the NIV to translate Heb. *)eʿfeh H704* (Job 20:16; Isa. 30:6; 59:5), which refers to a poisonous snake, a kind of VIPER. The word is used in the KJV and NRSV as a translation of other Hebrew terms. See also ASP; SERPENT.



The venom of this desert cobra (Walterinnesia aegyptia, found in the Negev and the Judean Desert) is neurotoxic, causing respiratory arrest.

Addi ad'i ('Αδδί *G79).* (1) An Israelite whose descendants returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 9:31); perhaps an alternate form of ADNA (Ezra 10:30).

(2) Son of Cosam, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:28).

Additions to Daniel. See AZARIAH, PRAYER OF; BEL AND THE DRAGON; SUSANNAH.

Additions to Esther. See ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO.

Additions to Jeremiah. See BARUCH, BOOK OF; JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF.

Addo ad'oh. KJV Apoc. form of IDDO (1 Esd. 6:1).

Addon ad'uhn (אַדּוֹן *H124* [Neh. 7:61] and אִדֹּן *H150* [Ezra 2:59], meaning unknown). One of five Babylonian places from which certain Jewish exiles returned who were unable to prove their Israelite ancestry (Ezra 2:59 [KJV and other versions, "Addan"]; Neh. 7:61). If Addon here is a place name, its location is unknown. However, the parallel in the APOCRYPHA reads, "The following are those who came up from Tel-melah and Tel-harsha, under the leadership of Cherub, Addan, and Immer" (1 Esd. 5:36 NRSV, following a generally accepted conjectural emendation), and some scholars argue that this reading is original.

E. S. KALLAND

Addus ad'uhs (Αδδους). (1) A man whose descendants returned with ZERUBBABEL from Babylon (1 Esd. 5:34; his name is omitted in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Neh. 7).

(2) KJV Apoc. form of JADDUS (1 Esd. 5:38).

Ader ay'duhr. KJV alternate form of EDER (only 1 Chr. 8:15).

Adida ad'uh-duh (Αδιδα). A town situated on a hill above the plains of JUDEA, on a road leading from Jerusalem to the coast. Probably the same as the OT HADID (modern el-Haditheh, 11 mi. ESE of JOPPA). It was fortified by SIMON MACCABEE and used by him to meet the army of TRYPHO (1 Macc. 12:38; 13:13; Jos. *Ant.* 13.6.5). Here also ARETAS, king of Arabia, defeated Alexander Jannaeus in battle (Jos. Ant. 13.15.2; see HASMONEAN).

S. BARABAS

Adiel ay'dee-uhl (עֲדִיאֵל *H6346,* "ornament of God"). (1) A clan leader from the tribe of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:36). He is listed among those who increased their lands by defeating the people of Gedor during the reign of HEZEKIAH (cf. vv. 31–43).

(2) Son of Jahzerah; he was a priest whose son Maasai returned to Jerusalem after the Babylonian EXILE (1 Chr. 9:12; cf. Azarel in the parallel list in Neh. 11:13).

(3) The father of Azmaveth, who was in charge of the royal treasures of David (1 Chr. 27:25).

S. BARABAS

Adin ay'din (עָדִין *H6350,* "luxuriant"). A man whose descendants returned from the Babylonian

EXILE. They were among the family heads who sealed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Ezra 2:15; 8:6; Neh. 7:20; 10:16).

Adina ad'uh-nuh (עֲדִינָא *H6351,* "adorned"). Son of Shiza and descendant of REUBEN; a tribal chief who was one of DAVID'S mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:42).

Adino ad'uh-noh. The KJV has the name "Adino the Eznite" in 2 Sam. 23:8 as a transliteration of the words *ʿădînô hāʿeṣnî.* On the basis of the parallel passage (1 Chr. 11:11), modern translations usually emend the words to read *ʿôrēʾet-ḥănîtô* (NIV, "he raised his spear").

Adinus uh-dI'nuhs. KJV Apoc. variant of JAMIN (1 Esd. 9:48).

Adithaim ad'uh-thay'im (עֲדִיתַיִם *H6353,* meaning uncertain). A city in the SHEPHELAH of Judah (Josh. 15:36). The site is unknown, although some identify it with modern el-Ḥaditheh (see HADID).

Adlai ad'li (עַדְלַי *H6354,* perhaps "Yahweh is just"). Father of Shaphat; the latter was herdsman of the royal flocks in the time of DAVID (1 Chr. 27:29).

Admah ad'muh (אַדְמָה *H144,* "ground"). One of the CITIES OF THE PLAIN. Along with SODOM, GOMORRAH, and ZEBOIIM, Admah is mentioned in Gen. 10:19 as marking CANAAN'S southern border. Its destruction is not recorded in the story of the ruin of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19), but it is implied in the account and specifically stated elsewhere (Deut. 29:23). Moreover, Hos. 11:8 uses the fate of Admah and Zeboiim as a warning to Israel to turn from its sin. The city, with its king SHINAB, is also mentioned as one of the five cities that were attacked by the four eastern kings (Gen. 14:2). Admah was probably situated in the Valley of SIDDIM, or perhaps in the JORDAN Valley E of the Benjamite country.

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Admatha ad-may'thuh (אַדְמָתָא *H148,* Pers. name possibly meaning "unconquered"). One of "the seven nobles of Persia and Media who had special access to the king and were highest in the kingdom" (Esth. 1:14). Queen VASHTI was banished by AHASUERUS (XERXES) on their advice. See CARSHENA.

Admin ad'min (δμίν *G98* [not in NIV]). Son of Amminadab, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, according to some MSS (Lk. 3:33 NRSV; the NIV follows a different reading).

administration. See DISPENSATION.

Adna ad'nuh (עַדְנָא *H6363,* "delight"). (1) The head of a priestly house who returned from EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 12:15).

(2) One of the descendants of PAHATH-MOAB who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:30).

Adnah ad'nuh (עַדְנַח *H6367* [1 Chr. 12:20)] and עַדְנָה *H6365* [2 Chr. 17:14], both meaning "delight"). (1) A soldier from the tribe of MANASSEH who defected SAUL'S army and joined DAVID in ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:20).

(2) A military commander of JEHOSHAPHAT'S army (2 Chr. 17:14).

ado. This English noun (meaning "fuss, bother") is used once by the KJV in Jesus' question, "Why make ye this ado?" (Mk. 5:39; NIV, "Why all this commotion?").

Adonai ad'oh-ni' (אֲדֹנָי *H151* [a pl. form with 1st person sg. pronoun], from אָדוֹן *H123,* a common term for "lord, master"). Also Adonay. A divine name usually translated "the Lord." When in combination with the Tetragrammaton (YHWH), the NIV renders the phrase "Sovereign LORD." Its etymology is obscure, but its meaning is certain—God is the ruling Lord. It appears first in Gen. 15:2, 8, and is used often afterward. In the MT, the vowels of this name are used to vocalize the Tetragrammaton, indicating that the reader should not pronounce the sacred name, but rather read it as Adonai (this written combination of consonants and vowels led to the hybrid name Jehovah). See also GOD, NAMES OF.

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Adonay. See ADONAI.

Adoni-Bezek uh-doh'ni'-bee'zek (אֲדֹנִי בֶזֶק *H152,* "lord of Bezek"). The title of the king of a town named BEZEK in northern Palestine, 13 mi. NE of SHECHEM. He was pursued and captured by the tribes of JUDAH and SIMEON; he then suffered the same kind of incapacitation to which he subjected seventy other kings, namely, the amputation of their thumbs and great toes (Jdg. 1:1–7). *Contra* G. E. Wright *(in JNES* 5 [1946]: 108), this king is not to be identified with ADONI-ZEDEK, king of Jerusalem (Josh. 10:1–3). Judah was probably threatened or attacked by Canaanite forces in the N under Adoni-Bezek, and therefore they turned to meet him before they could begin clearing out their own tribal territory (so KD, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth,* 252-53).

There is no reason, according to Y. Aharoni *(The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1967], 214 and n. 76), to doubt the historical accuracy of the details in this first chapter of Judges, including the reference to Jerusalem as the place to which the mutilated Adoni-Bezek was taken (Jdg. 3:7), even though later (v. 21) it is said that Benjamin could not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem. Quite frequently, certain tribes succeeded in overcoming and destroying Canaanite emplacements only to lose the city or region for lack of a settlement, or of technical and organizational ability to rebuild and refortify the town. (Cf. DEBIR; HAZOR; LACHISH.) After a short time, Jerusalem apparently fell into the hands of the Jebusites until David captured it again.

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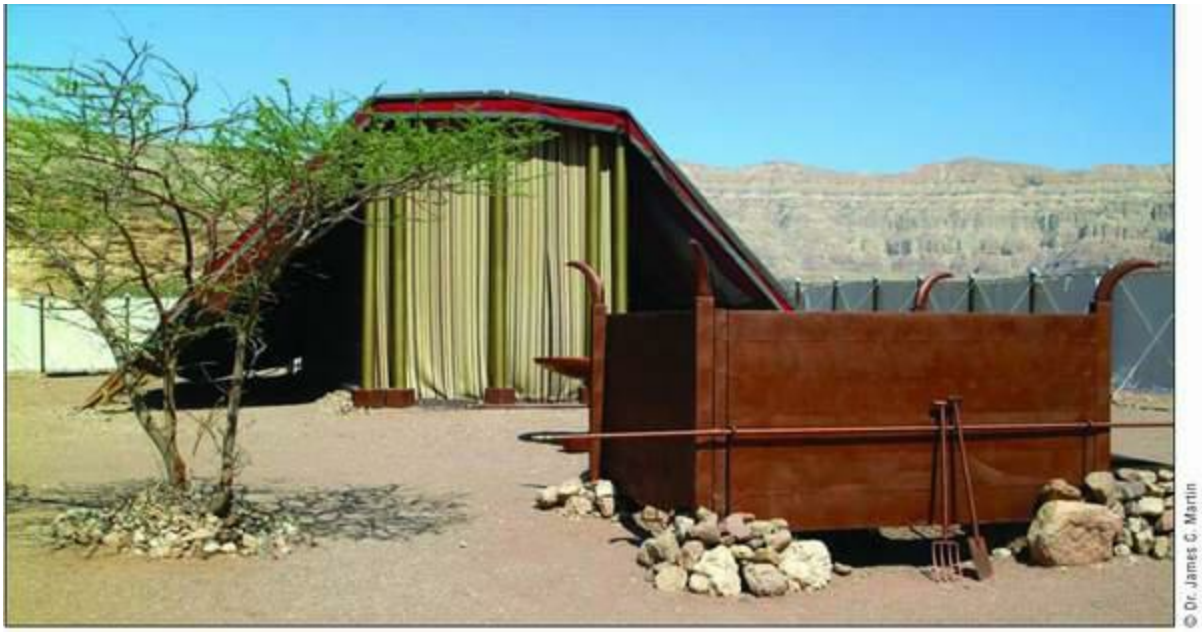

Reconstruction of the tabernacle with the altar out front. Upon hearing of Solomon's rise to the throne, Adonijah went to the tabernacle, which had been set up in Jerusalem, and held on to the horns of the altar until the king made an oath not to put him to death (1 Ki. 1:51).

Adonijah ad'uh-ni'juh (אֲדֹנִיָּה *H153* and אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ *H154,* "my Lord is Yahweh"). (1) The fourth son born to DAVID by HAGGITH in HEBRON (2 Sam. 3:4; 1 Chr. 3:1–2). He is famous for making an unsuccessful bid for the throne when he presumed himself to be the oldest heir-apparent after the death of his two older brothers AMNON and ABSALOM (1 Ki. 1–2; KILEAB, David's son by ABIGAIL, presumably had died too, although the record is silent).

Since it appears that David had promised to BATHSHEBA that her son SOLOMON would succeed him (1 Ki. 1:17), it is difficult to know what to make of Adonijah's preparations and announcement of kingship. Was David's intention known only by

Bathsheba and NATHAN? Was David unaware of Adonijah's preparations or was he too senile to grasp their significance? Certainly Adonijah knew his own intentions, for he prepared an entourage of chariots, horses, and fifty runners without any restraining action from David (1 Ki. 1:1–6). This personal chariot force ostensibly enhanced his prestige, but it may also have anticipated a coup d'état. Further, he had JOAB, the commander-in-chief of the army, and ABIATHAR, one of the two high priests and a survivor of SAUL'S massacre, as his supporters (v. 1:7).

Feeling that he had the sanction of the army and the priesthood, Adonijah was ready to declare himself the new king and would have succeeded had it not been for the quick action of Nathan and Bathsheba. Even as Adonijah feasted at EN ROGEL, David agreed to declare Solomon king. The high priest ZADOK, the prophet Nathan, and BENAIAH, the commander of the king's secret service, were commanded by David to take Solomon to the GIHON SPRING and there anoint him king. When the trumpet blew and the announcement was made, Adonijah's feast was suddenly terminated. Adonijah immediately fled to the altar for sanctuary (1 Ki. 1:50). Solomon promised to spare his life if he remained loyal, but this loyalty was broken when Adonijah pressured Bathsheba to secure for him the release of beautiful ABISHAG, David's former nurse. He argued that, after all, the kingdom had been his (2:15). Solomon interpreted this request as an attempt to gain a claim to the throne, as was common in Israel and the ANE (2 Sam. 3:7; 16:21; et al.). Solomon therefore had Adonijah promptly executed by Benaiah (1 Ki. 2:11–25).

(2) One of the Levites sent by JEHOSHAPHAT to teach the people in the cities of Judah the law of

God (2 Chr. 17:8).

(3) One of the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant in Ezra's time (Neh. 10:16). Some believe he is to be identified with ADONIKAM.

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Adonikam ad'uh-ni'kuhm (אֲדֹנִיקָם *H156,* "my lord has risen"). The name of one of the families that returned from EXILE (Ezra 2:13; Neh. 7:18). The descendants of Adonikam are given as 666 in Ezra and 667 in Nehemiah (also in 1 Esd. 5:14). In these two lists involving 153 ciphers each, 29 differ, of which 13 cases involve a difference of one unit. H. L. Allrik has ably discussed this problem (in *BASOR* 136 [Dec. 1954]: 21–27). Adonikam is also mentioned in Ezra 8:13 (= 1 Esd. 8:39) and possibly in Neh. 10:16 (if he is the same as ADONIJAH #3).

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Adoniram ad'uh-ni'ruhm (אֲדֹנִירָם *H157,* "[my] Lord is exalted"; alternately, אֲדֹרָם *H164* [not in NIV; 2 Sam. 20:24; 1 Ki. 12:18] and הֲדוֹרָם *H2067* [not in NIV; 2 Chr. 10:18], possibly meaning "[the deity] Adad/HADAD is exalted"). Son of Abda; an official in charge of SOLOMON'S corvée, the equivalent of a department of forced labor (1 Ki. 4:6; 5:14). He is also identified with an official at the end of DAVID'S reign, and the opening of REHOBOAM'S, who functioned in the same office and who evidently was known by a contracted form of the same name, Adoram (2 Sam. 20:24; 1 Ki. 12:18) or Hadoram (2 Chr. 10:18).

Adoniram is described as the overseer of thirty thousand men of Israel serving in three relays of ten thousand each as they went to LEBANON to secure cedar and firm timbers (1 Ki. 5:8, 11–14). This system may have been adapted by David from the prevailing Canaanite system of requiring the labor of men as a form of taxation. The administrative texts from Ras Shamra (UGARIT) testify to this practice. The Israelites found this forced labor very distasteful, and when Rehoboam refused to relax the policy, the northern tribes split from Judah and Benjamin (1 Ki. 12:1–16; 2 Chr. 10:1–11). In an especially foolish move, Rehoboam sent to them Adoram, the arch-symbol of this hated system, and the people promptly stoned him to death (1 Ki. 12:18; 2 Chr. 10:18).

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Adonis uh-doh'nis ('Αδωνις from אָדוֹן *H123,* "lord"). The Syrian deity of vegetation, which wilts under the hot summer sun. He was called Dumuzi or TAMMUZ in MESOPOTAMIA (cf. Ezek. 8:14). In SYRIA and PHOENICIA he was known as *)adōnī,* from which comes his Greek name, Adonis. He was venerated throughout the ANE, Egypt, and Greece. A feast in his honor was celebrated in June/July. When the vegetation wilted under the scorching heat and he descended into the nether world, his wife, the goddess ISHTAR, went down too in order to revive him the following spring. The two were FERTILITY gods, symbolizing the death and restoration of life in nature. There is a possible reference to the worship of this god in Isa. 17:10, where the "finest plants" may refer to Adonis gardens, as the herbs planted in his honor were called (cf. NEB). (See *DDD,* 1–10.)

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Adoni-Zedek uh-doh'ni'-zee'dek (אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק *H155,* "my lord is righteousness"). King of JERUSALEM when the Israelites invaded Canaan under JOSHUA (Josh. 10:1, 3). When he heard of the fall of AI and the league of the Gibeonites with Israel, he entered into a coalition with four other AMORITE kings to

the S and W of Jerusalem with the purpose of punishing the city of GIBEON. Joshua and his men quickly came to the assistance of Gibeon. In a memorable battle in which the sun stood still, the confederate forces were badly defeated (see DAY, JOSHUA'S LONG). The five kings were shut up in a cave in which they had hidden. After the battle ended, they were slain and their bodies were hung up until the evening, when they were removed and sealed in the cave with large stones.

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adoption. The act of adoption is the conclusion of any action by which individuals are brought into a new family relationship where they now have new privileges and responsibilities, and at the same time lose all previous rights and are divested of all the previous duties of their former family relationship. Depending on the simplicity or complexity of the society in which provision is made for adoption, the legal process is more or less intricate. The process has been discovered in practically every culture and has been adapted in a wide variety of ways in contemporary society.

I. Ancient background. Relevant to biblical usage are the practices primarily of GREECE and ROME. Adoption was sometimes extended to slaves, as in the case of MOSES in EGYPT (Exod. 2:10), but was extended in Greece and Rome primarily to citizens. In Greek practice the adoptive father, because of lack of natural offspring and desiring to perpetuate his family, or because of deep affection for one whom he had come to know in other relationships, or perhaps for religious reasons, could in his lifetime or by his will extend to a son of another family the privileges of his own family in perpetuity. There was a condition, however, that the person adopted accept the legal obligations and religious duties of the new father. In Roman practice the relationship between the father and son was more severe and more binding because of their understanding of paternal authority *(patria potestas)*. The emphasis was on the father's power, and the son's relationship was almost that of a slave. Thus the person adopted was transferred from his natural father's power to the control of the adoptive father. In understanding this transfer, one should think of it more in terms of a "sale" akin in some sense to a redemptive act or, more exactly, a ransom. (See now C. Kunst, *Römische Adoption* [2005].)

II. Hebrew background. The term was unfamiliar in Palestine in so far as life there reflected Hebrew rather than pagan practices. The Hebrew law codes made no mention of adoption. The Greek term *huiothesia G5625* does not occur in the SEPTUAGINT, and in fact no specific term corresponding to it exists in ancient Hebrew. The substitute for adoption in the Hebrew culture depended on its peculiar and careful laws regarding tribal possessions (Num. 27:1–11). The risk of childlessness was solved in part by the LEVIRATE LAW or by polygamy, and in some periods of history by easy divorce. One may reflect on SARAH and HAGAR, RACHEL and BILHAH, LEAH and ZILPAH (cf. Gen. 16:2; 30:1–9). The inheritance for EPHRAIM and MANASSEH, sons of JOSEPH, suggests that JACOB in some sense "adopted" his grandsons (Gen. 48:5), although it is more likely that this was Jacob's way of giving Joseph a double portion of the inheritance that would later be distributed under JOSHUA. Note also the transfer of REUBEN'S rights to Joseph because of the sin of Reuben (Gen. 49:4, 22, 26). Other examples of adoption in the OT are that of Moses by the Egyptian princess (Exod. 2:10), possibly GENUBATH by TAHPENES (1 Ki. 11:20), and ESTHER by MORDECAI (Esth. 2:7, 15). Significantly, all these cases were outside Palestine and the normal operations of the Mosaic Code.

III. Pauline usage. Adoption is a theological concept only in the NT and only in the epistles of PAUL (Rom. 8:11–17, 23; 9:4; Gal. 4:5; Eph. 1:5). The Greek word *huiothesia* is used primarily in Gal.

4:5, which reads literally, "so that we might receive the adoption" (NIV, "that we might receive the full rights of sons"). In Eph. 1:5 the idea is clearly set forth: "he predestined us for adoption to sonship through Jesus Christ" (TNIV). In the passages in Romans, Paul covers the concept in other ways: "we are God's children" (Rom. 8:16); "adoption" belongs to the people of Israel (9:4); "we wait eagerly for our adoption, the redemption of our bodies" (Rom. 8:23 TNIV).

Although a Jew, Paul knew well the customs of Greece and Rome. As nearly as it can be judged, he had no particular form of adoption in mind. He found readily at hand the Roman idea of *patria potestas* when he was emphasizing a person's release from the slavery of sin, while he found the Greek idea congenial when he was emphasizing the relationships and gifts of sonship; thus the deliverance from debt and the liberty of sons. (For an approach that focuses on the OT background, esp. 2 Sam. 7:14, see J. M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation Into the Background of* ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ A *in the Pauline Corpus* [1992].) In general, Paul made the following emphases: (1) The process rests in the free act of God who adopts believers, and it is all of grace; (2) people are redeemed or "bought out" of their previous slavery into the new life as children of God; (3) by the operation of the Spirit of God believers have the assurance of this new relationship and in the experience of sonship they can with Christ cry, "Abba, Father" (Mk. 14:36; Rom. 8:15; see ABBA).

The whole idea of adoption or sonship is set forth by Paul in such a way that one may see that the new relationship toward the Father is diametrically opposed to the spirit of bondage (Rom. 8:15). The support of this experience is specifically Christian. With adoption the Spirit awakens and confirms the experience of sonship within us. Only those who have been truly adopted by God *know* that they are "children of God." It is in the assurance of this experience that one speaks to the Father as Christ spoke to him, in full confidence, and in the approach only those could make who know themselves to be part of the family. See FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

IV. Parallel concepts. In the classical theological treatment of "the order of salvation" *(ordo salutis)* various classical terms arise—union with Christ, regeneration, conversion, repentance, faith, justification, sanctification, perseverance, glorification (see SALVATION IV.A). An understanding of adoption is clarified by comparing it with some of these other concepts. UNION WITH CHRIST is the inclusive and covering concept, and there is in adoption this idea of oneness in the family of God; those who are adopted are "joint heirs with Jesus Christ." REGENERATION is assumed to be the secret operation of the HOLY SPIRIT paralleling the more popular figure, "new birth," which defines especially the origin and initiation of the Christian life, the establishment of a new life principle. Adoption, however, is insistent not only that there is a new quality of life, but also that this quality of life carries with it a conscious experience of the new relationship. Even if one should hold to baptismal regeneration, adoption must still move beyond this event to the emphasis on personal ASSURANCE.

Some authors treat adoption as a variation or subheading of justification by faith. JUSTIFICATION is a forensic term not having to do with the righteous acts of believers but with the fact that God has declared a person to be righteous and treats him as such; and there is no question that this takes place through the finished work of Christ. Believers are declared righteous in the presence of God not because they live righteously but because of Christ's RIGHTEOUSNESS. Adoption emphasizes more exactly the experience of the father-child relationship as against the judge-prisoner relationship. It is the embracing and restoration of the prodigal son. It is not so much the analogy of the judge setting the prisoner free as it is a father restoring his son—the robe, the ring, the feast, the celebration (cf. Lk.

15:21–32).

As over against SANCTIFICATION, which is a valid concept suggesting the process by which a believer is made more holy, one must emphasize again that the experience of adoption continues to move along with the activity of sanctification at every level of sanctity. The emphasis in adoption is always an ethical one, and although it has been initiated and is constantly sustained through God's grace, it focuses constantly on response in the conscious experience of the believer. GLORIFICATION will be the fulfillment and completion of that which is already being experienced by the believer.

V. The universal dimension. Two passages (Rom. 8:11–24; Eph. 1:5), while not "universalist" in the usual sense of the word, lead one to a wider appreciation of what is involved in adoption. The lamb was slain from the foundation of the world, and Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever. God is Father according to his nature, and the essence of his love and grace is externally the expression of his love toward his creatures. Potentially, then, from all eternity the Father has been destining human beings to adoption, and reflections of this idea are already seen in his relationship to Israel (cf. Rom. 9:3; Exod. 4:22; Deut. 14:1; 32:6; Jer. 31:9; Hos. 11:1).

God by his own nature could not be something less than Father, but only when the cross had answered his demands of holiness was it possible for him to receive his creatures as sons. The Spirit testifies to this sonship. Thus, the triune God is involved in adoption—the Father according to his nature, the Son according to his redemptive act, the Holy Spirit in his assuring presence. Paul boldly affirms that the whole creation is awaiting "the adoption of the sons of God." Even nature will be redeemed and set free from the same bondage and futility that came upon all God's creation because of human sin. The adoption of believers as CHILDREN OF GOD is a necessary step toward the new heaven and the new earth. (See further J. Murray, *Redemption: Accomplished and Applied* [1955], ch. 6; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 37; T. Burke, *Adopted into God's Family: Exploring a Pauline Metaphor* [2006].)

A. H. LEITCH

This road leads due E up the Adoraim ridge into the Judean mountains near Hebron.

Adora uh-doh'ruh. See ADORAIM.

Adoraim ad'uh-ray'im (אֲדוֹרַיִם *H126,* perhaps "[pair of] hills"). One of the fifteen cities fortified by REHOBOAM (2 Chr. 11:9). It is identified with the modern Dura in JUDAH, 5 mi. SW of HEBRON. In 1 Maccabees and in JOSEPHUS the name appears as Adora *(Adōra).* There SIMON MACCABEE stopped the Syrian leader TRYPHO in 142 B.C. (1 Macc. 13:21–24). John Hyrcanus (see HASMONEAN II.A) captured the city after the death of Antiochus VII in 129 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* 13.9.1; *War* 1.2.6). In 59 B.C., the proconsul of SYRIA, Gabinius, rebuilt the city and made it one of his administrative districts (Jos. *Ant.* 14.5.3; *War* 1.8.4). According to *Jub.* 38.2, 1–9, ESAU was killed by JACOB at Aduram (Adora) and was buried there.

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Adoram uh-doh'ruhm. Alternate form of ADONIRAM.

adoration. This term, from the Latin *adoratio,* expresses the internal religious response that externalizes itself in those actions denoted by *adorare:* "to pray, entreat, worship, pay homage to." The word does not ordinarily appear in English translations of the Bible, and is more frequently used in Roman Catholic than in Protestant religious expression. Roman Catholics render homage (which excludes adoration) to the saints, their relics, and images, and render adoration to such things as have close reference to the divine; accordingly, they regard the cross as a proper object of adoration. In the strict sense, however, Roman Catholics, as do Protestants, regard adoration as exclusively reserved for God.

In its widest sense, adoration is simply the appreciative wonderment of the perfections and excellencies of the Creator as reflected in created realities, and the term is commonly used to express the awe that such reflections of the divine GLORY elicit in the human spirit. A man may adore a woman, a woman a man, and both adore the wonders of created realities. In this wide coverage, adoration does not ordinarily issue in prayer or worship; when it does, one's natural sense of awe and adoration becomes idolatrous.

In its narrower religious sense, adoration may be rendered to God only, for he alone is the proper object of homage, prayer, and worship. Although the term has a Latin (rather than Greek or Hebrew) origin, its religious use is legitimate, for it expresses what the Bible means by worship, prayer, prostration, and the lifting up of hands to God. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants regard the act of adoration as an equivalent of the NT Greek verb *proskyneō G4686* ("to prostrate oneself before [someone], to worship").

Adoration in this distinctively religious sense is the human response to God's disclosure of himself in Jesus Christ as the God who, by his free act of grace, is for mankind in all his majestic love and power. This human response is a total response of the whole person without remainder. In adoration the intellect perceives and registers the love and grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ for the sinner. The will ratifies what the intellect perceives, thus commending it and declaring its Amen, that is, that it would have God be what he is in Jesus Christ. Our affections are stirred to the limits of their intensity and respond with an unearthly delight, an unspeakable joy, and a peace that surpasses both our understanding and our powers to articulate. Adoration is the effort of the total person to give total expression to his joyful comprehension and approbation of his vision of God in Jesus Christ. Since our response to this vision never adequately expresses that peace and joy which passes understanding, we reach for the liturgical aids of song, music, and symbol.

If adoration is that total response of human beings to God in which they acknowledge that power

and glory, love and grace truly and infinitely belong to God only, and that God alone is worthy of all adoration and worship, may such adoration be rendered to Christ who is as truly human as he is divine? The NT church, according to the NT, rendered to Christ after his ascension the same adoration that it rendered to God. This practice is clear from the history of the primitive church recorded in Acts. Revelation ascribes not only to him who sits on the throne, but also to the Lamb, blessing and honor, glory and dominion, for ever and ever (Rev. 5:13). See also WORSHIP.

J. DAANE

adorn. The Greek word *kosmeō G3175* ("to arrange, put in order, decorate, embellish") is used in Scripture in both a literal and a figurative sense. The figurative use can be traced back to the OT (cf. Isa. 61:10). Paul says that slaves are to live in such a way that they will "make attractive" the doctrine of God (Tit. 2:10). The book of Revelation compares the beauty of the new Jerusalem to a bride "beautifully dressed" (Rev. 21:2). Both Paul and Peter urge women not to be overly concerned about personal adornment, but to dress modestly and sensibly, and to be concerned about the beauty of good deeds (1 Tim. 2:9; 1 Pet. 3:5). The words of the apostles harmonize with the general teaching of Scripture that emphasis should be placed upon spiritual beauty rather than upon physical adornment.

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Adrammelech (deity) uh-dram'uh-lek(אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ *H165,* possibly "the lordship of the king," but more likely represents an original *Adad-Milki,* "HADAD

This votive gift to Adad or Hadad, regarded as god of the weather, dates about 1300 B.C. (the wavy lines on the top and sides are thought to be thunderbolts). The god Adrammelech may have been viewed as a manifestation of Adad.

is king," a name attested at Tell Halaf). TNIV Adrammelek. A god of the natives of S EPHARVAIM (possibly Sabraim in E central SYRIA) whom the Assyrians transplanted to SAMARIA after 722 B.C. (2 Ki. 17:31). See also ANNAMELECH.

Adrammelech (person) uh-dram'uh-lek (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ *H166;* it is uncertain whether this name should be identified with that of the god Adram-melech [see previous entry]). Son of SENNACHERIB; he and his brother, SHAREZER, joined in murdering their father in the temple of NISROCH (2 Ki. 19:37; Isa. 37:38; JOSEPHUS *[Ant.* 10.1.5 §23] calls him Andromachos, and other Greek sources call him Adramelos and Adrumuzan). The discovery of letters sent by some Assyrian scholars to ESARHADDON and ASHURBANIPAL has established that Sennacherib's murder was the result of a conspiracy led by his son Arad-Ninlil, who should have been named successor but was bypassed in favor of Esarhaddon, his younger brother. The Assyrian logograph usually read as Arad-Ninlil should probably be interpreted as Arda-Mulissu (other spellings possible), of which the name Adrammelech appears to be a corruption, perhaps a deliberate one. (See S. Parpola in *Death in Mesopotamia,* ed. B. Alster [1980], 171–82; *CANE,* 2:951–55.)

Adramyttium ad'ruh-mit' ee-uhm ('Αδραμύτ-τειον). Ancient port city of MYSIA in ASIA MINOR from which came the ship that conveyed PAUL from CAESAREA (Acts 27:2, where the name appears in the adjectival form *Adramyttēnos G101,* "of Adra-myttium"). This Adramyttian ship was probably bound for home and enabled Paul and his centurion escort to make connections for Rome. The city was located at the head of the Gulf of Adra-myttium facing the island of Lesbos. The ancient name is now preserved in the inland town Edremit, while the original site is known as Karatash.

Some think Adramyttium may have been Homer's Pedasus. A different and attractive explanation is that the city was founded by Adramys, brother of the Lydian king Croesus, in the 6th cent. B.C. An Athenian colony may have existed there prior to this time, though J. Rendel Harris (in *Contemporary Review* 128 [1925]: 191–202) has suggested an Arabian origin for the first settlement. In any case, the city gained considerable importance when PERGAMUM (Pergamus) became the capital of an influential Hellenistic kingdom under the so-called Attalid dynasty in the 3rd cent. B.C. Assizes were held there, and numismatic evidence points to the city as a center for the worship of Pollux and Castor (see DIOSCURI). The city boasted a good harbor, and its importance as a maritime city is attested by commercial coinage from the E found there and dating to the 2nd cent. B.C. or earlier. Adramyt-tium also was noted for the preparation of a special ointment (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 13.2.5; see further Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.1.51, 61–66; W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* [1923], 318ff.).

H. G. ANDERSEN

Adria, Adriatic Sea ay'dree-uh, ay'dree-a 'tik ('Αδρίας *G102).* The entire body of water lying between ITALY on the W and the Balkan Peninsula (including GREECE) on the E; it extends into the central Mediterranean to include the waters between CRETE and MALTA, where Paul's ship encountered the storm on the voyage to Rome (Acts 27:27; KJV, "Adria"; NRSV, "sea of Adria"; NIV, "Adriatic Sea").

The name Adria appears to be derived from Atria, an important ancient commercial town situated near the mouth of the river Po in northern Italy (Livy, *Hist.* 5.33.2; Strabo, *Geogr.* 5.1.2; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 3.120). Livy and others describe the town as Tuscan, but Justin *(Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* 20.1.9) says the town was of Greek origin, a suggestion seemingly supported by the discovery of an abundance of Greek vases of a type not found elsewhere in this particular district of Italy.

In earliest times, Adria referred only to the inner expanse of water near the outflow of the Po, while the more southerly expanse was designated the Ionian Sea. These terms, however, soon came to be used either interchangeably or to designate respectively the inner and outer basins of the one body of water considered as a whole, and, in fact, the term Adria by itself could be used also to designate this whole (Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.123; 7.187). By a further extension, Adria came to refer to the entire expanse of water from the Po into the central Mediterranean. Thus Ptolemy, the 2nd-cent. scientist and geographer, describes the Adria as being E of Sicily *(Geogr.* 4.4), S of Achaia (3.14), W of Crete (3.15), and W and S of the Peloponnesus (3.16). The record JOSEPHUS gives of his rescue from the Adria by a ship of CYRENE *(Life,* 15) supports this use of the term.

H. G. ANDERSEN

Adriel ay'dree-uhl (עַדְרִיאֵל *H6377,* "God is my help"; prob. an Aram. name, equivalent to Heb. AZRIEL). A son of BARZILLAI who lived in ABEL MEHOLAH in the Jordan Valley. SAUL gave him his daughter MERAB, although Saul had promised to give her to DAVID (1 Sam. 18:19). Adriel and Merab

had five sons, all of whom perished in David's dreadful and sinful acquiescence in the demand of the Gibeonites for scapegoats (2 Sam. 21:8, where most Heb. MSS read "Michal" for "Merab," apparently a scribal error).

S. BARABAS

Aduel uh-dyoo'uhl (Aδουηλ). Son of Gabael and an ancestor of TOBIT (Tob. 1:1).

Adullam uh-duhl'uhm (עֲדֻלָּם *H6355,* "retreat, refuge"; gentilic עֲדֻלָּמִי *H6356,* "Adullamite"). A Canaanite town, situated on the route via AZEKAH and Soco, that controlled one of the principal passes into the hill-country of Judah from the northern SHEPHELAH. It is first mentioned in Gen. 38:1, which states that JUDAH left his brothers and established friendly relationships with the Canaanite cities of this district. Such is the context of the affair of Judah and TAMAR, with the intermarriage of the clan of Judah and the residents of Adullam. It is mentioned as a Canaanite royal city in Josh. 15:35. Adullam is usually associated with a cave nearby, where DAVID fled for refuge when he was refused protection by ACHISH, king of GATH (1 Sam. 22:1). Adullam is mentioned in the list of fortresses that REHOBOAM reinforced on the western approaches to the Judean hills (2 Chr. 11:7). The city is also mentioned by Micah in the description of SENNACHERIB'S invasion of Judah (Mic. 1:15), and Nehemiah refers to it as one of the inhabited towns after the exile (Neh. 11:30). It would later serve for refuge to Judas MACCABEE (2 Macc. 12:38, *Odollam).* The site of Adullam is usually identified with Khirbet esh-Sheikh Madhkur, some 16.5 mi. WSW of Jerusalem.

J. M. HOUSTON

adultery. This term is used in the Scriptures to designate sexual intercourse, with mutual consent, between a man, married or unmarried, and the wife of another man. Likewise, the term is used to describe sexual intercourse, with mutual consent, by a married woman with any man other than her husband. The Greek verb *moicheuō G3658, "to* commit adultery," is used in the NT as equivalent to Hebrew *nāʾap H5537* in the OT. In ancient Israel the primary meaning of the term was the physical act of adultery. However, it was gradually used to designate idolatrous worship and unfaithfulness to God (Isa. 57:3; Jer. 3:8–9; Ezek. 23:43). Hosea described Israel as the adulterous wife of Yahweh due to her religious apostasy (Hos. 2:2). The significance of the act and the connotations of the term seemed to deepen and widen over time. See IDOLATRY

In ancient Israel adultery was expressly forbidden (Exod. 20:14; Deut. 5:18) and punishable (Lev. 18:20; 20:20; Deut. 22:22–24). In the earliest days of the nation's s history, the physical act of adultery was condemned severely. Death, apparently by stoning, was the penalty prescribed for both the man and the woman who committed adultery. The death penalty covered adultery by an affianced woman as well as adultery on the part of a married woman (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22–25).

Jewish law required that adultery be clearly established (Jn. 8:4; *m. Soṭah* 1:4; 5:1; 6:1, 25). If a man's wife was accused of adultery, she was required to prove her innocence by an ordeal referred to as drinking the waters of bitterness (Num. 5:11–30; *m. Soṭah* 1:4; 6:25). This ordeal was not endured by all accused adulteresses in Israel, but only by pure Israelites (and some pure Israelites apparently were exempt from the trial). The trial included drinking an innocuous potion composed of water from a basin in the temple or sanctuary, mingled with dust from the floor of the sanctuary and the ink scrapings from the accused woman's oath repeated during the formal trial. If the woman was guiltless, she supposedly would suffer no ill effects from drinking the potion. This trial was

conducted before the SANHEDRIN *(m. Soṭah* 1:4), and two witnesses of the alleged adulterous act were required before the woman was brought to trial. If the woman was found guilty on circumstantial grounds, the husband was compelled to divorce her, and the accused adulteress lost all her rights accruing from the marriage settlement. In addition, an adulteress was not allowed to marry her paramour *(m. Soṭah* 5:1). Originally this trial by ordeal was designed for guilty women, but gradually it was abolished due to increasing moral laxity among the male population of Israel. About A.D. 30 the death penalty for adultery was dropped in Israel along with the abolition of other forms of capital punishment.

Jesus emphasized that the adulterous thought was equivalent to the act of adultery. Some believe these and similar teachings showed that he was in agreement with the stricter interpretations of the law current in his day (cf. Matt. 5:17). Christ also taught that, under certain circumstances, marriage to a divorcee resulted in adultery (5:27–32). Adultery is mentioned in the NT as one of several sins, which if not repented of would exclude a person from the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:9; Gal. 5:19–21). Adultery was forbidden by Christ (Matt. 19:3–12; Jn. 8:4) and by the early church. Stern warnings were given to offenders lest such practices be repeated (1 Cor. 5–6). Furthermore, spiritual adultery, or the alignment of the Christian with either the world system or non-Christian religious systems, is clearly forbidden in the NT (Jas. 4:4; Rev. 2:20–23). See also MARRIAGE.

G. LAMBERT

Adummim uh-duhm'im (אֲדֻמִּים *H147,* perhaps meaning "red [rocks]"). A pass about 6 mi. SW of JERICHO that was possibly used as a trade route at an early date. It leads from the JORDAN Valley in

The red soil along the Pass of Adummim near Jericho.

the vicinity of JERICHO to the hill country, including JERUSALEM. It has continued as a section of the road between these two cities down to present times. It was a part of Judah's northern boundary (Josh. 15:7) and was used as a point of reference in establishing the location of GELILOTH on BENJAMIN'S southern border (18:17).

EUSEBIUS *(Onom.* 24.9–11) refers to this place as Maledomni (from *ma(ălēh) ădummîm,* "the Pass/ Ascent of Adummim"), while JEROME'S translation of Eusebius adds that Adommim was a stronghold midway between Jericho and Jerusalem. It is regarded by some as the site of the inn of the

Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:34). The Arabic name for the pass is Tal ʿat ed-Damm, "the ascent of blood" (the reference is prob. to the red marl formations, not to the wounded traveler).

A. K. HELMBOLD

Advent. This English term, which refers to the arrival of someone or something important, is used especially of the coming of JESUS CHRIST at the INCARNATION. In Christian liturgy it refers to the period that begins the fourth Sunday before CHRISTMAS. The term is also used with reference to the SECOND COMING.

adversary. See SATAN.

adversity. See SUFFERING.

advice. See COUNSEL.

advocate. A common translation of the Greek word *paraklētos G4156,* found in 1 Jn. 2:1: "My little children, I am writing these things to you so that you may not sin. But if any one does sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous" (NRSV; the NIV renders, "we have one who speaks to the Father in our defense"). The word means: (1) a legal advocate, (2) an intercessor, (3) a helper. John means that Christ is the legal advocate and intercessor with the Father when one falls into sin. The next verse shows that the basis of the intercession is Christ's propitiatory death for sin. This term occurs four other times in the NT (Jn. 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7), but in these passages it is a title given to the HOLY SPIRIT. In all four occurrences the KJV translates it "Comforter," but recent English versions prefer renderings such as "Counselor" (NIV), "Helper" (NASB), "Advocate" (NRSV). See PARACLETE.

S. BARABAS

Aedias i-dee'uhs. KJV Apoc. variant of ELIJAH (1 Esd. 9:27).

Aegean Sea i-jee'uhn (Αἰγαῖος πέλαγος). An arm of the Mediterranean Sea, between GREECE and ASIA MINOR, almost 400 mi. long and 200 mi. wide. Its numerous islands, gulfs, and bays facilitated travel at a time when ships could not make long voyages. The Aegean Sea was the cradle of Greek civilization and the setting for many important historical events, including the wars between the Greeks and the Persians. See GREECE.

Aelia Capitolina. Pagan name given to JERUSALEM by Emperor HADRIAN. The first part derives from the emperor's family name, Aelius; the second, from an epithet of the deity Jupiter (ZEUS).

Aeneas i-nee'uhs (Αἰνέας *G138,* "praise"). A resident at Lydda (see LOD), bedridden with paralysis for eight years, whom PETER miraculously healed (Acts 9:33–35). His healing caused many to accept Christianity. The text does not state whether he was a Christian before his healing. Aeneas is a common name in Greek literature.

Aenon ee'nuhn (Αἰνών *G143,* possibly from Heb. עַיִן *H6524,* "spring"). Aenon is mentioned only

once in the Bible: "Now John also was baptizing at Aenon near Salim, because there was plenty of water" (Jn. 3:23). A discussion took place here about the role of JOHN THE BAPTIST over against the ascending popularity of Jesus (3:25–30). Earlier John had been baptizing in "Bethany on the other side of the Jordan" (1:28). The episode in Aenon occurred possibly about six months after the beginning of Jesus' ministry. Jesus at this time had left Jerusalem, apparently traveling N by way of Samaria to Galilee (4:3).

The location of Aenon is disputed. This passage is also the only occurrence of the name SALIM *(Salim G4890)* in the NT. Some scholars follow EUSEBIUS *(Onom.* 40), who placed Salim in the JORDAN Valley about 8 mi. S of Scythopolis (BETH SHAN). There is a Tell Sheikh es-Selim located about this distance SSE of Beth Shan.

However, the Johannine reference to "much water" at Aenon would suggest locating the place outside the Jordan Valley (otherwise the reference would be irrelevant). The meager Johannine details would point to a place N of Jerusalem to the W of the Jordan Valley. About 3–4 mi. E of Nablus (SHECHEM) lies present-day Salim. W. F. Albright identifies this place with ancient Salim and adds: "nor can it be quite accidental that there is an ʿAinun in the immediate vicinity" *(The Archaeology of Palestine* [1960], 247). In 1962 a survey of the area revealed an extensive tell with architectural remains in the vicinity of modern ʿAinun. Surface sherds indicated significant occupation during the Roman period. This location is near the sources (some springs—cf. the meaning of Arab. *ʿain)* of Wadi Fariʿa, and it could properly be said that "there was much water there." The discussion in Jn. 3:25–30 suggests that Jesus and his disciples were not too far from Aenon. As a result of the controversy, Jesus proceeded to Galilee by way of Samaria (4:3–5). Hence, the location of Aenon at Wadi Fariʿa is preferable.

B. VAN ELDEREN

aeon ee'uhn. This term (also *eon),* meaning "a long period of time," does not occur in most English translations of the Bible. However, the corresponding Greek word (*aiōn G172,* "age") is found frequently in the NT and also in the Septuagint (esp. for Heb. *ʿôlām H6409).* It is used in three ways: (1) The plural form denotes the ages that represent divisions of time, both past and future (e.g., Eph. 2:7; 3:9). God is "the King of the ages" (1 Tim. 1:17; NIV, "the King eternal"). (2) Often the word denotes a contrast (which goes back to pre-Christian Jewish apocalyptic thought) between the present age and the age to come. The present age (or world) is transitory and evil, its values contrary to those of God; the future age is that in which God holds undisputed sway (e.g., Mk. 10:30). (3) It is used in phrases that point to an indefinite past (Lk. 1:70) or future. The latter are commonly translated "for ever" (Lk. 1:33, 55), though it is necessary to tell from the context whether eternity is involved or only a long extended period. See also AGE; WORLD.

F. FOULKES

Aesora i-soh'ruh (ισωρα). A town on the borders of SAMARIA, mentioned along with BETH HORON, JERICHO, and other cities (Jdt. 4:4; KJV, "Esora"). The location is uncertain, but it has been identified by some scholars with the HAZOR of Josh. 11:1 or of Neh. 11:33. Others identify it with JAZER.

affection. See LOVE.

affliction. See SUFFERING.

afraid. See FEAR.

Africa. One of the seven continents of the world (the name as such does not occur in the Bible). It is uncertain what knowledge the ancients had of the continent as a whole, though HERODOTUS believed it was washed by the sea on all sides *(Hist.* 4.42). Israel's closest acquaintance was, of course, with EGYPT, the latter having provided grain for the patriarchs (Gen. 42–45) and, later, oppression and slavery for the children of Israel. Other African peoples such as the Lubim (see LIBYA) and PUT also are mentioned. CUSH is referred to frequently and indicates the land beyond Egypt, especially ETHIOPIA.

During the DIASPORA, large numbers of Jews settled in various parts of N Africa. In the NT, therefore, one is not surprised to find Egypt appearing as the place where Mary and Joseph took refuge to preserve the life of the infant Jesus (Matt. 2:13–15). The man who bore Jesus' cross was one Simon from CYRENE, a port in N Africa (Mk. 15:21), and there were many Jews from Egypt and Cyrene present at PENTECOST (Acts 2:10). Similarly, converted Cyrenians helped to evangelize ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (11:20), while the eloquent APOLLOS was a native of ALEXANDRIA (18:24). The ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH, converted under PHILIP, may well have been responsible for carrying the gospel back to his own country. EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 2.16) reports the tradition that Mark evangelized Alexandria (see MARK, JOHN), and indeed some of the strongest churches of the Christian world were found in Egypt and N Africa by the end of the 2nd cent. (See further E. M. Yamauchi, *Africa and the Bible* [2004].)

H. G. ANDERSEN

afternoon. The Hebrews reckoned the day from evening to evening and divided it into the following six unequal parts: the break of day; the morning, or sunrise; the heat of the day (beginning about nine o'clock); midday; the cool of the day; and the evening. The cool of the day corresponded to our late afternoon, and was so called because in Eastern countries a wind begins to blow a few hours before sundown and continues till evening. At that time much of the day's business was transacted (cf. Gen. 3:8; Jdg. 19:9).

S. BARABAS

Agaba ag'uh-buh. KJV Apoc. form of HAGAB (1 Esd.5:30).

Agabus ag'uh-buhs (Ἄγαβος *G13,* also accented Ἄγαβος possible derivations are Heb. חָגָב *H2506,* "locust," and עָגַב *H6311,* "to love, lust"). A NT prophet from JUDEA (Jerusalem) who on two separate occasions by the Spirit made a prediction. At ANTIOCH OF SYRIA he formally "predicted that a severe famine would spread over the entire Roman world," which caused the Antioch assembly to gather a relief offering for the Judean brethren (Acts 11:27–28). The fulfillment took place "during the reign of Claudius" in the form of numerous local famines (Tacitus, *Ann. 12,43;* Suetonius, *Claud.* 18; Jos. *Ant.* 20.2.5; 20.5.2). Later, at the end of PAUL'S third missionary journey, Agabus at CAESAREA predicted, with vivid symbolic action, that the apostle would be fettered and handed over to the Gentiles if he proceeded to Jerusalem (Acts 21:10–11). Not new to Paul (Acts 20:23; 21:4), the prediction failed to deter him. Late tradition makes Agabus one of the Seventy (Lk. 10:1 KJV) and a Christian martyr.

Agade uh-gah'dee. See AKKAD.

Agag ay'gag (אָגָג *H97,* possibly "angry, warlike"; gentilic אֲגָגִי *H98,* "Agagite"). A name, or perhaps a title like PHARAOH, belonging to Amalekite kings (see AMALEK). One is mentioned in Num. 24:7 (BALAAM'S oracle) and another in 1 Sam. 15:8–33 (SAUL'S disobedience). In addition, the book of Esther describes HAMAN both as "the enemy of the Jews" (Esth. 8:1) and as "the Agagite" (Esth. 3:1 et al.). This is a significant detail in the history of the interpretation of the book, for it calls to mind the Amalekite king that Saul failed to destroy. See AGAGITE. The etymological meaning of the word is usually taken from Akk. *agāgu,* "to get angry, furious." In a different context, M. Astour has pointed to the Greek form Ogygos as being a Semitic name derived from a root ʾgg, "to flame" *(JNES 23* [1964]: 200). These connections are uncertain. The name appears in Phoenician and Punic texts.

W.C. KAISER, JR.

Agagite ay'guh-gz't (אֲגָגִי *H98;* LXX has B ουγαῖος in Esth. 3:1; 9:10 [also Esth. 1:1ʳ = Add. Esth. 12:6] and ὁ Μακεδών in 9:24 [elsewhere it omits the epithet]). A gentilic used to describe HAMAN (Esth. 3:1, 10; 8:3, 5; 9:24). It was perhaps a general term for "enemy" (cf. the modern use of "Hun"). The land of Agag is mentioned in Akkadian inscriptions of Sargon, probably referring to Media. JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 11.6.6) calls Haman an Amalekite (to compare him to Agag?). The term in Esther may be a literary device: what AGAG was to SAUL, Haman was to MORDECAI—a mortal enemy. See also BOUGEAN.

A. K. HELMBOLD

agape ah-gah'pay. The transliteration of the Greek term *agapē G27,* one NT word for LOVE (its verbal form is *agapaō G26).* It appears in the Johannine definition, "God is love" (1 Jn. 4:8). It is the love that the divine law demands of people for God and for their neighbors, whom they must love as themselves. *Agape* is, therefore, the fulfillment of the law as it relates to both God and fellow-man (Matt. 22:40); and of the trio "faith, hope and love," *agape* is the greatest (1 Cor. 13:13). *Agape* is also the power that overcomes evil.

To this biblical data must be added that the NT has another word for "love," *philia G5802* (verb *phileō G5797),* although the distinctions are blurred in actual usage so that the meanings overlap. While the NT does not use (and the OT has no direct counterpart for) a third term, *eros,* both Testaments do recognize erotic love. In view of all this biblical data, it is neither surprising that the Bible has much to say about love nor that the mystery of love spills over the limits of the best definitions of love.

Any rigid categorization or definition of *agape* and *eros,* in which the one excludes the other, distorts the biblical meaning of each as well as their peculiar relationship. Anders Nygren's brilliant book, *Agape and Eros* (1953), is a case that illustrates this point. Nygren defines *eros* as it appears in Greek thought: *eros* is desire in search of satisfaction—it seeks its object in order to satisfy its own hunger and self-fulfillment. Unlike *agape, eros* seeks its own. In sharp contrast to this, Nygren sees the peculiar and distinctive character of *agape* in the NT teaching that God is *agape,* which he reveals in his self-giving redemptive love for sinners. *Agape* loves the unlovely and the unworthy; it is, therefore, neither elicited nor motivated by the loveliness or worth of its object. *Agape* seeks not

its own (1 Cor. 13:5), but the good of its object, however unlovely. While *eros* is motivated by what its object can do for it, *agape* is motivated by what it can do for its object. *Eros* seeks its object for the delight it proffers; *agape* loves though it sees nothing of delight in its object.

This sharp distinction between *agape* and *eros* does not comport with all the biblical data. In biblical teaching God the Father has *agape* for his eternal Son; men are summoned to have *agape* for God and for each other—a summons that Nygren tries to temper by the claim that the NT demands faith rather than love. His insistence that *agape* excludes a motivating delight in its object creates a difficulty for him in terms of the demand that one love one's neighbor "as oneself," and leads him to estimate the insistence of the Johannine epistles that one ought to love the "brethren" but not "the world" as a departure from the authentic NT meaning of *agape.* In biblical usage *agape,* regarding both God and neighbor, extends to the righteous as well as the sinners, to the lovely as well as the unlovely, and to those who love only those who love them (Lk. 6:32). It is an expression both for a person's love for God and the Father's love for the Son, and thus describes that delight which the one finds in the other because of what the other is.

Biblical thought does not endorse an *agape* that excludes *eros,* but one that allows for an erotic love that sees value, and takes delight, in its object. *Eros* in biblical thought is an expression for mutuality; the lover finds delight in this love. While the Hebrew has no specific word that means SEX, the OT gives erotic love a positive and noble role. *Eros* celebrates life in general, and bodily life in particular. Sexual differentiation, and the erotic love of husband and wife, are an expression of the image of God in which man was created (Gen. 1:27). The marital bond is an expression of both *agape* and *eros*. In it there is both self-giving and self-fulfillment. The sexual relationship is an image of God's COVENANT relationship to his people: Yahweh is the husband and Israel his wife; similarly Christ is the Bridegroom and the CHURCH his Bride—and his Body. Consequently, Hosea, in his peculiar marriage, uses erotic love as a representation of God's experience with Israel. The Song of Solomon is plainly a celebration of erotic love; even the attempts to spiritualize the Song as a celebration of Christ's love for the church must acknowledge that the celebration is expressed in terms of *eros*. In biblical thought *eros* is open to profound corruption, but it is also open to redemption and is recognized as an essential part of man's being. *Eros* is never surrendered to the selfishly centered connotation of *eros* in Greek thought, where it is ultimately sacrificed for an unbodied spirituality.

The clue to the validity of *eros,* and of its relationship with *agape,* is found in the freedom of God to express and share himself as *agape* in creation, election, covenant-making, and redemption. *Eros* is an expression of the freedom of God to desire to create a world and to take delight in that which he has created. God is free to impart existence and worth to an object and then to love it and take delight in it because of its worth. This divine giving to an object, and the divine love for and delight in this worth of the object, is an expression of divine *eros*. For God, too, *eros* is an expression of mutuality and self-giving, of the celebration of and delight in, bodily life and created reality, and this comes to expression in the biblical doctrines of covenant-making, election, and redemption. *Agape* alone does not explain the biblical view of any of these divine actions. It is *agape* plus *eros* that comes to expression in that freedom of the divine good-pleasure to create and redeem, and to find and take delight in what is created and redeemed.

Nygren's mutually exclusive definition of these two terms—*eros* as selfish self-seeking love and *agape* as God's love for only the unlovely—excludes the love, delight, and good pleasure that God has in creation as such, the neighbor-love that demands caring for another person as for one's self, and the divine love expressed in God's election, in which God loves the sinner and delights in the

Christian as a good and righteous person. God's *agape* embraces sinners but does not exclude that *eros* in which God loves the righteous (Ps. 73:1), hates all the workers of iniquity (5:5), and takes delight in what is righteous and good and lovely for the very reason that they are such. Without *eros, agape* renders creation and its redemption absolutely necessary, or projects them as realities bereft of real worth. It is only when *agape* and *eros* are understood in their peculiar relatedness, that creation, election, redemption become meaningful and not arbitrary, and both *agape* and *eros* become an essential part of man's total life and being. (On the *Agape* Feast, see COMMUNION.)

J. DAANE

Agar ay'gahr. KJV NT form of HAGAR.

Agarenes ay'guh-reenz. KJV Apoc. term for "sons of Hagar" (Bar. 3:23). See HAGAR; HAGRITE.

agate. A precious stone (Heb. *šĕbô H8648,* Exod. 28:19; 39:12; cf. also Rev. 21:19 NRSV for Gk. *chalkēdōn G5907).* It is a variegated CHALCEDONY and similar to JASPER (cf. Ezek. 27:16 NEB), being very fine grained silica (silicon dioxide). It is distinctive in consisting of alternating layers of various colors, mainly white, bluish, and pale brown. Most agates occur in cavities in ancient lavas such as those near Lake Tiberias and northeastward

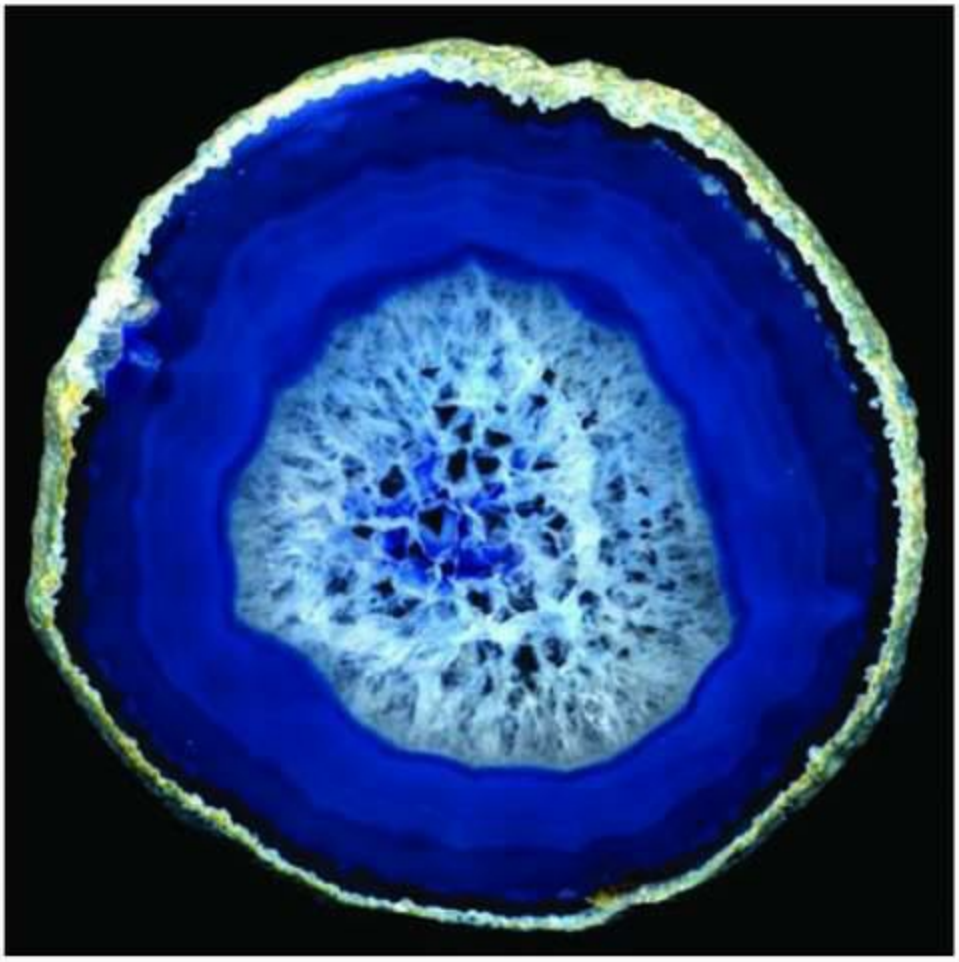

Photo of an agate stone.

into Syria. The successive layers are approximately parallel to the sides of the cavity resulting from reaction to silica gel, which coagulated from water carrying silica in solution, with the adjacent

ironbearing rock.

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age. Although Plato used *aiōn H172* in an exclusively eternal sense, this term and its Hebrew counterpart, *ʿôlām H6409,* are not always used in that way. In contrast with Greek *kairos G2789*—which locates and specifies a point in time, as for instance, the event of the SECOND COMING—the word *aiōn* has to do in the main with extent and duration of time. (It is used a few times in a spatial sense, as in Heb. 1:2, where it is synonymous with WORLD, but that usage is infrequent.)

There is, however, some flexibility or ambiguity here. This extent or duration of time can be either limited and defined or unlimited and undefined. When used in the former sense, it may refer to the uncertain length of one's life (1 Sam. 1:22–28; 1 Cor. 8:13), which is comparatively brief in duration, but it may also refer to a much longer period, such as the age of the hills and mountains (Gen. 49:26). There are boundary points involved. Sometimes it has a double terminal or two points of reference. An illustration is "the present evil age" (Gal. 1:4), which looks backward to the FALL and forward to the event of the second coming. Sometimes it has but one point of reference. The coming age begins at the final judgment, but it has no *terminus ad quem,* since it continues throughout eternity.

When the quality of endlessness (ETERNITY) is involved, the intensive plural is used. Everlastingness is, of course, an attribute of deity. God's kingdom "is an everlasting kingdom" (Ps. 145:13), and he brings in "everlasting righteousness" (Dan. 9:24). Christ is "the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God" to whom "be honor and glory for ever and ever" (1 Tim. 1:17), and as the writer to the Hebrews states, he "is the same yesterday and today and for ever" (Heb. 13:8).

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age, old. Attainment to old age is frequently recognized as a divine blessing, a reward for godliness, and an indication of the favor of God to those who are faithful to his commandments (Job 5:26). ABRAHAM is promised a "good old age" (Gen. 15:15), and long life is pledged to those who respect the authorities established by God (Exod. 20:12). That is not to say that this blessing of God means exemption from trials and difficulties. Far from it. Old age does bring its health problems and disabilities (Ps. 71:9). ELI had failing eyesight (1 Sam. 3:2), as did JACOB (Gen. 48:10) and AHIJAH (1 Ki. 14:4); BARZILLAI was hard of hearing (2 Sam. 19:35), and DAVID had poor circulation (1 Ki. 1:1–4).

The book of ECCLESIASTES graphically describes the physical deterioration that old age brings. Life becomes a burden (Eccl. 12:1); vision is dimmed (v. 2); strength and vigor decline; the teeth disintegrate, a calamity before the day of artificial dentures (v. 3); insomnia develops (v. 4); fears accumulate (v. 5); and desire and ambition wane (v. 5). In the face of these disabilities, however, there is the assurance of God's tender concern (Isa. 46:4) and the anticipation of the hope of glory (Ps. 73:24). David confesses to God's abiding presence throughout all of life when he says: "I was young and now I am old, / yet I have never seen the righteous forsaken / or their children begging bread" (Ps. 37:25). It is quite significant that the Lord is depicted not only as a child and as a man in the full strength of his powers, but also as one crowned with white hair (Rev. 1:14), as if to remind human beings that he has relevance for all of life.

In keeping with oriental custom generally, old age is to be respected and honored. This reverence is germane to the religious life as an expression of the fear of the Lord (Lev. 19:32). Gray

hair is to be deemed a mark of honor, not a token of debility (Prov. 20:29). The warning is issued that failure to honor the elderly will surely bring evil upon the nation (Isa. 3:5; Lam. 5:12). The inhumanity and cruelty that marked the Babylonians is shown in part at least in their lack of respect for the elderly (2 Chr. 36:17). It is not that old age, as such, warrants honor and reverence. It must be coupled with integrity and a godly life, and the writer of Proverbs attaches a condition: "Gray hair is a crown of splendor; / it is attained by a righteous life" (Prov. 16:31). (See P. Thane, ed., *A History of Old Age* [2005].)

It is generally assumed that experience is a valuable teacher and that age brings along with it wisdom and discernment (Job 12:20; 15:10; 32:7). The elderly are regarded as depositaries of knowledge (15:10) and custodians of the tradition. MOSES, in his farewell, urges Israel to consult with the fathers and elders (Deut. 32:7). REHOBOAM made a fatal error when he spurned the counsel of the elderly. Positions of leadership and responsibility were usually entrusted to men of age and experience. Moses sought counsel of JETHRO and appointed seventy elders to furnish him with advice. See ELDER (OT). In the NT CHURCH the rulership was vested in individuals who by virtue of their age were called "presbyters" or "elders." See ELDER (NT).

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Agee ay'gee (אֲגֵא *H96,* derivation uncertain). A Hararite and the father of SHAMMAH; the latter was one of DAVID's mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:11). See discussion under HARARITE.

Aggadah ah'gah-dah', uh-gah'duh. See HAGGADAH.

Aggaeus ag'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HAGGAI (1 Esd. 6:1; 7:3; 2 Esd. 1:40).

Agia ay'gee-uh (Αγια [1 Esd. 5:34] and Αυγια [v. 38]). (1) The family head of temple servants (see NETHINIM) who returned from EXILE (1 Esd. 5:34; KJV, "Hagiah"); the parallels (Ezra 2:57; Neh. 7:59) have HATTIL.

(2) Wife of JADDUS, whose descendants returned from exile. She traced her lineage to BARZILLAI, who had been held in high regard by King DAVID (1 Esd. 5:38; KJV, "Augia"). The parallels (Ezra 2:61; Neh. 7:63) omit the names Agia and Jaddus.

agony. The Greek word *agōnia G75* is found in the NT only in Lk. 22:44 (NIV, "anguish"), where it is used to describe the Lord's distress in the Garden of GETHSEMANE (the cognate verb *agōnizomai G76* was often used to describe the exhausting struggles and sufferings of athletes and gladiators). It is equivalent to "sorrowful and troubled" in Matt. 26:37 and "deeply distressed and troubled" in Mk. 14:33.

S. BARABAS

agora ag'uh-ruh. Transliteration of a Greek term *(agora G59)* that refers to a marketplace, usually the center of public life. See MARKET, MARKETPLACE.

agrapha ag'ruh-fuh. Transliteration of the plural form of Greek *agraphos,* meaning "unrecorded" (and used with that sense by Plutarch and other authors). The term does not appear in the NT, but was applied by the patristic author CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. A.D. 150–220) to those sayings of the apostolic church that were not incorporated in the canonical NT. The German critical scholar J. G. Körner revived the term in his *De sermonibus Christi agraphois,* which appeared in a *Program* issued in Leipzig in 1776. The supposition made by Kōrner and his followers (chiefly A. Resch, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur,* vol. 4 [1889]), was that there had been a large body of oral tradition about Christ, a "Q" source, from which the four evangelists and the other writers of the NT drew. (A more recent and influential work is J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus,* rev. ed. [1964]. For a comprehensive collection, see W. D. Stroker, *Extra-canonical Sayings of Jesus: Texts, Translations and Notes* [1988].)

The outstanding source for such sayings has been the papyri known as OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS OF JESUS (see also THOMAS, GOSPEL OF). However, certain other apparently ancient collections of such sayings have been located in apocryphal works of various kinds, in the TALMUD, and in certain Muslim documents. As to the nature, value, and number of agrapha, scholars disagree radically. The canonical Gospels never state that they are either exhaustive or comprehensive, but indicate only that they are sufficient to elicit faith in Christ and his work (cf. Jn. 21:25 et al.). In the light of such texts and the allusions to teachings of the Lord not mentioned in the Gospels (e.g., Acts 20:35 and 1 Cor. 11:24–25, passages sometimes described as agrapha), it is likely that fragments of noncanonical discourses and sermons would be found extant in extrabiblical literature. To assume that these represent lost documents that are the true and authoritative sources of the canonical writings is a highly subjective judgment.

The term *agrapha* is also used with reference to sayings found in certain NT MSS but not in the major ancient texts, such as the incident about a Sabbath breaker, a textual variant in CODEX BEZAE (D) at Lk. 6:5. Although such problem passages can be solved through careful textual criticism, the question about their origin remains. It is most probable that little if anything of the traditional teachings and episodes concerning the Messiah were excluded or omitted by the evangelists, but individual phrases or aphorisms might be extant that were not utilized by the NT writers.

W. WHITE, JR.

agrarian laws. See AGRICULTURE; JUBILEE YEAR.

agriculture. The cultivation of plants and care of livestock for crops and products.

1. Agricultural patterns in the Fertile Crescent
2. Origin of agriculture
    1. Biblical record
    2. Nonbiblical theory
    3. Historical views
3. Ecological factors
    1. Topography
    2. Climate
    3. Soils
    4. Range of arable lands
4. Distribution of crops

5. The seasonal pattern
    1. Season of olive harvest
    2. Planting season
    3. Harvest season
    4. Vine-tending season
    5. Fig and pomegranate harvest
    6. Livestock

I. Agricultural patterns in the Fertile Crescent. Scholars agree that agriculture is fundamental to civilization, for it enables the farmer to produce surplus food that frees others for specialized occupations and specialization in professions. Most biblical peoples were characterized by agriculture with attending civilization. Israel's agriculture was closely related to that practiced by ANE peoples. The crops produced, with emphasis upon cereal grains, were those common to the FERTILE CRESCENT. Likewise the domesticated animals, with multiple uses for meat, milk, wool, riding, or pulling, were shared with Israel's neighbors. Ecological factors caused variation in pattern and emphasis in the Holy Land, with certain adaptations reflected in techniques and production.

Undoubtedly the Hebrews observed Egyptian agriculture with its annual cycle of activities correlated with the flooding rhythm of the NILE. Although a pastoral people during the Egyptian sojourn (Gen. 47:6), the Hebrews must have become acquainted with the farming system based upon natural and artificial irrigation for the production of grains, fruits, and vegetables. When occupying the Promised Land, the people recognized the crops but necessarily adopted Canaanite farming methods in the transition from pastoralism to agriculture.

The Hebrews also knew Mesopotamian farming methods through culture contacts accompanying trade and conquest. The ecological pattern in the TIGRIS-EUPHRATES Valley differed from the Nile Valley, for Mesopotamian flooding was erratic and disastrous, with consequent flood control and an extensive canal system for irrigation. J. A. Wilson and T. Jacobsen (in H. and H. A. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* [1946]) suggest these differences between Egypt and Mesopotamia and the ecological effect on the world views of the two civilizations. Nevertheless, both lands produced similar crops, especially grains, by irrigation. The Israelites grew the same crops but could not employ the same irrigation techniques in the hill-and-valley complex of the Holy Land.

II. Origin of agriculture. Examination of agriculture in the Bible involves the problem of origins. Most scholars conclude that agriculture began in the Middle East (R. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization* [1952]). The type was field agriculture with grain production by means of plow and draft animals. Of course other types of food production emerged later in such areas as SE Asia and Mesoamerica. The problem is not the place of origins, but whether human beings engaged in farming from the beginning or gained a livelihood by other means.

A. Biblical record. Genesis states that ADAM knew about, cared for, and used domesticated plants and animals at first. It seems clear that he practiced horticulture before the FALL (Gen. 2:9, 15). After his expulsion from EDEN, Adam encountered a recalcitrant environment that necessitated arduous toil to obtain subsistence (3:17–19). It is explicit that CAIN tilled the ground and ABEL tended flocks of sheep (4:2). Subsequent biblical statements support the view that mankind's subsistence was primarily from domesticated plants and animals.

B. Nonbiblical theory. Most archaeologists, anthropologists, and prehistorians hold that human prehistory is a series of cultural developments commonly labeled the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic. During the Paleolithic and Mesolithic ages, man was a hunter and gatherer (W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* [1957]). Farming and herding began during the Neolithic Age about 10,000 years ago. Most prehistorians accept the interpretation of the evidence that early man gradually abandoned his dependence on wild game and plants in a transition to producing his food from domesticated forms. In this scheme the Natufian culture in Palestine is offered as evidence of the transition (R. Braidwood et al., *Courses toward Urban Life* [1962], 132–64). The question is: Were humans originally hunters or agriculturalists?

C. Historical views. This survey of biblical agriculture allows only brief consideration of this neglected question, but the author's assumption is to accept scriptural statements while suggesting archaeological data are incomplete and susceptible to varying interpretations. In scanning early views, one discovers that Christian writers had little concern with man's primeval economic life. From a synthesis of Hebrew and Greek traditions, Tertullian proposed that mankind subsisted on grains and fruit prior to the flood. This idea prevailed among church leaders who believed that man became carnivorous (really omnivorous) after the flood. Novatian, in the 3rd cent., agreed by asserting that man's diet was fruit before the fall, but then became omnivorous with grain and meat. AUGUSTINE modified these notions somewhat by insisting that Adam practiced agriculture and that it was not an onerous but a highly cooperative enterprise (G. Boas, *Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages* [1948], 17–18, 50).

These views became traditional among Christians despite the increasingly popular opinion that after a hunting stage people turned to pastoralism and finally agriculture. In the late 19th cent. a German scholar, Georg Gerland, opposed the widely accepted notion by observing that "agriculture was the original occupation of mankind: that the traditional sequence of stages, hunters, nomads, farmers, therefore does not represent the original development. Mankind originally was undifferentiated and at that period was an agricultural people. Later groups splintered off, and, forced by the necessity of eking out a living, some became hunters, others gradually turned into nomads" (G. F. Kramer in *Geography Review* 57 [1967]: 80).

Gerland thus offers a clue for an answer to the question raised by archaeology's claim that early humans were hunters. In cognizance of divine judgment upon mankind and the environment following the fall, it is not surprising that people abandoned meager agricultural returns for the relatively easier products of the hunt. This seems explicit in the penalty assigned Cain for murdering his brother: "Now you are under a curse and driven from the ground, which opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand. When you work the ground, it will no longer yield its crops for you. You will be a restless wanderer on the earth" (Gen. 4:11–12). That hunting assumed importance is evident in the prestige accorded NIMROD: "Cush was the father of Nimrod, who grew to be a mighty warrior on the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the LORD; that is why it is said, 'Like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the LORD'" (10:8–9).

When early man turned to hunting, he possibly forgot agriculture and pastoralism, or at least they became insignificant in his economic life, especially in adverse environments in the higher latitudes. Both plants and animals degenerated to a "wild" state without human attention and selective breeding. There are historical examples of this process, as when the Spaniards introduced the horse in America; some escaped to form wild herds in the American West. Regarding domesticated plants,

botanists agree that without human attention they will degenerate from heterozygosity in genetic structure and mutation. “Deterioration in performance becomes manifest as soon as selection by man declines or ceases” (F. Schwanitz, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants* [1966], 192).

A reasonable conclusion therefore is that the evidence for primeval agriculture and pastoralism, limited to a very small population, is lost to the

Agriculture in the Holy Land.

archaeologist. Only after a considerable lapse of time did factors coalesce to enable people to rediscover the advantages of food production by tending plants and animals. The transition to and development of farming and herding became widespread, with adequate evidence for the prehistorian to postulate the Neolithic.

III. Ecological factors. Agriculture is related to such environmental limitations as the topographic, climatic, and edaphic features. To understand farming in ancient Israel, it is necessary to recognize the combination of these factors as they favored or limited crop production.

A. Topography. The land of PALESTINE is predominantly hilly, with the greatest area in slope. The precipitous slopes along the JORDAN Rift Valley prevent cultivation except in narrow valley floors or where terracing is practical. Although the Jordan Valley is several miles wide and relatively level, it

is an arid plain above the narrow flood plain of the river. Irrigation was not possible with techniques

the terraced farming region of Judea, agricultural watchtowers were used to house the workers during harvest season.

employed in Egypt or Mesopotamia. JERICHO and other sites obtained water supplies from springs emerging from the adjacent highlands rather than from the Jordan. The northern uplands W of the Jordan Valley are characterized by hills interspersed with several valleys of sufficient area to favor agriculture. To the S in JUDEA'S hill lands the area is largely in slope, where terracing and a few undulating hill crests between JERUSALEM and BEERSHEBA permit field cultivation. The SHEPHELAH W of the Judean massif is largely dissected foothills, although a few E-W valleys can be tilled. The Plain of SHARON W of EPHRAIM (SAMARIA) is arable but is terminated in useless marshlands to the W: the flat ESDRAELON valley NE of the Carmel ridge was limited in biblical days by marshes (see CARMEL, MOUNT), as was the Huleh area just N of the Sea of Galilee. South of the Judean massif the terrain slopes gradually into the NEGEV, where aridity restricts farming more than does the terrain. The TRANSJORDAN plateau E of the Jordan begins precipitously from the valley, but the crest area (BASHAN, GILEAD, AMMON, and MOAB) is admirably suited to cultivation.

B. Climate. Surprising climatic diversity occurs in a country about one-fourth the size of Iowa. Precipitation varies considerably as determined by latitude and altitude. Rainfall is much more abundant and dependable in the N where the highlands receive thirty inches annually, in contrast to the Beersheba area to the S where half that amount falls with much annual irregularity. Easterly moving cyclonic storms deposit heavier rainfall on the higher western slopes in contrast to the arid "rain shadow" slopes facing E. The western exposure of Judea averages over twenty inches annually, but the Dead Sea, a few miles E, gets less than five inches. The uplands of Ammon and Moab a little farther E intercept almost as much as Judea, with the amount declining eastward into the Arabian Desert. The rainfall regime occurs during the cool season, the "early rains" beginning in October and the "latter rains" falling during March and April. In biblical days the agricultural cycle corresponded with the alternating wet and dry seasons: the farmer planted his allimportant grain fields at the inception of the rainfall and harvested when the rainy season ended.

Temperature conditions likewise correlated with elevation, for the uplands have lower readings throughout the year, with frost threat in the cool months. Plants susceptible to freezing (e.g., the OLIVE tree) were confined to slopes protected from highland frosts or the freezing wind from the eastern

desert. Of course the frost-free season in the Holy Land with its mild winters (snow is rare except in the higher mountains to the N in LEBANON) is quite different from the cold winters of higher latitude land masses such as Eurasia and North America. Nevertheless, the Israelite farmer planted his crops in respect to frost occurrence and the amount of precipitation. In general, planting, pruning, harvesting, and other tasks were performed earlier in the season by those living at lower elevations.

C. Soils. The edaphic conditions in the Holy Land, as elsewhere, are consequent to terrain, the underlying rock, the natural vegetation, and climate. For a small area, considerable diversity is present. Some of the larger valleys and the Plain of Sharon have fertile soils formed from deep alluvium, but in the highlands and the arid sections the soil is thin, less developed, and stony. In ancient Philistia and the Beersheba area, several inches of loess formed fertile soils, but aridity limited production. The hilly soils of Judah, Ephraim, Ammon, and Moab are thin and stony, but there is fertility, since they develop from limestone into calcareous types. Galilee, Bashan, and Gilead soils are also productive, for they are "recently" formed from underlying basalt. Of course, the soils are thinnest on steep slopes, and the farmer usually clears many stones from these fields to be used for fences or terrace walls.

D. Range of arable lands. It is not clear whether the Israelites extended their agricultural frontiers to all areas of political control during the reigns of DAVID and SOLOMON. Modern Israel has reclaimed many swamplands along the Mediterranean, Esdraelon, and Lake Huleh, areas unused in ancient Israel. Evidence suggests that peoples occupying adjacent regions to Israel engaged in farming even in the semiarid Negev and desert borders of Ammon, Moab, and Edom. This was not due to more precipitation then, for N. Glueck *(Rivers in the Desert* [1959]) argues convincingly against the theory that climatic change has occurred in historical times in Bible lands. He believes that desiccation resulted from misuse of the land and failure to observe conservation practices that formerly made semiarid regions productive.

Citing the NABATEANS as those who successfully coped with aridity in Edom and the Negev, Glueck praises their herculean task in creating cultivable fields in the wadis. Their mastering the science of soil and water conservation converted the valleys into ribbons of green and supported many flourishing agricultural villages. Perhaps similar conservation techniques in ancient Moab enabled people to continue production when drought caused ELIMELECH and NAOMI to desert BETHLEHEM for what proved to be an unfortunate sojourn in Moab (Ruth 1:1–5). In the extremely arid lands about DAMASCUS and JERICHO, specialized agriculture (or horticulture) did not depend on natural precipitation. These districts were farmed intensively by irrigation from springs (Jericho) or surface flow from the well-watered slopes of the Antilebanon mountains. An ancient saying is that "Damascus is Mount Hermon's gift to the desert."

IV. Distribution of crops. D. Baly (*Geographical Companion to the Bible* [1963], 60) has aptly cited 2 Chr. 2:15 as a summary of Israel's major agricultural products: "Now let my lord send his servants the wheat and barley and the olive oil and wine he promised." Wheat, barley, olives, and grapes were the staple items in the people's diet; hence most farmers attempted to produce as many of these crops as possible. However, the environmental diversity (considered in ecological factors) favored production of one crop in certain areas, with other crops secondary to the dominant one. Judah led in viticulture, for the grapevine enjoyed a favorable ecological niche in the sunny terraced hillsides. To the N in Ephraim (or Samaria) the limestone weathered into a fertile *terra rossa* soil

that, coupled with adequate rainfall, proved to be the setting par excellence for the OLIVE tree. Farther N, the open valleys of Galilee, with rich alluvium soils and ample rainfall, favored extensive WHEAT production. To the S near the Negev and in Philistia, the loessial soils were fertile but rainfall was scanty, so barley was predominant. To the E of Jordan on the rainy uplands, wheat was important to the N in Bashan but barley became more important to the S in Moab and Edom.

V. The seasonal pattern. The so-called GEZER calendar is a significant archaeological find because it enables one to trace the agricultural cycle in biblical times (G.Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* [1957], 180). This stone inscription evidently served as a memory aid for some youth in learning the seasonal activities followed by Israelite farmers. It reads:

His two months are (olive) harvest;

His two months are planting (grain);

His two months are late planting;

His month is hoeing up of flax;

His month is harvest of barley;

His month is harvest and festivity;

His two months are vine tending;

His month is summer fruit.

A. Season of olive harvest. The Gezer inscription suggests that the Israelite farmer "started" his annual cycle with the olive harvest from mid-September to mid-November. The leading task during this period was picking the olives and extracting their OIL for multiple uses. The many uses of the oil made olives the third-ranking crop after grain and grapes. Of course olive trees need attention, so the farmer, to insure high productivity, plowed the soil around the trees in the spring to eliminate weeds and to create a surface mulch for retaining subsurface moisture for the trees during the rainless summer months. Pruning was also a spring chore to prevent excessive shoots from parasitic drain on the tree and thus reduce yield. The tree blossomed in May with the small white flowers falling a few days after opening (Job 15:33).

The berries developed during the summer and began to ripen in September when the first ripe berries dropped before the farmer and his family began picking. Long sticks were used to dislodge most berries, but agile youths often climbed the trees to procure the uppermost berries. The immature olives were left to ripen and be gathered later by the destitute (Deut. 24:20). Some olives were pickled in brine to be eaten with bread, but oil was more important and extracted in a number of ways. A simple method was to crush the berries by hand in a bowl-shaped stone that had a channel to convey the oil into a receptacle. A larger operation was to crush the berries in a stone vat with the feet, but the most efficient method used for sizeable orchards was to transport the fruit on basket-laden donkeys to mills where crushing was by a circular millstone. Besides multiple dietary uses, the

oil served as medication (Lk. 10:34) and for anointing, the latter having symbolical implications of peace and prosperity (Ps. 23:5).

B. Planting season. With the inception of the "early rains" in November, the farmer began plowing the fields preparatory to sowing the cereal grains. Some believe that the earliest farmers in the ANE used the digging stick or the hoe to till small plots of ground (E. C. Curwen and G. Hatt, *Plough and Pasture* [1953]). However, agriculture among the Israelites was characterized by the field type of cultivation with PLOW and draft animals (usually oxen). The shape of the fields tended to be rectangular to accommodate the linear furrows of the plow; the size of the fields depended on the terrain, and the area under cultivation in a given year corresponded to the area that could be plowed. The typical plow was constructed of wood with a copper or bronze plowpoint until the Israelites acquired iron for points from the PHILISTINES in the 10th cent. B.C. These plows are not to be confused with contemporary steel plows with their shares and moldboards for completely turning six or more inches of soil. The ancient plow scratched the surface to a depth of three or four inches without covering weeds or stubble. This plow with its wooden beam attached to a yoke of oxen may be observed even today in Middle Eastern countries.

Although a seeder was attached to some plows in ancient Mesopotamia, whereby the seeds were channeled from a hopper through a tube to be deposited behind the plowpoint, the Israelites apparently did not adopt the implement. Sowing was by a broadcast method, with the farmer casting the seed with sweeping actions of the hand and arm as he trudged up and down the field. He carried seed in a basket or in a pouch attached to his waist. The grain was covered promptly by a second plowing or by dragging branches or a log behind oxen. This method of "harrowing" served to level the field, to cover the seed to insure germination, and to prevent birds from eating the seed (Isa. 28:24–25; Matt. 13:4). The farmer usually selected the most fertile fields for wheat and less favorable sites for barley, lentils, or spelt ("rye" KJV).

The grain sowing continued until January when the "late planting" of other crops occurred. These supplementary crops included millet, sesame, chick peas, lentils, melons, cucumbers, garlic, and other vegetables. Customarily the vegetables were raised in garden plots near the village and farmer's home. Sowing grain was man's work, but women aided in planting and caring for the gardens. These planting and weeding activities continued into March.

Women from the village of Bet Sahour on the outskirts of Bethlehem harvesting wheat by hand.

C. Harvest season. The rainfall declined in April as the BARLEY began to ripen, with barley reaping

at its height in May. After the barley had been reaped, the men began wheat harvest which continued into June. To reap the grain, the men used small sickles with which they severed the stalks gathered in handfuls with the free hand (Ps. 129:7). Farmers owning much livestock cut the stalks close to the ground to increase the supply of straw for fodder and bedding purposes. If he had no livestock, the farmer cut the stalks within a few inches of the heads ("ears") of grain so there was less straw to interfere with threshing. As the reapers cut the grain, the stalks were gathered into unbound sheaths to facilitate carrying the grain to the threshing floor. A sexual division of labor prevailed in the harvest fields, with men cutting the grain, children aiding in gathering it into sheaths, and women gleaning for stray stalks, as dramatically portrayed in the book of RUTH. Rain seldom fell during the harvest season, therefore little spoilage occurred. Two major threats to a bountiful harvest confronted the farmer, however: the dreaded hot wind ("sirocco") from the desert occasionally withered the ripening kernels, or an invasion of LOCUSTS might consume much of the crop.

The reaped grain was carried and stacked on threshing floors near the villages. These threshing floors were either a circular area on a flat outcropping of rock or an area about 40 ft. in diameter that was cleared of stones, leveled, moistened, and packed so that the surface was sun-baked and hard. In threshing, the sheaves were pitched on the floor to be trampled by oxen drawing a sledge on which the farmer rode. The oxen hoofs and the sharp studs embedded in the underside of the sledge separated the kernels from the straw and chaff while reducing the straw into bits. Some farmers preferred a disk-harrow implement rather than the sledge; this implement was likewise drawn by oxen and was superior to the sledge in that not as many kernels were crushed (Isa. 28:27–28).

After the grain had been reduced to a mass of kernels, chaff, and chopped straw, the winnowing followed. Using a pitchfork with closely-spaced tines, the farmer tossed the mass repeatedly in the air to expose it to the wind that carried the chaff and straw away. The opportune time for winnowing was toward evening when the daily sea breeze provided a steady, but not too strong, flow of air. Customarily the threshed grain remained in heaps on the threshing floor with someone sleeping near the grain to prevent theft (Ruth 3). Later the grain was bagged for carrying it to storage in large jars or, in some cases, put in plastered silos that had been excavated beneath the floor of wealthy homes. Since rent (some farmers rented fields) and taxes were commonly paid in kind, some grain was transported by donkey to large pit silos built by wealthy landowners or the government (Wright, *Biblical Archaeology,* 182).

The Gezer calendar links the harvest season with "festivity." This no doubt refers to social and religious ceremonies that coincided with the end of a seven-week period following the beginning of grain harvest (Deut. 16:9). Later the occasion became known as PENTECOST, at which time the people made an annual pilgrimage to the central sanctuary (first at hiloh and later at Jerusalem) to observe the FIRSTFRUITS ritual.

D. Vine-tending season. Caring for the VINE became the farmer's preoccupation following grain harvest. The vine required attention earlier in the spring in the "latter rain" period. Each spring the farmer removed stones from the vineyard, repaired terrace walls, pruned the dead branches, and plowed or harrowed the ground about the vines to create a moisture-retaining mulch and destroy weeds. As the grapes formed and ripened, they required constant attention to prevent loss to wild animals (Cant. 2:15). The farmer, or a hired watchman, stationed himself in a tower built especially for this purpose, permitting surveillance of many vineyards. When picking time arrived in August and September, the entire family frequently moved into a temporary shelter ("booth") where they lived while picking the grapes. While some grapes were eaten fresh and some were preserved in dried

form as raisins, most of the grapes were reduced to juice to allow fermentation into WINE. An air of festivity prevailed during the grape harvest and accompanying activity at the wine presses (Isa. 16:10). The common method of extracting grape juice was by placing the grapes in the upper end of a wide stone receptacle where they were crushed under foot with the juice draining into a basin at the lower end of the receptacle.

E. Fig and pomegranate harvest. FIGS and POMEGRANATES also were picked at the close of summer. Fig growing was widespread and the fruit ranked as a staple in the people's diet (Deut. 8:8). The antiquity of the fig is attested by the narrative of Adam and Eve, who converted fig leaves into aprons (Gen. 3:7). The fig tree extended productivity in area because it thrived in rugged stony terrain unsuited for most other important food plants. A slow-growing tree requiring many years to bear substantially, the fig became symbolic of economic and political continuity and stability in the land (1 Ki. 4:25). Yielding two crops annually, the tree produced the first crop in June from midsummer sprouts from the previous year, but the second crop in August was more important. The fruit generally was dried and pressed into cakes for later consumption, and its high sugar content, together with the date, was a main source of sugar in Israel's diet. The fig cakes were used also for medicinal purposes, as in the remarkable healing of HEZEKIAH (2 Ki. 20:7).

Pomegranate trees, like fig trees, are deciduous and put forth leaves as well as brilliant scarlet blossoms in April. The tree requires little attention and the fruit ripens in September when it is picked. The agricultural cycle each year concluded with the pomegranate harvest, according to the schedule of the Gezer inscription. The annual routine for the farmer enabled him to devote himself to the major food sources at different times, and much of the religious life coincided with the agricultural calendar.

VI. Livestock. The Israelites entered the Promised Land as a pastoral people with cultural traditions extending back to Abraham, the pastoral nomad (Gen. 13). After possessing Canaan, they experienced a transition from pastoralism to agriculture, which they adopted from the sedentary Canaanites. However, livestock persisted in their economic activities and contributed to the cultural ethos for a number of reasons. Much of the land was not arable but was admirably suited to herding (1 Sam. 16:11; Amos 1:1). Not only did animals provide products and income for the rural dweller, but it is clear that ceremonial rites in worship emphasized animal sacrifice in the tabernacle and temple services (1 Ki. 8:5; Heb. 9:18–22).

The common domesticated animals in Israel included sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, and dogs. CAMELS, of course, should be included, but they were not kept by the typical farmer, for they did not fit economically into a sedentary pattern of life; therefore, camel owners were usually tradesmen or desert nomads. HORSES seem to have been prestigious animals and a luxury in which most farmers could not indulge; they were used primarily for chariotry and cavalry in the king's military system. Donkeys (see ASS, DONKEY) were beasts of burden and carried both man and his products, much as they continue to do in undeveloped rural areas of contemporary Middle Eastern countries. It will be remembered that the Lord, in his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, rode such a beast (Matt. 21:5). CATTLE or oxen were also beasts of burden, since they drew the plow, harrow, and other farming implements, and they were used for sacrificial purposes. They do not seem to have been kept for milk or meat products as in Western culture.

SHEEP were the most important animals to ancient Israelites and are mentioned early in the biblical record (Gen. 4:2). The fat-tailed variety, still popular in the Midddle East, was preferred,

since the heavy tail, with its store of fat, enabled the sheep to tolerate uncertain grazing conditions during periods of drought. Mutton was favored as the source of meat, and WOOL was spun and woven into cloth for garments. No comment is necessary to emphasize their sacrificial uses (Isa. 53). The typical Israelite herd included GOATS with the sheep, for goats provided several products: meat, hair for a coarse cloth and tenting material (the black goat's hair tent is traditional in Bible lands and is still used by bedouins and other NOMADS), skins for bottles used for storing wine or carrying water and other liquids, and milk; these bottles were the preferred type among the people.

It may be noted that sheep and goats were far more common in Israel due to their greater tolerance of marginal grazing conditions than cattle and horses. The keeping of sheep and shepherd life are used as illustrations for spiritual relationships, with the shepherd as a great metaphor for the Lord and his care (Ps. 23; Jn. 10; see OCCUPATIONS). (See further G. B. Cressey, *Crossroads: Land and Life in Southwest Asia* [1960]; F. Schwanitz, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants* [1966]; D. C. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan: Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age* [1985]; O. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* [1987]; P.J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel[2001],* 85–122.)

G.J.JENNINGS

Agrippa uh-grip'uh ('Αγρίππας *G68).* See HERODVII and VIII.

ague. A term used in the KJV (Lev. 26:16) with reference to fever. See DISEASE.

Agur ay'guhr (אגור *H101,* possibly "hireling" or "gatherer"). Son of Jakeh; an otherwise unknown writer of maxims who may have been from a place named MASSA (Prov. 30:1; cf. NIV mg., RSV, NJPS). Agur's proverbs were written to two unknown men, ITHIEL and UCAL, although the meaning of the text is debated. Most early rabbis and church fathers thought that SOLOMON was designated by the name Agur, but it is difficult to see why he should be referred to by a pseudonym. It has also been conjectured that Agur was the brother of LEMUEL (Prov. 31:1).

S. BARABAS

Ah-. This form (Heb. *)āh H278,* "brother"; also "Ahi-," from *)āhî,* "my brother") is found in the composition of many Hebrew names, such as Ahab ("father's brother") and Ahimelech ("my brother is king"). In these names, "brother" can be a reference to God. See also ABI.

Ahab ay'hab (אחאב *H281,* "father's brother" [possibly suggesting that the son is just like the father]). Two men in the Bible are known by this name. (1) Ahab son of Omri, the eighth king of Israel, who reigned c. 874–853 B.C. and whose story is told mainly in 1 Ki. 16–22. (2) Ahab son of Kolaiah, a false (i.e., self-appointed) prophet who, along with a certain ZEDEKIAH, was guilty of immorality and claimed to speak in Yahweh's name among the exiles of Babylon; he is known only from Jer. 29:21–23. The rest of this article deals only with King Ahab.

I. Ahab's dynasty. OOMRI, father of Ahab and founder of a short-lived dynasty, was captain of the armies of Israel under ELAH. The assassination

The Northern Kingdom of Israel.

The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.), whose conquests resulted in forced tribute by a number of the northern tribes of Israel. Here (side C), five Israelite emissaries bring tribute to the Assyrian empire.

of King Elah by ZIMRI, one of his leading army officers (1 Ki. 16:8–14), led unexpectedly to the popular choice of Omri as the new king (vv. 15–28). Though he reigned only twelve years and the

biblical narrative devotes only a few verses to him, Omri seems to have strengthened the kingdom considerably, introducing more order and stability than had prevailed for some time. Also, he made some impression in foreign countries, for after Omri's dynasty had been destroyed by JEHU (2 Ki. 9:10), SHALMANESER III of Assyria, as the Black Obelisk inscription claims, received tribute of Jehu, first king of the next dynasty, but called him "Jehu, son of Omri," as does still another inscription of Shalmaneser (J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past: The Archaeological Background of Judaism and Christianity,* 2nd ed. [1959], 205–6; *ANET,* 280–81; *ANEP,* plates 351–55; *ARAB,* 1, sect. 590). No ancestral history of the family is provided by Scripture.

II. Chronology of Ahab's reign. Ahab is said to have reigned twenty-two years at Samaria. Some of the competing systems of chronology reduce this figure to twenty years or slightly less (see CHRONOLOGY (OT); cf. E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3rd ed. [1983], 94–96). The elements of uncertainty chiefly arise out of the fact that OT annalists made use of two systems of dating accessions of kings. In one system the first full calendar year of a king's reign is counted as his first year. In the other system the fraction of a calendar year wherein a king reigned, immediately after the death of his predecessor, is counted as his first year. Also, some kings were coregents with their predecessors in the last months or years of their reigns; yet the chronologies of Scripture seldom take note of this fact.

III. Ahab's marriage. "He not only considered it trivial to commit the sins of Jeroboam son of Nebat, but he also married Jezebel daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians, and began to serve Baal and worship him" (1 Ki. 16:31). Thus the clouded family connections of this man Ahab are introduced. ETHBAAL, his father-in-law, was a pagan steeped in the vile notions and practices of the BAAL cults that had occasioned the annihilation of the Canaanites long before. On top of that, Ethbaal was a wily and violent politician (according to Jos. *Ant.* 8.13.2, the Greek historian Menander of Ephesus [cf. Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.18] took notice of him). The central feature of Canaanite-Phoenician religion, both as seen in the OT and in secular sources, was connected with FERTILITY and sex—typical agricultural paganism but extraordinarily corrupt (Finegan, *Light,* 171–74; W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development* [1937], 180–87).

This MARRIAGE was a specific violation of a Pentateuchal prohibition against union with pagans (Deut. 7:1–5). Furthermore, in the issue of the marriage to JEZEBEL, the divine reasons for the prohibition are abundantly vindicated (Deut. 7:4, cf. 1 Ki. 16:31-33). The name Jezebel is thought by some to mean "chaste" or "virgin," yet she was anything but that. In her the reckless and immoral habits of the worst side of oriental royalty united with the aggressive strength of the Phoenicians (Tyrians) and the savage religious fanaticism of her father Ethbaal. The latter, who had come to the throne by the murder of his predecessor, Pheles (Jos. *Ag. Ap.* 1.18), combined with his royal office the priesthood of the goddess Astarte (i.e., ASHTORETH, consort of Baal). The next generation included several famous aggressive people, including Dido, foundress of Carthage, but all of bad character. Jezebel's baleful influence, through intermarriage of her offspring with the house of DAVID, extended to the kingdom of JUDAH (2 Ki. 8:16-17, 26-27; 11:1-20). She made of her husband a puppet (1 Ki. 21:25). Her evil genius became proverbial in her nation (2 Ki. 9:22), even turning up as a name for some form of fanatical religious perversion mentioned in the last book of the Bible (Rev. 2:20).

IV. Events of Ahab's reign. Several historical vignettes rather than a continuous story constitute the

biblical narrative.

A. Three and one-half years of drought.

At some point fairly early in his reign, the great prophet ELIJAH the Tishbite announced to Ahab, "As the LORD, the God of Israel, lives, whom I serve, there will be neither dew nor rain in the next few years except at my word" (1 Ki. 17:1). This startling announcement was not only a signal for the beginning of a long rainless period but also the abrupt introduction of the strange prophet Elijah—so similar in many respects to the forerunner of our Lord (cf. Mal. 4:3; Matt. 11:11-14; Mk. 9:11-13; Lk. 1:17). After threatening the drought, Elijah disappeared from the king for several years (1 Ki. 18:1 says it ended "in the third year," while Jas. 5:17 specifies, "it did not rain on the land for three and a half years"). This long period of drought was familiar to the Jews in later periods, for 2 Esd. 7:39 mentions it, as did also Jesus when not far from the area of some of Elijah's wondrous acts (Lk. 4:25).

Some see a connection between this period of terrible suffering, when evidently most livestock died and presumably many people also (1 Ki. 18:5), and the three and one-half years of divine wrath, producing worldwide tribulation (cf. "a time, two times, and half a time," "forty-two months," "one thousand two hundred and sixty days," and one-half a prophetic week; see Dan. 7:25; 9:27; 12:7; Rev. 11:13; 12:6; 13:5). The two martyr-witnesses prophesy for 1,260 days and like Elijah have power to shut off rain during their time of prophesying. So this drought of Ahab's time is a historical and hermeneutical landmark of Scripture. The dramatic close of the drought is set forth in connection with the bloody victory of Yahwism over Baalism reported in 1 Ki. 18.

B. The introduction and destruction of Phoenician Baalism. It is one of the discoveries of recent archaeology that the CANAAN of MOSES and JOSHUA was a cultural and geographical area reaching from the Sinai desert to far N of "the Land of Canaan," as older Bible geography drew it, for in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters the name Canaan "applies to the Phoenician coast as far north as Ugarit (Ras Shamra in northern coastal modern Syria)" (Finegan, *Light,* 135). Baalism, a form of fertility cult, had been the prevailing religion of the entire region prior to the settlement of the Hebrews. Though suppressed, it had survived as an illicit cult in both Judah and Israel, as the biblical histories and prophecies amply illustrate. Jezebel brought with her a particularly virulent strain of the infection from her home in lower PHOENICIA (1 Ki. 16:31-33), seducing her husband and through him the entire nation to Baalism.

Nominally, Ahab was a worshiper of Yahweh, as the names of his children demonstrate (ATHALIAH, meaning possibly "Yahweh is great, exalted" 2 Ki. 8:26; AHAZIAH, "Yahweh has held [in protection]," 1 Ki. 22:40; JEHORAM, "Yahweh is exalted," 2 Ki. 1:17): even though their Phoenician grandfather Ethbaal honored Baal in his name, their own names honored the true God of Israel—this in spite of the apostasy introduced to the northern kingdom by JEROBOAM'S calves and shrines at BETHEL and DAN (PLACE) (1 Ki. 12:25-33). There was already a strong foundation for Jezebel's expansion of the vile fertility rites of Baalism (cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion,* 57-61). Ahab allowed the true national worship to be suppressed, involving the attempted "liquidation" of the prophets of Yahweh (1 Ki. 18:4). Unchecked, this movement would surely have entirely stamped out biblical religion in the northern kingdom. This gives significance to the incidents of ch. 18, explaining why such drastic measures against the priests and prophets became necessary, as also to the shouts of the people, "the LORD [= Yahweh]—he is God" (18:39).

C. Ahab's military campaigns. The record of 1 Kings reports three major engagements between Ahab and BEN-HADAD II of SYRIA (ARAM), who ruled from DAMASCUS. In the first war the Syrians besieged Samaria. After a diplomatic exchange particularly insulting to the Israelites, Ahab reverted (as monarchs are wont to do in time of great peril) to the older democratic ways, calling a national council of tribal elders. Then came an unusual prophet who in Yahweh's name advised Ahab to attack (1 Ki. 20:13). A smashing victory followed, the Syrian king barely escaping with his life (vv. 16-21). The same prophet then warned Ahab to prepare for another attack the next year. The narrative reports how Ahab won a great victory in the conflict, which did come just as the prophet had said, in vindication of the biblical religion of Yahweh (vv. 22-30). Though he secured important commercial concessions from Ben-Hadad and a handsome property settlement, Ahab, having captured the Syrian king, injudiciously released him and even made a covenant with him (vv. 31-34), whereupon Ahab was rebuked by still another prophet (vv. 35-43).

The third and last campaign was aggressive, Ahab taking the attack to the Syrians. Intervening was a period of three years of peace (1 Ki. 22:1). Apparently during this interval the disgraceful incident took place wherein Jezebel (acting as virtual mistress of the realm and doing what Ahab's Hebrew scruples did not permit him to do) secured a desirable piece of property from NABOTH, its owner, by destroying him and his sons (ch. 21; cf. 2 Ki. 9:26). This third campaign was undertaken by Ahab in alliance with JEHOSHAPHAT, the Davidic dynast of Judah. Relations were friendly between the two ruling houses at this period, even to the extent of marriage between a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (viz., Athaliah) to Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, adding greatly to the disaster and disadvantage of Judah. This third war was directed to the recovery of RAMOTH GILEAD, a city normally attached to Israel, but evidently still in Syrian hands in spite of the cession of cities from Syria to Israel after the second of the wars. In this battle the allied Hebrew kings failed, Ahab being mortally wounded (1 Ki. 22).

D. Ahab's spiritual life. It might seem that nothing but evil could be said of this man. Yet on occasion he furnishes important examples of sincere, if wavering, trust in the prophets of God. It was his wife's fury that sought their destruction, not his (1 Ki. 19:1-2). Furthermore, Ahab manifested remarkable, and apparently sincere, repentance after one prophetic rebuke (21:27-29).

V. Ahab's place in secular history. Sometime in the summer of 853 B.C., SHALMANESER III of Assyria met in battle a quite formidable coalition of twelve Syrian (Aramean) kings at a place called Qarqar, on the ORONTES River in northern Syria. On the "Monolith Inscription," now in the British Museum, there is a description of the battle, placing it in the sixth year of Shalmaneser III. Since the reigns of Assyrian kings are accurately dated by independent data, this battle becomes very important, for the inscription mentions "Ahab, the Israelite" as one of the twelve kings who fought Shalmaneser at that time. Thus we know when Ahab reigned, and there is created an important hinge (perhaps the most important one connecting secular and biblical history), making possible something close to an exact dating of the events of OT history (Finegan, *Light,* 204-5, esp. the valuable documentation and bibliography).

This expedition of Ahab is not mentioned in the Bible, showing how little concern the Bible authors really had for history or chronology as such (perhaps also suggesting the mistake in our modern preoccupation with it). The treachery of the king's wife in destroying a God-fearing freeholder is of much more spiritual significance than either winning or losing a battle, in which the

king really ought not to have participated anyway, for the alliance that took Ahab to Qarqar was contrary to Mosaic law. It is of interest to know that Ahab had a place of prominence among Levantine rulers of his time. Shalmaneser's statistics report "Ahab as commanding 2,000 chariots and 10,000 soldiers. In chariotry, Ahab's forces were much larger than those of any other king" (Finegan, *Light,* 205). Shalmaneser claims a big victory in the inscription, but he avoided Syria for a long time afterward, indicating that the "victory" was perhaps only paper propaganda for home consumption.

VI. Ahab the builder. The book of Kings refers to "the palace he built and inlaid with ivory" (1 Ki. 22:39), presumably at Samaria his capital. Somewhat later Amos denounced the unspiritual luxury of the rulers of the northern kingdom, fastening special attention on "beds inlaid with ivory" (Amos 6:4) and "houses adorned with ivory" (3:15). Thus it is of considerable interest, and perhaps great signifincance,

Although these inlaid furniture ivories were discovered in Nimrud, they were most likely remnants of the spoil that the Assyrians took from places such as Ahab's palace at Samaria.

that many ivory plaques and panels survived the millennia to be turned up by archaeologists at Samaria. These objects were originally attached to furniture and walls of houses. The ivories at least illustrate Ahab's building operations and perhaps even are a part of them (Finegan, *Light,* 187-88). (For a general study, see J. Walsh, *Ahab: The Construction of a King* [2006].) R. D. CULVER

Aharah uh-hair'uh (אַחְרַח *H341,* derivation unknown). Third son of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:1). The name is probably a scribal corruption of AHIRAM (Num. 26:38).

Aharhel uh-hahr'hel (אַחַרְחֵל *H342,* derivation uncertain). Son of Harum of the tribe of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:8). On the basis of the SEPTUAGINT, some scholars emend "Aharhel" to read, "the brother of Rechab."

Ahasai uh-hay'si'. KJV form of AHZAI (Neh. 11:13).

Ahasbai uh-haz'bi (אַחַסְבַּי *H335,* derivation uncertain). Father of ELIPHELET, who was one of DAVID'S mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:34). Described as "the Maacathite" (*ben-hamma(ăkātî*, lit., "son of the Maa-cathite"), Ahasbai may have been from a Judean family named MAACAH (1 Chr. 2:48; 4:19), or from the city of ABEL BETH MAACAH (2 Sam. 20:14), or from the Aramean city of Maacah (2 Sam. 10:6-8).

However, in the parallel passage (1 Chr. 11:35b-36a), instead of "Eliphelet son of Ahas-bai son of the Maacathite" *)ĕlipelet ben-)'ăhasbay ben-hamma)ăkātî),* the reading is "Eliphal son of Ur, Hepher the Mekerathite" *)ălipal ben-)ûr hēper hamměkrātî).* Although it is not impossible that Eliphelet son of Ahasbai and Eliphal son of Ur were two different individuals, the unusual double identification in Samuel ("son of Ahasbai son of the Maacathite"), as well as the discrepancies between the two lists, suggest to most scholars that one or both passages have suffered scribal corruption. Keil and Delitzsch, for example, emend the text to read, "Eliphelet son of Ur, Hepher the Maacathite" (KD, *Samuel,* 499-500).

Ahashtarites. See HAAHASHTARI.

Ahasuerus uh-has'yoo-er'uhs (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ *H347,* from Pers. ḫšayāršā, possibly "mighty man"). (1) The father of DARIUS THE MEDE (Dan. 9:1 NRSV; the NIV has "Xerxes"). If this Darius is to be identified with Gubaru (Gobryas), viceroy of the province of BABYLON under CYRUS, then his father (the Ahasuerus mentioned here), according to some, may have been Cyaxares.

(2) The king of PERSIA mentioned in Ezra 4:6; Esth. 1:1; 2:16-17. Although one Jewish tradition identifies him as ARTAXERXES, the evidence makes clear that this Ahasuerus is the same as Xerxes I, the son of DARIUS I (Hystaspes) the Great, and ruler of Persia c. 486-465 B.C. The equation of Ahasuerus with Xerxes presupposes that Ezra 4:6-23 is somewhat parenthetical (providing further information from a later period). The famous remains at Persepolis were primarily his work. Found there was a historical inscription by Xerxes, listing the various nations subject to him, thus confirming the statement in Esth. 1:1 that he ruled "from India to Ethiopia." His reign came to an abrupt halt in 465 when he was assassinated in his bedchamber. See XERXES #2.

(3) A ruler who destroyed NINEVEH with the help of NEBUCHADNEZZAR (according to some MSS of Tob. 14:15 *[Asyēros;* KJV, "Assuerus"]; however, the NRSV has "King Cyaxares of Media").

K. L. BARKER

Ahava uh-hay'vuh (אַהֲוָא *H178;* the LXX has several textual variants). The name of a canal and its surrounding area in BABYLON, mentioned only in Ezra 8:15, 21 (which may be a gloss derived from the other two citations), and 31 (the parallel passage in the APOCRYPHA has the name "Theras," 1 Esd. 8:41, 61). No such location has ever been found, and there is little evidence to support the supposition of the older commentators that it was a city. It was the gathering place for the Israelites returning to Jerusalem with EZRA.

Ahaz ay'haz (אָחָז *H298*, short form of יְהוֹאָחָז *H3370,* "Yahweh has taken hold [for protection]"; see JEHOAHAZ and cf. AHAZIAH). (1) Son of Micah and great-grandson of King SAUL (1 Chr. 8:35-36; 9:41-42). Nothing else is known about him.

(2) Son of JOTHAM and thirteenth king of JUDAH, belonging to David's line. A cuneiform

inscription of TIGLATH-PILESER III mentions Ahaz by the name "Yauhazi [i.e., Jehoahaz] of Judah" among those from whom he received tribute (J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past: The Archaeological Background of Judaism and Christianity,* 2nd ed. [1959], 207-8; *ANET,* 282; *ARAB,* sect. 801; BDB, 28, cf. xiv). His story is told in 2 Ki. 16:1-20 and 2 Chr. 27:9—28:27, the second account enlarging greatly on his disastrous religious, military, and diplomatic ventures. The so-called "Book of Immanuel" (Isa. 7-12) relates to his time also. The rest of this article deals only with King Ahaz.

I. Ahaz's family connections. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were among the best of the Davidic line (2 Chr. 27:6; 26:4-5). From the entire dynasty, his son HEZEKIAH is the most noted for godly faith (2 Ki. 18:5-6).

II. Chronology of life and reign. There is a serious problem with the numerical data. According to 2 Chr. 28:1 and 2 Ki. 16:2, Ahaz would have died at the age of thirty-six, but according to 2 Chr. 29:1, his son Hezekiah succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-five, upon the death of his father, Ahaz —thus making Ahaz only eleven or twelve years of age at the birth of his son Hezekiah. The SEPTUAGINT has twenty years in 2 Ki. 16:2 for the age of Ahaz at his accession, but a variant in 2 Chr. 28:1 (with other versional support) says twenty-five. The lower figure is not, however, impossible, for as is well known, children of very young age—below ten—are frequently married in the Orient. The kings of Judah, more often than not, were conceived when their fathers were in middle or late "teens." Coming to the throne about 735 B.C., Ahaz's reign lasted sixteen years. By supposing a coregency with his father, Jotham, a somewhat longer reign is possible. Accordingly, scholars frequently assign to his reign a length of twenty or twenty-one years.

III. Events of his reign. Early in his reign the two nearest northern neighbor kingdoms, Israel under PEKAH the son of Remaliah and Syria (Aram) under REZIN of DAMASCUS, formed an alliance bent on conquest of Judah and termination of the reign of the Davidic dynasty by placing a certain "son of Tabeel" (Isa. 7:6) upon the throne. Who this person might have been is unknown—the name suggests a non-Hebrew, hence likely a scion of some leading Syrian family. That the king of Israel would cooperate in a project so alien to the history and faith of the Mosaic institutions speaks volumes for the low state of affairs in the northern kingdom at that time. In this time of national peril and of testing for the young king Ahaz, the prophet ISAIAH, with holy zeal and great faith, encouraged the king by the word of the Lord, promising early deliverance of Jerusalem, if not of the whole land of Judah (Isa. 7:3-9). Ahaz responded with a great lack of faith (vv. 10-13). The prophecy was fulfilled anyway, for though great losses were sustained, Jerusalem was spared, to the encouragement of Isaiah and his faithful disciples (7:14—8:22).

The narratives are not crystal clear at this point, but presumably in connection with the attacks of the combined forces of Israel and Syria, large numbers of captives were taken from outlying portions of Judah and transported to Samaria (2 Chr. 28:8). Supported bravely by several Ephraimite chieftains (v. 12), the remonstrances of the prophet ODED, who pointed out the contrariety of such action to the Mosaic law and threatened divine judgment, brought about the return of the captives, with provisions for life and decency, to their homes. The vile Pekah, king at Samaria, however, had slain 120,000 "in one day" in the process of his depredations—a loss that could not be restored (vv. 5-6).The author of Chronicles states that these disasters came because the inhabitants of Judah "had forsaken the LORD, the God of their fathers" (v. 6).

At this time Judah, till now a strong power in the Levant, suffered other serious losses of territory and strength. The Edomites not only reasserted their independence of Judah, but also captured ELATH, long-time seaport for Judah on the Gulf of AQABAH to the S (cf. 2 Ki. 14:22) and even successfully invaded the S of Judah (2 Chr. 28:17-19; 2 Ki. 16:6). (It is possible that the expulsion of Jews from Elath may have been by Syria, since the names *)ărām H806* [Aram, i.e., Syria] and *)ĕdôm H121* [Edom] are sometimes confused.) The long quiescent PHILISTINES raided cities of Judah in the NEGEV and the SHEPHELAH and occupied them (2 Chr. 28:17-20).

In such exigencies Ahaz, apostate from the Mosaic faith and lacking both courage and ingenuity, did not shrink from breaking the divine law to seek help from foreign kings and—what turned out to be the ultimate disaster—from foreign gods as well. The two accounts show that Ahaz appealed to the king of Assyria to send forces to deliver him from his enemies on every side (2 Ki. 16:7; 2 Chr. 28:16-19). The Assyrians had been probing deeper and deeper into Syria for several decades. The then reigning king, TIGLATH-PILESER III, already planning a war of conquest against the kings of the area, gladly sent his "assistance." The result was the immediate end of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus and the death of Rezin its king (2 Ki. 16:9).

Known as the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser, whose reign overlapped that of Ahaz, this cuneiform tablet contains a record of Assyrian military campaigns against the kings of Phoenicia, Israel, Ammon, Moab, and coastal cities along the Philistine plain.

Not long afterward Ahaz witnessed the end of the northern Israelite kingdom which, after suffering earlier losses of territory to Tiglath-Pileser (= Pul, cf. 2 Ki. 15:18-20), now suffered final national demise from the attacks of SHALMANESER V, who destroyed it (2 Ki. 17:1-23). The spineless

Ahaz, in order to save the deteriorating situation, had done the worst possible thing—militarily, diplomatically, spiritually—when he called on the Assyrians for help. True, he would no longer be in danger from Israel and Syria, but in their place the Assyrians threatened the national existence of Judah. He had to accept the position of vassal or tributary king to Assyria. That meant that he would have no military power except such as the Assyrians would allow him to have; the laconic Chronicles account states, "Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria came to him, but he gave him trouble instead of help" (2 Chr. 28:20). Diplomatically Judah was now fully isolated, without power to exist except by Assyrian sufferance. This sufferance Ahaz purchased at the price of robbing the temple of all its treasures as well as its most costly furnishings (2 Chr. 28:21; 2 Ki. 16:8), in addition to draining the national treasury (2 Ki. 16:8) and confiscating the resources of leading citizens (2 Chr. 28:21).

IV. The spiritual significance of Ahaz. Spiritually Ahaz was a disaster to the whole nation. All three accounts—Kings, Chronicles, Isaiah—point out that Ahaz imported the corrupt pagan religious practices of Mesopotamia to Jerusalem. This involved worship of the heavenly bodies (stars and planets), child sacrifice, and consulting with wizards and necromancers (2 Chr. 28:22-25; Isa. 8:19). His name is connected with heathen abomination (sun worship), which survived until the times of JOSIAH nearly a century later (2 Ki. 23:11). Of course there were minor cultural "benefits" from the importations—enough to provide their advocates (of false religion) a certain plausibility. A beautiful "altar of Damascus" was adopted, no doubt to the delight of "modernizing" esthetes (2 Ki. 16:10-16), and the courts now had the benefit of a "timepiece," a sundial probably imported (Isa. 38:8). (See S. A. Irvine, *Isaiah, Ahaz, and the Syro-Ephraimitic Crisis* [1990].) R. D. CULVER

Ahaz, dial of. See DIAL.

Ahaziah ay'huh-zi'uh (אחזיה *H301*, also אחזיהו *H302,* "Yahweh has taken hold [for protection]" or "whom Yahweh sustains"; cf. JEHOAHAZ, AHZAI). (1) Son of AHAB and eighth king of the northern kingdom of Israel, who reigned something less than two years (1 Ki. 22:51), 850-849 B.C. He was placed quite unexpectedly on the throne when Ahab died from a wound inflicted at RAMOTH GILEAD (1 Ki. 22:34-37). So short was his reign that events in the civil conduct of this period largely go unnoticed. It is stated that MOAB rebelled after the death of Ahab, but personal misfortunes overtook Ahaziah before he could attempt to recover Moab. We learn from the story of the longer reign of his successor that the material loss was an annual payment by MESHA king of Moab of the surprising amount of 100,000 lambs and wool of 100,000 rams—no mean amount (2 Ki. 3:4-5).

The unhappy Ahaziah suffered a bad fall when a lattice gave way in the second floor of his palace. Whether this was a lattice door, a lattice window, or floor grating to let light through to the ground floor is difficult to say. In this connection he showed himself to be a true offspring of JEZEBEL, the able but wicked pagan wife of Ahab. For instead of using the lawful priests and prophets for consultation about the issue of his injuries, he sent messengers to a famous pagan shrine at EKRON of the PHILISTINES where BAAL-ZEBUB, god of the city, was to be consulted. A more direct insult to the God of Israel by the nation's most prominent citizen cannot easily be imagined. Among the last acts of the now aged prophet ELIJAH was to intercept those messengers, at divine direction, and to return them to King Aha-ziah with the announcement of that unhappy man's imminent death. He had "walked in the ways of his father and mother" (1 Ki. 22:52) with this result.

Industrial olive processing facility near the gate at Ekron (view to the NE). When Ahaziah was injured, he sent messengers to the pagan temple at Ekron rather than consulting the Lord.

Since Ramoth Gilead had been lost by Ahab and the Syrians (Arameans) held TRANSJORDAN, Ahaziah's forces had no access to MOAB except through Judah. Evidently the time was not ripe to attempt the recovery of Moab through the combined effort of Judah and Israel. This came during the following reign. Ahaziah did propose a joint effort with JEHOSHAPHAT king of Judah, aimed at restoration of the sea trade through the port of EZION GEBER near ELATH on the Gulf of AQABAH, but "Jehoshaphat was not willing." After a brief and unsuccessful reign, Ahaziah died without issue, and his brother JEHORAM succeeded to the throne (2 Ki. 1:17). (There are problems of synchronization of the reigns of the kings of Judah with that of Aha-ziah; see CHRONOLOGY (OT).)

(2) Son of JEHORAM, nephew of the earlier Ahaziah, eighth and Davidic king of the southern kingdom of Judah for less than a year in 842 B.C. (2 Chr. 22:1-5). He suffered chiefly from the baleful influence of that same wicked queen mother JEZEBEL, whose idolatries the older Ahaziah had imitated, and who was also the grandmother of the younger Ahaziah. For JEHOSHAPHAT (king of Judah 873-849 B.C.), good man that he was, made the disastrous mistake of espousing his son Jehoram (father of the younger Ahaziah) to ATHALIAH, daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. He is called Jehoahaz in 2 Chr. 21:17 (Hebrew text, reflecting a transposition of the elements of his name; see AHAZ) and Azariah in most Hebrew MSS of 2 Chr. 22:6.

Ahaziah's age at accession is given in 2 Ki. 8:26 as twenty-two years, while 2 Chr. 22:2 has forty-two years. According to 2 Chr. 21:5 and 20, his father was only forty years old at Ahaziah's accession, so the lower figure is undoubtedly correct. Perhaps in early times the Hebrew numbers were not spelled out but indicated by the numerical value of the letters of the alphabet (מב=42, though the order of the letters, as in Arabic, may have been reversed). Twenty-two would have been כב, and the mistake of מ for כ by some early copyist would account for the error.

Providence allowed Ahaziah only one major military error, one purely personal error, and one spiritual error. The military error was to join his uncle Jehoram, king at Samaria, in an expedition to conquer Ramoth Gilead in the Transjordan (2 Ki. 8:27-28; 2 Chr. 22:6), a contested city between the house of OMRI and the kings of Syria through several generations. Jehoram (= Joram) was badly wounded in the evidently otherwise successful encounter and went to JEZREEL (a city S of Lake KINNERETH safely within uncontested Israelite territory) to recover. In this connection Ahaziah made his great personal mistake: he traveled from Jerusalem to Jezreel to visit the ailing Jehoram. The

story of this visit, which resulted in Ahaziah's capture and death, is reported in 2 Chr. 22:7-9.

His spiritual mistake was to follow the pernicious religious customs of his ancestors through his mother ATHALIAH, daughter of JEZEBEL and granddaughter of ETHBAAL, king of TYRE (2 Ki. 8:26-27). The pervasive depravity of mankind, which renders evil more easily propagated than good, makes the intermarriage of a member of a godly family with an ungodly one almost invariably disastrous. Ahaziah was the miserable fruit of the error of Jehoshaphat, his otherwise righteous grandfather, in securing Athaliah (the morally depraved daughter of a morally depraved daughter of the vile Ethbaal) as bride for Ahaziah's father. There were strong reasons, indeed, for the Mosaic command to exterminate the Canaanites and the prohibition of intercourse with them on all levels. R. D. CULVER

Ahban ah'ban (אַחְבָּן *H283,* derivation uncertain). Son of Abishur and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and JERAHMEEL (1 Chr. 2:29).

Aher ay'huhr (אַחֵר *H338,* "another" [possibly indicating a substitute for a sibling who has died]). A Benjamite identified as the father or ancestor of the Hushites (1 Chr. 7:12; see HUSHIM #2). The text is emended by some scholars, but if it is sound, the name may be a contracted form of AHIRAM (Num. 26:38).

Ahi ay'hi (אָחִי *H306,* "my brother"; perhaps a contraction of AHIJAH). (1) Son of Abdiel and descendant of GAD; head of a family (1 Chr. 5:15).

(2) Son of Shomer and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:34); some read the text as *)āhîw,* "his brother" (cf. RSV and NIV note).

The form *Ahi* is also used in the composition of many Hebrew names with various possible meanings, such as "brother of" and "my brother is" (where "brother" can be a reference to God). See also AH-.

Ahiah uh-hi'uh (אֲחִיָּה *H308,* short form of אֲחִיָּהוּ *H309,* "[my] brother is Yahweh"; see AHIJAH). One of the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant of reform with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:26). Here the KJV has "Ahijah," but in several passages where other versions have "Ahijah," the KJV reads "Ahiah" (1 Sam. 14:3, 18; 1 Ki. 4:3; 1 Chr. 8:7). No version seems to be completely consistent in the spelling of this name.

Ahiam uh-hi"uhm (אֲחִיאָם *H307,* possibly a hypoco-risticon, *)ăḏhiyā-mi,* "my brother is indeed [Yahweh]"; see ABIJAH #5). Son of Sharar the HARARITE; he was one of DAVID'S mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:33; called "son of Sacar" in 1 Chr. 11:35).

Ahian uh-hi'uhn (אֲחִיָּן *H319,* possibly "little brother"). Son of Shemida and descendant of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 7:19).

Ahiezer ay'hi'-ee'zuhr (אֲחִיעֶזֶר *H323,* "my brother is help"). (1) Son of Ammishaddai; in the time of MOSES he represented the tribe of DAN on a number of important occasions (Num. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66, 71; 10:25).

(2) Son of Shemaah of GIBEAH; he and his brother JOASH were warriors from the tribe of

BENJAMIN who left SAUL and joined DAVID at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:3; cf. v. 1). On the basis of the primary SEPTUAGINT witnesses and a few Hebrew MSS, the plural "sons" is often emended to "son"; if the singular reading is original, this word then refers only to Joash, and Ahiezer's father is not named.

Ahihud uh-hi'huhd (אֲחִיהוּד *H310,* "[my] brother is majesty"). (1) Son of Sheloni and a leader of the tribe of ASHER; he was appointed by MOSES to help divide the land W of the Jordan after the Israelites settled there (Num. 34:27).

(2) The head of a Benjamite family (1 Chr. 8:7). The text is difficult and probably corrupt; he may have been the son of Ehud (KJV) or of Gera (NIV) or of Heglam (NRSV).

Ahijah uh-hI'juh (אֲחִיָּה *H308,* also אֲחִיָּהוּ *H309,* "[my] brother is Yahweh"; see AHIAH). (1) Son of Ahitub and a priest in the days of SAUL. He was a descendant of ELI through PHINEHAS'S line (1 Sam. 14:3, 18; KJV, "Ahiah"). He is also called AHIMELECH (possibly a short form of Ahijah, 1 Sam. 22:9, 11, 20; some infer that Ahijah and Ahimelech were brothers). Thus Ahijah or Ahim-elech, the father of ABIATHAR, served as priest at NOB, wore the EPHOD, and bore the responsibility for the ARK OF THE COVENANT. He consulted the oracles of God for Saul on the field at MICMASH (1 Sam. 14:18-19; note the LXX reference to the ephod). He is the same one who offered the showbread to DAVID when he was hungry and fleeing from Saul (1 Sam. 21:1-10).

(2) A Pelonite who was one of David's Thirty, the military élite of the nation (1 Chr. 11:36). However, the parallel list at this point reads, "Eliam the son of Ahithophel the Gilonite" (2 Sam. 23:34; this reading is to be preferred).

(3) A Levite in the time of David who was "in charge of the treasuries of the temple (1 Chr. 26:20 KJV, NRSV). The NIV, following the SEPTUAGINT and most commentators, reads *)ăhêhem* ("their brothers") and translates, "Their fellow Levites."

(4) Son of Shisha; he and his brother Elihoreph were secretaries (see SCRIBE) for SOLOMON (1 Ki. 4:3; KJV, "Ahiah").

(5) A prophet from SHILOH who found JEROBOAM in the field. The prophet had a new garment that he promptly took and ripped into twelve pieces. He then offered to Jeroboam ten of the twelve pieces, saying that God would rip the kingdom out of Solomon's hand and offer to Jeroboam ten of the tribes (1 Ki. 11:29-31). Amazingly enough, the prophet also promised to build a sure dynasty out of his descendants even as he did for David's house! While this incident did not revoke the Davidic covenant (vv. 34-36), yet it did offer a similar covenant to the house of Jeroboam if he would obey God's commandments and walk in all his ways (11:38). Notice the theology of 1 Ki. 12:15, whereby the breach was not healed, because God had proclaimed his word by the prophet. Later the prophet, aged and blind, announced to Jeroboam's wife God's word concerning the illness of his son Abijah (14:1-5). Briskly, the prophet announced the death of the child and a violent end to the promise of a dynasty (vv. 6-17). The fulfillment of these words continued to roll in during subsequent days (1 Ki. 15:29; 2 Chr. 10:15). "The prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite" was one of the sources used in the history of Solomon (2 Chr. 9:29).

(6) Father of King BAASHA of Israel; the latter conspired against NADAB, the son of Jeroboam, and then ruled in his place (1 Ki. 15:27, 33; 21:22; 2 Ki. 9:9). He was from the tribe of ISSACHAR.

(7) Son of JERAHMEEL and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:25). Instead of the personal name Ahijah, the LXX here has "his brother" (reading *)āhîhû;* the Syr. reads "their sister").

(8) Son of EHUD and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:7; KJV, "Ahiah"). The text is difficult,

as some argue that the names Naaman, Ahijah, and Gera are a dittography (from vv. 4-5). Further, both Ahijah (v. 7) and Ahoah (v. 4), as well as Ehi (Gen. 46:21), may be scribal variations for an original reading of AHIRAM (Num. 26:38-40).

(9) One of the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant of reform with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:26 KJV; other English versions spell it AHIAH).

(10) Son of Phinehas and ancestor of EZRA (2 Esd. 1:2; KJV, "Achias"). W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ahikam uh-hi'kuhm (אחיקם *H324,* "my brother has arisen" [possibly a reference to God as rising for battle]). A prominent man in the reign of King JOSIAH and the following decades (2 Ki. 22:12, 14; 25:22; 2 Chr. 34:20; Jer. 26:24; 39:14; 40:5—41:18; 43:6). Josiah made him a member of the deputation to consult with the prophetess HULDAH concerning the Book of the Law. In the reign of JEHOIAKIM, Ahikam protected JEREMIAH from death. He was a son of SHAPHAN, royal secretary under Josiah, and the father of GEDALIAH #2, whom NEBUCHADNEZ-ZAR made governor of the land after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Ahikar uh-hi'kahr (Aram. אחיקר "my brother is precious"). Also Aḥiḳar and (in more recent scholarship) Ahiqar. TOBIT refers to Ahikar (Gk. *Achiacharos,* but the spelling varies) as his nephew, who was "chief cupbearer, keeper of the signet, and in charge of administrations of the accounts under King Sennacherib of Assyria," and later under Esarhaddon (Tob. 1:21-22 NRSV). When Tobit lost his sight, Ahikar took care of him for two years. Ahikar and his nephew Nadab were present at the wedding of Tobit's son, Tobias (2:10; 11:18). Shortly before his death, Tobit said to his son: "See, my son, what Nadab did to Ahikar who had reared him. Was he not, while still alive, brought down into the earth? For God repaid him to his face for this shameful treatment. Ahikar came out into the light, but Nadab went into the eternal darkness, because he tried to kill Ahikar. Because he gave alms, Ahikar escaped the fatal trap that Nadab had set for him, but Nadab fell into it himself, and was destroyed" (14:10 NRSV).

These references witness to an earlier Mesopo-tamian legend, dating perhaps to the 6th cent. B.C. It appears that the story was originally composed in ARAMAIC. The earliest evidence for it is a fragmentary papyrus from ELEPHANTINE (5th cent. B.C.), which begins with the statement, "[These are the words] of one Ahiqar, a wise and skillful scribe" (*OTP,* 2:494). It contains a brief and incomplete narrative, followed by a collection of sayings that reflect the story's polytheistic background (this second part is thought to be independent of the narrative). The story became very popular and has been preserved in a much fuller form in various languages. (See *APOT*, 2:715-84 for an English translation of the Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian versions in parallel columns, followed by a translation of the Ethiopic and Aramaic fragments, as well as a portion of the story of Aesop that reflects influence from the Ahikar story. For a more recent translation of the Aramaic text, with introduction and notes, see *OTP,* 2:479-507.)

While there is no uniformity of detail among the extant versions, the legend proceeds as follows: Ahikar was the vizier of SENNACHERIB, king of ASSYRIA (704-681 B.C.) and noted for his wisdom. He was childless (in spite of having sixty wives), so he decided to adopt the son of his sister, named Nadan, and raise him as his successor in Sennacherib's court. Ahikar began what turned out to be an arduous task of educating this young man by using a series of proverbs. He described his pupil as a "goodly apple," but "rotten at the core." Threatening to replace the ungrateful youth with his younger brother Nabouzadan only led to the betrayal of his uncle by Nadan. Nadan composed letters to the

surrounding sovereigns in Egypt and Persia with Ahikar's forged signature and seal in which he proposed betraying Assyria's troops to them. Then to add insult to injury, he went to Sennacherib and accused Ahikar of treason, whereupon the poor man was condemned to die. Fortunately enough for the vizier, the executioner turned out to be a friend of Ahikar whose life he had saved in the past. Secretly he substituted a condemned criminal in Ahikar's place and concealed Ahikar until the king's wrath had subsided.

An occasion finally arose in which Sennacherib found himself wishing wise Ahikar were still around to solve a new provocation incited by the king of Egypt, who demanded that Assyria pay tribute or produce someone who could make a castle in the air or ropes twisted out of sand. When the servant produced Ahikar, he was wasted, withered, long-haired, and with fingernails like the talons of an eagle. He confronted his nephew with a number of rebukes cast into a series of proverbs, such as "O my boy! you have been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him" (Arabic version, 8.5). Upon hearing these rebukes, Nadan's body swelled and his "belly burst asunder." As for the Egyptian provocation, Ahikar demonstrated that he still had the same wisdom when he used eagles to carry two boys into the air, who thereupon urged the Egyptian to pass the bricks and mortar up to them so that the castle building could begin. Faulting the supplier, the builder was excused and Assyria was saved, whereupon Ahikar was restored to his original post.

Because the name "Ahuqar" appears in a cuneiform text from Uruk, many infer that Ahikar was a historical character, possibly a sage in ESARHADDON'S Assyrian court. The legend and sayings constitute a sapiential novel, similar to Tobit. Although pagan in origin, it was adopted by Jewish people and exerted considerable influence among them, as well as among Christians and Muslims (the story is included in some editions of the *Thousand and One Nights*). W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ahilud uh-hi'luhd (אֲחִילוּד ***H314,*** perhaps "my brother is born"). The father of a certain Jehoshaphat who served as "recorder" during the reigns of DAVID and SOLOMON (2 Sam. 8:16; 20:24; 1 Ki. 4:3; 1 Chr. 18:15). This Ahilud is probably also the one identified as the father of BAANA, one of Solomon's district governors (1 Ki. 4:12).

Ahimaaz uh-him'ay-az (אֲחִימַעַץ *H318,* perhaps "my brother is wrath"). (1) The father of SAUL'S wife, AHINOAM (1 Sam. 14:50).

(2) Son of ZADOK, the high priest (2 Sam. 15:27; 1 Chr. 6:8, 53). Ahimaaz remained loyal to DAVID during the rebellion of ABSALOM. He and JONATHAN, the son of ABIATHAR, stationed at EN ROGEL, were messengers for David (2 Sam. 17:17) when he fled from Absalom (15:27, 36). Ahimaaz was especially famous for his swift running, which he demonstrated at his own initiative when he raced ahead of a Cushite messenger to bring the news of the victory of David's army and of Absalom's death (18:27). At one point, the aforementioned system of espionage almost collapsed when Ahimaaz and Jonathan were detected by a lad who told Absalom of their activities. They fled for their lives to a house in BAHURIM that had a well in its courtyard, and there they hid. A woman covered over the well's lid and spread her ground corn over the lid and thus they escaped (17:17-19). The career of Ahimaaz in subsequent days is uncertain. From the facts known, it would appear that he did not succeed Zadok as high priest, for he is not listed among Solomon's officials; rather, AZARIAH, another son of Zadok, is mentioned as the priest (1 Ki. 4:2).

(3) The husband of BASEMATH, daughter of SOLOMON. He was one of the king's twelve officers

in charge of the food service for the royal household as financed by the eighth assigned district of NAPHTALI (1 Ki. 4:15). In contrast to the other officers in the list, the name of this man's father is missing. Some therefore conjecture that it is the man's own name that has dropped out of the text and that only the name of his father (Ahimaaz son of Zadok, see above) has remained. W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ahiman uh-hi'muhn (אֲחִימַן *H317,* perhaps "my brother is fortune"). (1) One of the three sons or descendants of ANAK living in HEBRON when the twelve spies reconnoitered the land in the time of Moses (Num. 13:22; Josh. 15:14; Jdg. 1:10). They were so tall and strong that ten of the spies were terrified of them and persuaded the Israelites not to enter the land that God had promised them. Ahiman was probably the name of an individual and of a clan or group of clans. The three clans were driven out from Hebron by CALEB (Josh. 15:14) and later defeated again by the tribe of JUDAH (Jdg. 1:10).

(2) A Levite in the postexilic period. He was one of the chief gatekeepers of Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:17). Since he is not included in the parallel list (Neh. 11:19, "Akkub, Talmon and their associates *[lit.,* brothers]"), some emend the text to read *ăhêhem,* "their brothers."

Ahimelech uh-him'uh-lek (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ *H316,* "my brother is [the god] Melek" or "my brother is king"). TNIV Ahimelek. (1) Son of AHITUB and father of ABIATHAR, DAVID'S high priest (1 Sam. 21:1-2, 8; 22:9-23; 23:6; 30:7). This priest of NOB gave assistance to David by offering him the showbread (21:6), and when SAUL learned of this aid, it cost Ahimelech his life (22:11-19). AHI-JAH (14:3, 18) may be (a) a short form of the name Ahimelech, (b) another name for Ahimelech, or (c) Ahimelech's father in a fuller genealogy. One of the eight fugitive psalms (title of Ps. 52) refers to the evil use of the tongue by DOEG, the Edomite, against Ahimelech.

(2) Son of Abiathar (2 Sam. 8:17; cf. 1 Chr. 18:16), that is, a grandson of #1 above. Most scholars regard this as an inadvertent transposition for "Abiathar the son of Ahimelech." While such a textual corruption is possible, the detailed account of 1 Chr. 24:3, 6, 31 would seem to rule against it. One has only to look at the Phoenician lists of names in *CIS* to find examples of patronymics where father, grandson, and great-great-grandson all share the name "A" while son and great-grandson share the name "B" (i.e., the patrilineal pattern of "A" begets "B" begets "A" begets "B" begets "A").

(3) A HITTITE who followed David while he was a fugitive in the wilderness hiding from Saul (1 Sam. 26:6).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ahimoth uh-hi'moth (אֲחִימוֹת *H315,* possibly "my brother is death"). Son of ELKANAH, included in a list of Levites descended from KOHATH (1 Chr. 6:25). He was an ancestor of SAMUEL. A later list (1 Chr. 6:35) has the name MAHATH in a similar position, and it has been suggested that Ahimoth is a conflation of this name and the word *)ādîw* ("his brother").

Ahinadab uh-hin'uh-dab (אֲחִינָדָב *H320,* "my brother is noble"). Son of Iddo (1 Ki. 4:14) and one of SOLOMON'S "twelve district governors over all Israel, who supplied provisions for the king and the royal household" (v. 7). His district was S GILEAD, and his headquarters, MAHANAIM.

Ahinoam uh-hin' oh-uhm (אֲחִינֹעַם *H321,* "my brother is delight"). (1) Daughter of Ahimaaz and wife of SAUL (1 Sam. 14:50), thus the first queen of Israel.

(2) A woman from JEZREEL whom DAVID married after Saul took MICHAL from him and gave her to another husband. Ahinoam was probably his first wife, even though his marriage to ABIGAIL is mentioned first (1 Sam. 25:39-44). Three other times they are mentioned together, and Ahinoam is always mentioned first (27:3; 30:5; 2 Sam. 2:2). She was the mother of David's first son, AMNON, and Abigail was mother of his second (2 Sam. 3:2; 1 Chr. 3:1).

Ahio uh-hi'oh (אֲחִיוֹ R *H311,* perhaps "little brother" or short form of אֲחִיהוּ *H309,* "[my] brother is Yahweh"; see AHIHAH). (1) Son of ABINADAB and brother of UZZA (2 Sam. 6:3-4; 1 Chr. 13:7). He went before the cart that carried the ARK OF THE COVENANT from the house of Abinadab to Jerusalem.

(2) Son of BERIAH and descendant of BENJAMIN, listed among the heads of families living in postexilic Jerusalem (1 Chr. 8:14; cf. v. 28). The NRSV and other versions, however, include him among the sons of ELPAAL. Some scholars, however, emend the name to *)ḥyhm* and translate the verse, "Their [i.e., Beriah's and Shema's] kinsmen were Shashak and Jeremoth" (cf. G. N. Knoppers, I *Chronicles 1-9,* AB 12 [2004], 474, 477).

(3) Son of Jeiel and brother of KISH (1 Chr. 8:29-31; 9:35-37), possibly the uncle of King SAUL (cf. 8:33; 9:39).

Ahiqar. See AHIKAR.

Ahira uh-hi'ruh (אֲחִירַע *H327,* possibly "my brother is a friend" *[HALOT,* 1:34] or "my brother is evil" [BDB, 27]). Son of Enan and a leader of the tribe of NAPHTALI in the time of MOSES, whom he assisted in the census (Num. 1:15). He commanded his tribe when on the march (10:27) and made the tribal offering (2:29; 7:78-83).

Ahiram uh-hi'ruhm (אֲחִירָם *H325,* "my brother is exalted"). Third son of BENJAMIN and grandson of JACOB (Num. 26:38). In 1 Chr. 8:1, where the sons of Benjamin are explicitly numbered, the third name, AHARAH, is probably a corrupt form of AHI-RAM (cf. also the forms AHOAH in v. 4, AHIJAH in v. 7, and AHER in 7:12). In the Benjamite genealogy found in Gen. 46:21, EHI may be an abbreviated form of Ahiram. In this genealogy ten sons of Benjamin are mentioned, but some of them are referred to as more remote descendants in other lists.

Ahisamach uh-his'uh-mak (אֲחִיסָמָךְ *H322,* "my brother has supported"). TNIV Ahisamak. Father of OHOLIAB, a member of the tribe of DAN (Exod. 31:6; 35:34; 38:23). Oholiab assisted BEZALEL in building the TABERNACLE and its furniture.

Ahishahar uh-hish'uh-hahr (אֲחִישַׁחַר *H328,* "brother of the dawn" [see SHAHAR]). Son of Bil-han and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 7:10); he was a head of family in the clan of JEDIAEL (v. 11).

Ahishar uh-hi'shahr (אֲחִישָׁר *H329,* meaning uncertain). A man who was in charge of SOLOMON'S household (1 Ki. 4:6).

Ahithophel uh-hith'uh-fel (אֲחִיתֹפֶל *H330,* perhaps "brother of foolishness"; the name may have been אֲחִיפֶלֶט, "my brother is deliverance" [cf. ELIPHELET, 2 Sam. 23:34], purposely distorted by

transposing the consonants, changing the ט to a ת, and using the vowels of בֹּשֶׁת *H1425,* "shame"; others think the name was originally אֲחִיבַעַל, "my brother is Baal" [cf. ISH-BOSHET]). DAVID'S private counselor who came from GILOH in the highlands of Judah, possibly near HEBRON. He participated in the rebellion against David and became ABSALOM'S counselor only to end his life in suicide, having foreseen what would become of Absalom and himself when the rebel king failed to follow his advice in favor of the eloquent doubts cast upon such plans by HUSHAI, David's infiltrator of the rebel court (2 Sam. 17:14, 23; 1 Chr. 27:33-34).

The reputation that Ahithophel had was such that his counsel was "as if one consulted the oracle of God" (2 Sam. 16:23 NRSV) and thereby the Bible clearly teaches "that a man can still think validly and talk wisely, within a limited field, without special revelation" (D. Kidner, *Proverbs* [1964], 17). David seriously prayed to God that he would help him "by frustrating Ahithophel's advice" (2 Sam. 15:34).

Speculation as to why a loyal Ahithophel should turn so decidedly on David involves building a case for his being the grandfather of BATHSHEBA. A connection has been made between "Eliam son of Ahithophel the Gilonite" (2 Sam. 23:34), who was one of David's Thirty, and the ELIAM who is Bathsheba's father (2 Sam. 11:3; cf. 1 Chr. 3:5). Do we now have the motive for his defection in Ahithophel's knowledge of David's sin with URIAH'S wife Bathsheba? Possibly, if one can demonstrate two more things: (1) that Ahithophel was much older than David and had a married granddaughter, and (2) that there was only one Eliam in Israel and not two by the same name in the contemporary records of Israel. H. W. Hertzberg *(I and II Samuel* [1964], 337-38), who favors the identification, notices that Ahithophel was apparently no longer at the king's court, since he was summoned from his home at Giloh.

Excavated section in Jerusalem known as Area G, which is thought to have functioned as the administrative center of the ancient city during the rebellion in which Ahithophel participated.

The advice Ahithophel gave to Absalom was to publicly violate David's harem, which advice he followed (2 Sam. 15:21-22). This assured him the royal succession, but it also unwittingly brought upon David's head the prophesied consequences of his sin with Bathsheba spoken by NATHAN the prophet (12:11-12). He also advised that the new king immediately pursue David with a surprise attack of men before David had time to consolidate and gather support; this advice Hushai was able

to defeat, and thus ended the brilliant career of Ahithophel (17:1-23). W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ahitob uh-hi'tob. See AHITUB #3.

Ahitub uh-hi'tuhb (אֲחִיטוּב *H313,* "my brother is goodness"). (1) Son of PHINEHAS and father of the priest AHIJAH (also called AHIMELECH, 1 Sam. 14:3; 22:9, 11-12,20).

(2) Son of AMARIAH and father of ZADOK, the high priest during the time of DAVID (2 Sam. 8:17; 1 Chr. 6:7-8 [MT, 5:33-34]; 6:52-53 [MT, 6:37-38]; 18:16; Ezra 7:2). Some argue (on the basis of 1 Chr. 9:11 and Neh. 11:11) that this Ahi-tub was really the grandfather of Zadok; however, see #3 below.

(3) Son of Amariah II and father of Zadok II (1 Chr. 6:11 [MT, 5:37-38]; 9:11; Neh. 11:11; cf. also Achitob or Ahitob *[Achitōb]* in 1 Esd. 8:2; 2 Esd. 1:1). Some scholars believe that this Ahitub is the same as #2 and that there is confusion in the lists. (See the discussion in KD, *Chronicles,* 112-20.)

(4) Son of Elijah and ancestor of JUDITH (Jdt. 8:1 *[Achitōb];* KJV, "Acitho"). W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ahlab ah'lab (אַחְלָב *H331,* possibly "forest" or "fruitful"). A town within the boundaries of ASHER, probably located at Khirbet el-Maḥalib, near the coast, c. 4 mi. NE of TYRE. The tribe of Asher was unable to drive out the Canaanite inhabitants of the town (Jdg. 1:31). See also HELBAH and MAHALAB.

Ahlai ah'li' (אַחְלַי *H333,* possibly "the brother is my God" or derived from the interjection אַחֲלַי *H332,* "O would that!"). (1) Son or daughter of Sheshan and descendant of JUDAH through JERAHMEEL (1 Chr. 2:31). The name is introduced in the Hebrew with the words, "the sons of Sheshan," but we are later told that "Sheshan had no sons—only daughters" (v. 34). Ahlai may have been the daughter that Sheshan gave in marriage to his Egyptian servant JARHA (v. 35; but see discussion under SHESHAN). The phrase "the sons of Sheshan" may indicate that Ahlai was regarded as the one through whom Sheshan's line was preserved and as the progenitor of an important Jerahmeelite clan. See also #2 below.

(2) Father of ZABAD; the latter was one of DAVID'S mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:41). Some argue (on the basis of 2:35-36) that this Ahlai was a woman, an ancestress of Zabad, identical with #1 above.

Aḥlamû. See ARAM.

Ahoah uh-hoh'uh (אָחוֹחַ *H291,* derivation uncertain). Son of BELA and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:4). It is possible that the name is a scribal error for AHIJAH (cf. v. 7).

Ahohi uh-hoh'hz' (אָחוֹחִי *H292,* apparently a gentilic of אָחוֹחַ *H291). The* NRSV renders 2 Sam. 23:9 literally as "Dodo son of Ahohi," whereas KJV and NIV, on the basis of the parallel passage (1 Chr. 11:12), have "Dodo [Dodai] the Ahohite." See AHOHITE.

Ahohite uh-hoh'hi't (אָחוֹחִי *H292,* apparently a gentilic of אָחוֹחַ *H291).* Probably a patronymic used by the descendants of AHOAH. The term is used only in connection with military heroes in DAVID'S

time: DODAI (2 Sam. 23:9; 1 Chr. 11:12; 27:14) and ZAL-MON (2 Sam. 23:28; called ILAI in 1 Chr. 11:29).

Aholah; Aholiab; Aholibah; Aholibamah. KJV forms of OHOLAH; OHOLIAB; OHOLIBAH; OHOLIBAMAH.

Ahriman ah'ri-muhn. The Middle Persian form of the title of the evil principle in the cosmos according to the Avesta, the book of ZOROASTRIANISM (Mazdaism), in which he is known as *Angra Mainyav,* "Evil Spirit." He is the equal and opposite of the "Good Spirit," AHURA MAZDA, in the great system of dialectic DUALISM.

Ahumai uh-hyoo'mi (אֲחוּמַי *H293,* "it is indeed a brother"). Son of JAHATH and descendant of JUDAH through SHOBAL (1 Chr. 4:2). He and his brother LAHAD are referred to as "the clans of the Zorathites" (see ZORAH). Some argue that the list in 1 Chr. 4:1-7 gives the genealogy of CALEB (cf. Shobal in 2:50).

Ahura Mazda uh-hoor'-uh-maz'duh (Old Pers. *A[h]-ura-mazda[h],* "wise lord"). The great overseeing principle of good, the divine spirit in the teachings of the Persian sage, *Zarathustra* (see ZOROASTRIANISM). He is worshiped as the creator of the cosmos and the archenemy and totally other of the evil spirit, AHRIMAN. Ahura Mazda is mentioned in the royal inscriptions of the Achaemenid dynasty, which brought PERSIA to its height as an archaic-religious state, beginning with the reign of CYRUS (2 Chr. 36:22; Isa. 44:28; et al.; frequently in Ezra). The formulas in Old Persian are often taken from the Sumero-Akkadian royal inscriptions. However, the success and prestige of each king is attributed to Ahura Mazda (cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* [1950], 116-57). Of special interest is an inscription of DARIUS I that mentions other gods, implying that Ahura Mazda was the head of a complex pantheon. The antagonism of the Persians to idolatry was certainly a factor in the positive verdict upon Cyrus and his successors given by the OT (Ezra 7:12-20). W. WHITE, JR.

Ahuzam uh-huh'zuhm. KJV form of AHUZZAM.

Ahuzzam uh-huh'zuhm (אֲחֻזָּם *H303,* possibly "possessor"). KJV Ahuzam. Son of ASHHUR and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:6). Some argue that the list in 1 Chr. 4:1-7 gives the genealogy of CALEB.

Ahuzzath uh-huh'zath (אֲחֻזַּת *H304,* possibly "possession"). A personal adviser (Heb. *mērēa(,* lit., "friend") of ABIMELECH, PHILISTINE king of GERAR, who with PHICOL, commander of the army, went with Abimelech to make a covenant with ISAAC at BEERSHEBA (Gen. 26:26-31).

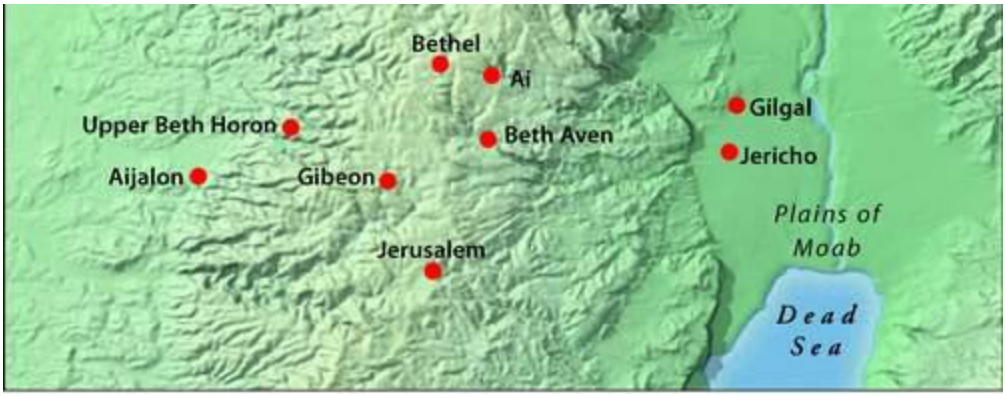
Ahzai ah'zi' (אַחְזַי *H300,* short form of אֲחַזְיָהוּ *H302,* "Yahweh has taken hold [for protection]"). KJV Ahasai. Son of Meshillemoth, descendant of IMMER, and grandfather (or ancestor) of AMASH-SAI; the latter is mentioned among the priestly leaders who resettled Jerusalem in EZRA'S time (Neh. 11:13). Ahzai is probably the same as JAHZERAH (1 Chr. 9:12).

Ai *i, ay'i* (עַי *H6504* [always written with the definite article, הָעַי], "the heap" or "the ruin"; also עַיָּת *H6569* [Isa. 10:28] and possibly עַיָּה *H6509* [1 Chr. 7:28; Neh. 11:31]). (1) A town in central Palestine, lying E of BETHEL (Gen. 12:8; 13:3; in these two passages KJV reads "Hai"). A study of the biblical references to Ai in both the MT and the SEPTUAGINT indicates a persistent relationship of Ai with JERICHO, JERUSALEM, and Bethel. "Now Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is near Beth Aven to the east of Bethel" (Josh. 7:2). At first repulsed by the defenders of Ai, the Israelites triumphed after ACHAN was punished for his sin. The people of Ai were killed on JOSHUA'S order, the king hanged, and the city burned and left "a heap of ruins" (7:1—8:29). It may have become an Ephraimite town (1 Chr. 7:28, "Ayyah," though some Heb. MSS have *ʿazzâ,* "Gaza/ Azzah"; see AYYAH), but it was occupied by the Benjamites after the EXILE (Neh. 11:31, also in the form "Ayyah," but usually transcribed "Aija"). Isaiah portrays the Assyrian armies reaching Jerusalem by way of Ai (Isa. 10:28, "Aiath").

Early Bronze Age excavations at the site of Khirbet et-Tell, generally identified with the biblical city of Ai. (View to the SW.)

The modern site Khirbet et-Tell, some 2 mi. SE of Tell Beitin (Bethel), is generally identified as biblical Ai. Joseph A. Callaway, director of a series of excavations at et-Tell (1964-76), finds the site the only satisfactory location of Ai. This conclusion is based on the correspondence of meanings of the ancient and modern names, the topography and the close relationship to Bethel, Jerusalem, and Jericho. Previous archaeological excavations at the site have been carried on by John Garstang (1928) and Judith Marquet-Krause (1933-35). There was a pre-urban occupation of Ai in the last centuries of the 4th millennium (3200-3000 B.C.). An impressive and prosperous city flourished at the site during the Early Bronze period in Palestine (3000-2500 B.C.).

Archaeological evidence indicates that this occupation was heavily attacked twice during its history. Artifacts point to Egypt as the power that controlled the site. Ai may have been one of the cities through which Egypt dominated Palestine in the Pyramid Age. With the destruction of Bronze



The location of Ai.

Age Ai, Bethel then became the dominant town in the area. A subsequent Early Iron I occupation of Ai (c. 1200 B.C.) lasted for about a century (cf. J. A. Callaway in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages,* ed. J. N. Tubb [1985], 31-49). There is, however, no evidence that et-Tell was occupied at the time of the Israelite conquest. Alternate identifications of Ai have been suggested, such as the nearby sites of Khirbet el-Maqatir and Khirbet Nisya, but few scholars accept these proposals. The discrepancy between the biblical account and the archaeological data remains an unsolved problem.

(2) An Ammonite town (see AMMON) mentioned only once (Jer. 49:3); its location is unknown.

H. M. JAMIESON

Aiah ay'yuh (אַיָּה *H371,* "falcon"). (1) Son of Zibeon, a HORITE; ancestor of a clan in EDOM (Gen. 36:24 [KJV, "Ajah"]; 1 Chr. 1:40).

(2) Father of Rizpah, a concubine of SAUL; ISH-BOSHETH falsely accused ABNER of having an affair with her (2 Sam. 3:7). Years later her sons were handed over to the Gibeonites by DAVID for hanging (21:8-11).

(3) NJPS form of AYYAH.

Aiath ay'yath. Alternate form of AI (Isa. 10:28).

Aija ay'juh. Alternate form of AI (Neh. 11:31).

Aijalon ay'juh-lon (אַיָּלוֹן *H389,* "[place of the] deer"). KJV also Ajalon. (1) A town on a hill some 13 mi. NW of JERUSALEM, as well as a valley named after it. The town is identified as modern Yalo. Some remains from c. 2000 B.C. have been found at nearby Tell el-Qoqa. Aijalon is mentioned in the 14th and 15th cent. B.C. letters from TELL EL-AMARNA as Aialuna (e.g., EA, 273). In the biblical narrative, the town appears as a place surrounded by good pasture lands and it figures largely in the military history of Israel. The name first appears in the biblical record in Joshua's speech given after the defeat of the Amorites: "O sun, stand still over Gibeon, / O moon, over the Valley of Aijalon" (Josh. 10:12). See BETH HORON, BATTLE OF. In the division of Canaan, Aijalon was assigned to the tribe of DAN (19:42) and was also designated as one of the LEVITICAL CITIES (21:24). The Danites, however, failed to take the town (Jdg. 1:35). SAUL and JONATHAN won a great victory against the PHILISTINES in the vicinity of Aijalon (1 Sam. 14:31). At one stage, the town was inhabited by Ephraimites (1 Chr. 6:69) and at another by Benjamites (8:13). Under the divided kingdom, Aijalon fell to Judah, and REHOBOAM fortified it, along with many other towns, with strong defenses for the

protection of both Judah and Jerusalem (2 Chr. 11:10). In the reign of AHAZ, the Philistines raided the cities of the SHEPHELAH ("lowlands") and occupied Aijalon (28:18). Some believe that ELON

The Aijalon Valley with a view E toward the Judean mountains.

BETHHANAN in 1 Ki. 4:9 is a reference to Aijalon. There is no mention of Aijalon in the NT.

(2) A town within the tribal territory of ZEBU-LUN, mentioned only once (Jdg 12:12); its location is unknown. The judge ELON *(ʾêlôn H390)* is said to have been buried there. H. G. ANDERSEN

Aijeleth Shahar ay'juh-leth-shay'hahr. KJV transliteration of *ʾayyelet haššaḥar* in the title of Ps. 22; NIV understands it as a tune name, "The Doe of the Morning." Others take the first word in the phrase as related to *ʾĕeyālût H394* in v. 19, meaning "strength" or "help." If this is correct, the words actually entitle the psalm "Help at Daybreak" suitably, as vv. 22-31 show. See also PSALMS, BOOK OF VII.A.

Ain ayn (עַיִן *H6526,* "spring"). (1) A town in the NE corner of Canaan named, no doubt, for the presence of a spring there (Num. 34:11). Some MSS of the VULGATE *have fontem Daphnim* ("the spring of Daphne"), and the identification of Ain with modern Khirbet Dufna (less than 2 mi. W of DAN (PLACE)) has support in some rabbinic texts. Some scholars identify Ain with modern Khirbet ʿAyyun, some 3 mi. E of the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee. See also RIBLAH #2.

(2) A Levitical city in the NEGEV appearing in the Judah/Simeon list (Josh. 21:16, although some emend the text to read "Ashan" on the basis of some MSS of the SEPTUAGINT as well as the parallel list in 1 Chr. 6:59). The name also appears in Josh. 15:32; 19:7; 1 Chr. 4:32 (unless it is combined with the next name and read as EN RIMMON). The site is unknown. W. C. KAISER, JR.

ʿAin Feshka ayn-fesh'kuh. An oasis some 2 mi. S of Khirbet QUMRAN, on the W coast of the Dead Sea. An excavation there in 1958 uncovered a small settlement that may have been the agricultural center for the Qumran sectaries, producing vegetables, grain, and meat supplies. It also contained a tannery for the processing of leather and possibly the manufacture of parchment. See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

ʿAin Karim ayn-kair'im. A village some 4 mi. W of Jerusalem that, according to one tradition, was the home of ELIZABETH and ZECHARIAH, parents of JOHN THE BAPTIST (cf. G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites*

and Ways [1935], 52-55, who mentions other traditions; HEBRON has been favored by some writers because it was a priestly city). Mary the mother of Jesus went there to visit her kinswoman (Lk. 1:24, 39).

air, kingdom (power) of the. SATAN is called "the ruler of the kingdom of the air *[tēs exousias tou aeros],* the spirit who is now at work in those who are disobedient" (Eph. 2:2; KJV, "the power of the air"). Paul believed that through the FALL the world had become subject to demonic powers who dwell in the atmosphere and who oppose God, seeking to frustrate his purpose. PAUL was not consciously accommodating himself to the erroneous views widely held by his contemporaries, but was expressing a genuine conviction that Christians are engaged in a cosmic, spiritual conflict "against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms" (Eph. 6:12). See DEMON.

Airus ay'ruhs. KJV Apoc. form of JAIRUS (1 Esd. 5:31).

Ajah ay'juh. KJV alternate form of AIAH (Gen. 36:24).

Ajalon aj'uh-lon. KJV alternate form of AIJALON (Josh. 19:42 et al.).

Akan ay'kan. (עֲקָן *H6826,* derivation uncertain). Son of EZER and grandson of SEIR the HORITE; he probably became the progenitor of a clan in EDOM (Gen. 36:27; in 1 Chr. 1:42 most Heb. MSS have JAAKAN [KJV, "Jakan"]).

Akbor. See ACBOR.

Akedah. See ISAAC III.

Akeldama uh-kel'duh-muh (κελδαμάχ *G192,* from Aram. חֲקַל דְּמָא "field of blood"). KJV Aceldama; other versions, Hakeldama. The Aramaic name given by the inhabitants of Jerusalem to the place where JUDAS ISCARIOT died. As explained in Acts 1:19, this name means "field of blood" *(chōrion*

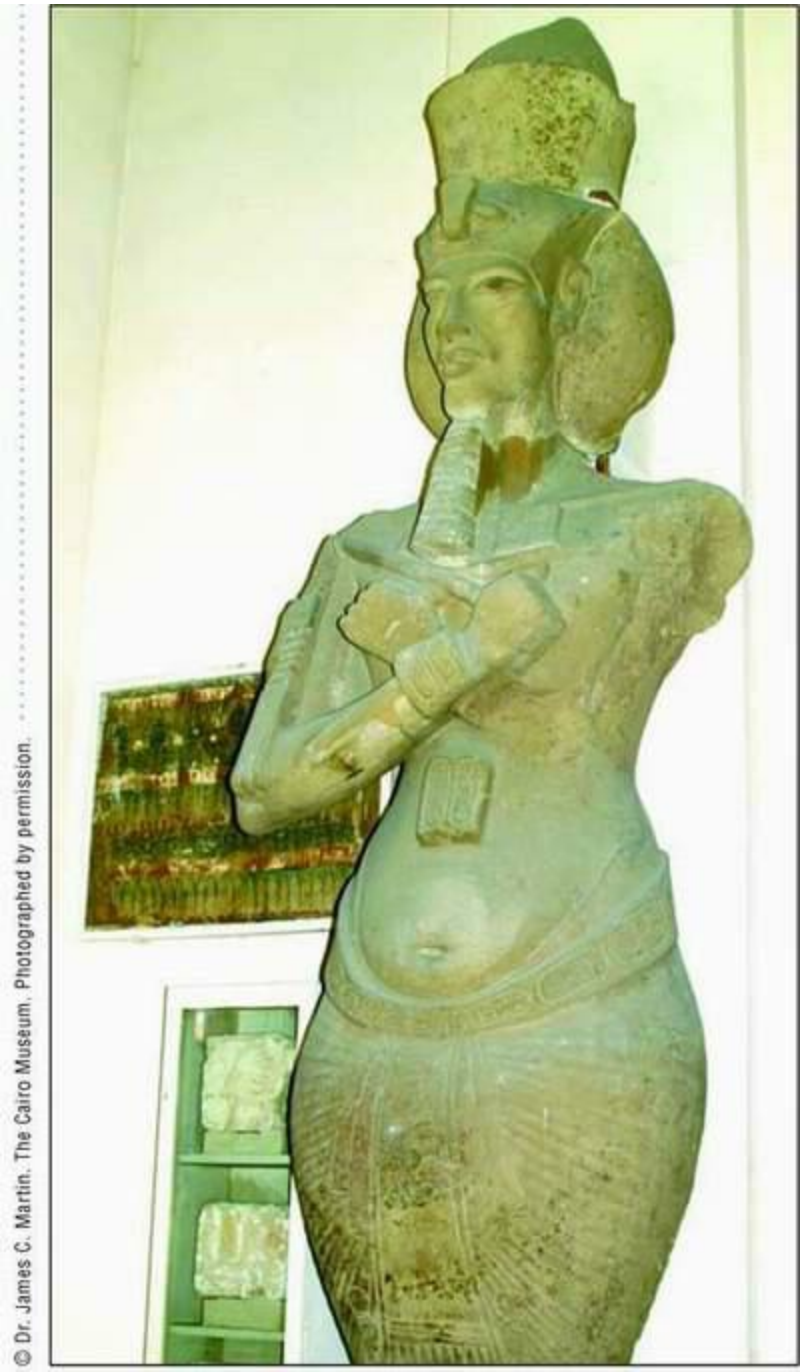
The Greek Monastery of St. Onuphrius lies on the southern edge of Jerusalem's Hinnom Valley and marks the traditional site of Akeldama. (View to the SW.)

haimatos; in the other account of the death of Judas, only the Greek name is given, *agros haimatos,* Matt. 27:8). The two traditions in the NT regarding the death of Judas agree basically on the name of the site. The content and structure of the account of the death of Judas in Acts 1:18-19 suggest that it is an insertion by the author into the speech of PETER (cf. the parentheses used in NIV).

The Matthean account contains a few additional topographical details. The area previously was known as the "potter's field" (*ton agron tou kerameōs)* and was purchased by the chief priests as a burial place for strangers (Matt. 27:7). Matthew further indicates that this purchase was the fulfillment of a prophetic oracle: "They took the thirty silver coins, the price set on him by the people of Israel, and they used them to buy the potter's field, as the Lord commanded me" (27:9-10). Matthew ascribes these words to the prophet Jeremiah. No direct identification with a verse in Jeremiah is possible, although allusions to several passages have been suggested (Jer. 18:2-12; 19:1-15; 32:6-10). However, the major part of the quotation is found in Zech. 11:13 LXX. Gundry suggests that Matthew saw fulfilled in this one event two separate prophecies, one typical (Jer. 19) and one explicit (Zech. 11:13), and cited only one author in the composite allusion—not an uncommon practice. Apparently some similarities between these OT passages led Matthew to associate them with the "Field of Blood" and thus to conflate them and attribute them to Jeremiah (R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel [1967],* 124-25; in n. 3 he lists ten different views regarding this problem).

Tradition has located the "Field of Blood" S of Jerusalem in the Valley of HINNOM, W of its junction with the Valley of the Kidron. Some 1st-cent. tombs have been found in this area. The soil contains a kind of clay that is suitable for use in the manufacture of pottery and the area could be designated as the "Potter's Field." B. VAN ELDEREN

Akhenaten akh'uh-naht'uhn (Egyp. "Blessed Spirit of Aten" or "Beneficial to Aten"). Also Akhenaton. King of EGYPT c. 1370-1353 B.C. and founder of the city now known as TELL EL-AMARNA. He was still a teenager when, either as coregent or as king, he replaced his father as effective ruler of Egypt under the name Amenhotep (Amenophis) IV. He became ruler both of Egypt's once mighty military machine and of the vast religious bureaucracy administered by the priesthoods. Available evidence indicates that his mother, Tiy, was influential at court, but not that she was the real power behind the throne. He married Nefertiti.



Large statue of Amenhotep (Amenophis) IV erected at Karnak early in his reign, before he moved to Amarna and changed his name to Akhenaten.

The young king neglected his political duties, preferring instead to implement religious reform. As a result, Egypt's Asiatic empire was almost lost, control over Nubia (see ETHIOPIA) was relaxed, and administrative efficiency declined even in Egypt proper. He suppressed the entire religious bureaucracy of Egypt, and he seems to have desired especially to curb the power of the priesthood of AMON (Amun). By the sixth year of his reign he had built a large temple to the Aten, the deified sun disk, in THEBES. Then he decided to abandon Thebes for a new capital, Akhet-Aten (i.e., Tell el-Amarna), which became the center for the Amarna Revolution. About this time he changed his name from Amenhotep to Akhenaten and began a savage proscription of the older deities. This proscription became so severe that even the word "gods" was effaced from the monuments. For these reasons he is sometimes, but inaccurately, referred to as a monotheist (or even the first monotheist).

By his twelfth year, it was clear that the reform movement had failed, and he attempted a reconciliation with the Amon establishment, but the priests of Amon refused reconciliation. The rest

of his reign, his death, and his burial are obscured by inadequate evidence and conflicting theories. It is certain, however, that his enemies did their best to wipe out his memory, and some scholars suggest that they even desecrated his corpse. His political weakness has led some to suggest that he was associated with the exodus (see EXODUS, THE).

Akhenaten's physique was somewhat sickly and effeminate, although the unusual features have been exaggerated (see TELL EL-AMARNA II.B). But his personality was not weak. Only a strong personality could have defied the entrenched conservative forces of Egyptian life as long as he did. (See D. Lorton, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light* [1999]; N. Reeves, *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet* [2001].)

A. BOWLING

Akhet-Aten. See TELL EL-AMARNA.

Akhlamu. See ARAM.

Akiba, Rabbi uh-kee'buh (עֲקִיבָא). Also Akiva, Aqiba. A very prominent Jewish sage during the first decades of the second century (d. A.D. 135), whose disciples played a major role in the development of rabbinic literature. Akiba is credited with organizing the contents of the oral law according to subject matter (see MISHNAH and TALMUD). He is especially known for having devised a method of biblical interpretation that drew meaning from the smallest details of the text, and some believe that his approach is reflected in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible produced by AQUILA. According to one (debatable) tradition, he was behind the revolt led by BAR KOKHBA in A.D. 132. Later Judaism pictures Akiba as the ideal master of the TORAH. According to one well-known story, MOSES himself visited Akiba and his disciples but was unable to follow their discussions of the Mosaic law (*b. Menah.* 29b). He is said to have died as a martyr under HADRIAN'S persecution of the Jews *(b. Ber.* 61b).

Akim ay'kim ('A:íμ *G943)*. Also Achim. An ancestor of Jesus and descendant of ZERUBBABEL (mentioned only in Matt. 1:14). Some scholars consider this name a shortened form of JEHOIAKIM or of AHIMAAZ. See also GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.

Akkad (אַכַּד *H422,* meaning uncertain; LXX ρχαδ). Mentioned in Gen. 10:10 with BABYLON, ERECH, and possibly CALNEH (a word rendered "all of them" in NRSV) as one of the major cities founded by NIMROD in the land of SHINAR. The exact location of the remains of this ancient Babylonian city are today unknown, although some identify it with Tell Der, Tell Sheshubar, or even Babylon itself. The date of the city's foundation cannot be determined by extrabiblical documents. As early as c. 2350 B.C. a dynasty founded by a king named Sargon flourished at Akkad (Agade in Sumerian).This dynasty controlled all of S Babylonia and sent trade missions and military expeditions into Syria, Central Asia Minor, and Elam. Although the dynasty lasted only two centuries, it became symbolic to later generations of Babylonians as an ideal empire, a kind of "golden age" kingdom. Favorable to this trend was the etymology of Sargon's name ("true king"). The geographical name Akkad was later applied to the whole of N Babylonia, contrasting with SUMER (= S Babylonia).
H. A. HOFFNER, JR.

Akkadian uh-kay'dee-uhn. The Eastern Semitic language spoken by Assyrians and Babylonians, the oldest written form of which stems from documents composed during the reign of Sargon of AKKAD. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.

Akko. See Acco.

Akkub ak'uhb (עַקּוּב *H6822,* perhaps "protector" or "protected"). (1) Son of Elioenai and descendant of King JEHOIACHIN, from the line of DAVID (1 Chr. 3:24).

(2) Name of a family of Levitical gatekeepers in the temple after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:17; Ezra 2:42; Neh. 7:45; 11:19; 12:25; 1 Esd. 5:28 [KJV, "Dacobi"]).

(3) Name of a family of NETHINIM or temple servants (Ezra 2:45; 1 Esd. 5:30 [KJV, "Acua"]).

(4) A Levite who assisted EZRA in expounding the law (Neh. 8:7-8; 1 Esd. 9:48 [KJV, "Jacubus"]).

Akrabattene ak'ruh-bat'uh-nee (Ἀκραβαττήνη). KJV Arabattine. A place supposedly in IDUMEA where Judas MACCABEE won a military victory over the Idumeans (1 Macc. 5:3). It may be the same Akrabattene that JOSEPHUS mentions as being SE of Shechem *(War 2.12.4;* 4.9.9; cf. *SacBr,* 311-12). Some scholars relate this name to AKRABBIM. See also ACRABA.

Akrabbim uh-krab'im (עַקְרַבִּים from עַקְרָב *H6832,* "scorpion"). The ascent of Akrabbim *(maʿăleh ʿaqrābbîm;* NIV, "Scorpion Pass") was a mountain pass on the S side of the DEAD SEA (Num. 34:4; Josh. 15:3 [KJV, "Maaleh-acrabbim"]; Jdg. 1:36). It is usually identified with the modern Naqb eṣ-Ṣafa, some 20 mi. SW of the southern tip of the DEAD SEA, but some suggest Umm el-ʿAqarab, on the W side of the Dead Sea. This may be the area where Judas MACCABEE defeated the Edomites (1 Macc. 5:3); see AKRABATTENE.

Aksah. See ACSAH.

Akshaph. See ACSHAPH.

Aksib. See ACZIB.

alabaster. In present-day usage the term *alabaster* refers to a very fine-grained and compact, snowwhite or light-colored, massive variety of gypsum (hydrated calcium sulphate), used for interior ornamental work. The alabaster of the ancients, or oriental alabaster (including Algerian onyx), was MARBLE. It was used for making ointment jars (Matt. 26:7; Mk. 14:3), and the Algerian onyx was used in buildings of Carthage and Rome. The marble is generally banded with the so-called onyx-marbles consisting of concentric zones of calcite or aragonite (both calcium carbonate). When pure, it is white or translucent. Impurities give a great variety of colors, particularly cream, yellow, buff, brown, and red, due to the presence of iron oxide. Strictly speaking it is neither marble nor onyx, for the onyx is a banded CHALCEDONY, composed largely of silicon dioxide.

Its formation is the result of deposition from cold water solutions in CAVES, particularly as stalactites and stalagmites, in crevices, and around the exits of springs. This type of deposition occurs in regions with limestone (calcium carbonate) strata. The calcium carbonate is dissolved by ground

water containing carbon dioxide that moves along bedding planes and joints. In caves, formed just below the water table, calcite or aragonite is precipitated when carbon dioxide is lost from the ground water. Stalactites hang vertically from the cave roof with concentric layers of crystals being added as ground water slowly flows down the outer surface. Rate of growth generally is of the order of 0.25-3.0 mm/year. Concentrically banded stalagmites grow upward from the cave floor toward the drip surface in the roof. D. R. BOWES

Alalakh. Also Alalach, Alalaḫ. A Bronze Age city in northern SYRIA, NNE of UGARIT. Although this city is not mentioned in the Bible, archaeological evidence from the excavated site (Tell ʿAṭšan or Tell Atchana)—consisting especially of numerous and important tablets written in AKKADIAN—sheds considerable light on ANE culture and history in the 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C. The city was destroyed around 1200 B.C. (See C. L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* [1953]; D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* [1953]; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* ed. E. M. Meyers [1997], 1:55-59.)

Alameth al'uh-muhth. KJV form of ALEMETH.

Alammelech uh-lam'uh-lek. KJV form of ALLAMMELECH.

alamoth al'uh-moth (עַלָּמוֹת *H6628,* meaning unknown). Probably the name of a musical tune (1 Chr. 15:20; Ps. 46, title). See also MUSIC VI.C.

Alcimus al'si-muhs ("Αλκιμος). High priest in Jerusalem from 163 to 161 B.C. Knowledge of him is derived chiefly from 1 Macc. 7:4-50; 9:1-57; 2 Macc. 14:1-27; Jos. *Ant.* 12.10. Although he was a descendant of AARON, Alcimus was not of the priestly family and was the first such to be so appointed. At the time he was ousted by the Jews of Jerusalem under Judas MACCABEE, Alcimus led a group of wicked men to join King DEMETRIUS, who reigned after ANTIOCHUS. Alcimus also accused the followers of Judas of slaying Demetrius's friends.

Demetrius then sent BACCHIDES with Alcimus to take vengeance on Judas and the Israelites. At first Bacchides sought to deceive Judas into thinking that he was on a peaceful mission, but Judas did not believe him. Some sixty people who did believe Bacchides were treacherously murdered. Alcimus contended for the high priesthood, and when some went over to Alcimus's side, Judas began to punish these traitors. Alcimus retreated to King Demetrius once again.

NICANOR was then sent to destroy Israel. He too sought to deceive Judas, who at first trusted him. When Judas learned the true nature of Nicanor's visit, battle ensued. Five thousand of Nicanor's army were killed and he himself died in battle. Demetrius, hearing of Nicanor's defeat, sent Bacchides and Alcimus again. A huge army accompanied Bacchides, and Judas's forces deserted him. In battle Judas was killed, and Jonathan his brother was chosen as his successor.

Jonathan and his forces left Jerusalem, and finally Alcimus was established in Jerusalem as high priest. However, it was a short-lived victory. He ordered the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary torn down and also destroyed the works of the prophets. While doing this he was smitten by a plague and lay paralyzed. He died shortly in great torment. After that, there was peace for two years in the land.

In 2 Maccabees, Nicanor is portrayed as more friendly to Judas than in 1 Maccabees. It should

be noted also that JOSEPHUS contradicts 1 Maccabees in teaching that Alcimus died before Judas was killed. Josephus called those who followed Alcimus renegades and said plainly that Alcimus was smitten by God in the plague that took his life. (See J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004], 236-39.) J. B. SCOTT

alcoholism. See DRUNKENNESS; SELF-CONTROL.

Alema al'uh-muh (Αλεμοι, presumably from Αλεμα). One of a half-dozen cities in GILEAD in which the Gentile inhabitants had imprisoned some Jews (1 Macc. 5:26). When Judas MACCABEE was informed of the situation, he took the cities and slew their inhabitants (5:28-44). The exact location of Alema is unknown, but it has been identified with ʿAlma (possibly the same as HELAM, 2 Sam. 10:16), on the plain of HAURAN.

Alemeth (person) al'uh-meth (עַלְמֶת *H6631,* possibly "concealment"). (1) Son of BEKER and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 7:8; KJV, "Alameth").

(2) Son of JEHOADDAH and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:36; in 9:42, the father's name is given as JADAH [most Heb. MSS, "Jarah"]).

Alemeth (place) al'uh-meth (עַלְמֶת *H6630,* possibly "concealment"). A Levitical city in the tribal territory of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 6:60), also called Almon (Josh. 21:18). Identified with Khirbet ʿAlmit, 4 mi. NE of Jerusalem.

aleph ah'lef (from אֶלֶף *H546,* "cattle"). (1) The first letter of the Hebrew ALPHABET (א), with a numerical value of one. It is named for the shape of the letter, which in its older form resembled the head of an ox. Phonetically, the sound it represents is a glottal stop (a momentary closure of the glottis, as in the English interjection *oh-oh,* though English speakers do not perceive the separation of the two syllables as a sound).

(2) The letter א is regularly used as the symbol for CODEX SINAITICUS, a 4th-cent. Greek biblical MS.

Aleppo uh-lep'oh (Arab. Ḥ*alab).* A city in northern Syria, about 30 mi. S of the Turkish border and 60 mi. E of the Mediterranean coast, and known as BEREA in Hellenistic times. An ancient and important city, Aleppo was the capital of the kingdom of Yamkhad during the 2nd millennium B.C.

Aleppo Codex. A 10th-cent. MS of the Hebrew Bible, regarded by some scholars as the most reliable (though incomplete) Masoretic codex. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

Alexander al'ig-zan'duhr (Ἀλέξανδρος, "defender of men"). A name common from Hellenistic times. (1)ALEXANDER THE GREAT. See separate article.

(2) Alexander Balas, pretended son of the Seleucid King ANTIOCHUS IV. He overthrew DEMETRIUS I in 150 B.C. and was in turn supplanted by the latter's son, Demetrius II, in 145 B.C. These civil wars hastened the decline of Seleucid powers, and provided Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas MACCABEE, with the opportunity of securing the high priesthood in Jerusalem (1

Macc. 10:1—11:19).

(3) Alexander Jannaeus, ruler of the Jews (103-76 B.C.). See HASMONEAN II.C.

(4) Son of SIMON of Cyrene (Mk. 15:21). Alexander and his brother RUFUS are mentioned here presumably because they were known to Mark's intended readers (in Rome?).

(5) A member of the high-priestly family, mentioned at the inquiry into PETER's preaching (Acts 4:6); otherwise unknown.

(6) The Jewish spokesman at the time of the riot in EPHESUS (Acts 19:33).

(7) An apostate from the Christian faith who, along with HYMENEUS, was "handed over to Satan to be taught not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. 1:20).

(8) A coppersmith who did PAUL great harm and opposed his message (2 Tim. 4:14). He could be the same person as #5, or alternatively as #6.

E. A. JUDGE

Alexander the Great. Born 356 B.C., son of Philip II of Macedon (MACEDONIA) and Olympias of Epirus; king of Macedon from his father's death in 336 to his own in 323 B.C.

I. Background. For 200 years prior to Alexander, the Greek republics had fallen within the sphere of influence of the Persians, whose Achaemenid kings held sway from the Aegean to the Indus and from Afghanistan to Egypt. Although victories such as at Marathon and Salamis secured some independence in the 5th cent., later in the 4th cent. Persian finance and diplomacy often prevailed. Many Greeks of ASIA MINOR remained under Persian rule throughout. Macedonia controlled the rich hinterland to the N of the AEGEAN, but was hitherto undeveloped and in the Greek view uncivilized, being ruled by local cavalry barons. Their king was elected by the army from among them. During Alexander's childhood, however,

Statue of Alexander the Great (reigned 336-323 B.C.).

Philip II subjugated the Greek peninsula. The pleas of Demosthenes were heeded too late to save (or, in the view of some, precipitated) the defeat at Chaeronea in 338 B.C., which left Philip leader of a confederacy of Greek states, ostensibly directed against Persia. Two years later, at the age of twenty, Alexander inherited this cause.

II. The conquest of the Persian empire. By 334 B.C. Alexander had firmly established his home base, overawed the Greeks to the S, and the northern peoples as far as the Danube. Crossing the Hellespont with some 40,000 men, he won his first victory over the Persians at the Granicus, which cleared the way to the Greek states of western Asia Minor, the object of his expedition. There is unfolded in subsequent events an ambition far more extensive. Having cut the Gordian knot, he could claim the promised lordship of Asia. Through the Cilician Gates he pressed down into the plains, on the road to Syria. Here the news reached him that DARIUS, the great king, concerned at the failure of

his satraps to stop the invader, was on his way from Babylon.

Greek nationalists in the homeland hoped that Alexander had at last over-reached himself, and Alexander himself must have been stunned when Darius actually appeared behind him, cutting off the retreat. His "Companion" cavalry, however, gave Alexander the day at Issus (333 B.C.). The royal women of Persia fell into his hands, and the heart of the empire lay open. Darius had escaped to recruit his strength in the E, but Alexander, instead of pursuing him, turned to the occupation of PHOENICIA and EGYPT, the bases of the Persian seapower that had long disrupted the Greek Aegean. The island of TYRE was taken in a remarkable siege; Alexander's mole now joins it to the mainland. In Egypt, Alexander founded ALEXANDRIA, the most famous of the many cities that took his name. In the Libyan desert he received divine honors as the new PHARAOH at the oracle of AMON.

It was only now that he committed his men to the course that was to change the world. In 331 he marched around the FERTILE CRESCENT to face the full might of Darius. At Gaugamela, across the TIGRIS, the great king was again defeated. The splendid capitals of the empire were the prize: BABYLON, the metropolis; SUSA, the seat of power; PERSEPOLIS, the treasury and mausoleum of the Achaemenids, its ruins still marking the drunken feast that burned it in a night; and ECBATANA, the summer seat of the Medes. Such a triumph and such spoils far exceeded any vengeance for old wrongs the Greeks on their distant frontier could have envisaged. For Alexander it was only a new beginning. He discharged his Greek mercenaries, and turned to the other half of the empire.

Darius retreated N and E, until he was murdered by his Bactrian satrap, whereupon Alexander

Sarcophagus scene of Alexander the Great on his royal stallion discovered at the royal necropolis of Sidon.

claimed the succession for himself. In two hard years' campaigning he subdued Bactria (modern Afghanistan and Kazakhstan) before passing down into the Indus valley (327 B.C.). Here he found that before he could reach the eastern ocean, which Greeks believed was the end of the world, he must traverse another great river-system, the Ganges. For once he was defeated: his men refused to go further. In retaliation Alexander marched them home to Babylon through the horrors of the Gedrosian desert of Iran, while his fleet opened up the neighboring coast. This inspired fresh ambitions of naval exploration: did the Caspian Sea lead out to the ocean to the N, and did Arabia represent another

India to the S? It was in the midst of plans for such expeditions that Alexander died of fever (or poison?) after a more than usually protracted round of drinking orgies.

III. Alexander and the gods. Throughout his career Alexander showed an intense interest in his connection with the gods. Doubts as to his paternity may have sharpened this concern; local political requirements may have encouraged his link with particular cults; and the range of his conquests stimulated comparison with Dionysus and Hercules. In the last year of his life he appears to have asked the Greek states to treat him as divine. While much of this may stem simply from his own or his admirers' attempts to distract attention from his personal defects and atrocities, it paved the way for the cult of the ruler, which time was to make fully acceptable to Greek thought. To Hebrew monotheism it was to become an increasingly unbearable provocation.

IV. Persian culture. Alexander shocked his Macedonian "Companions" by adopting the style of the Persian court, including the harem. He married a Bactrian princess, Roxane, and encouraged such unions amongst his officers and men. Persian nobles often were retained as satraps, and some integration of Persian and Macedonian forces was attempted, including the training of Persian youths in the Macedonian style of warfare. Alexander's motives may have included political necessity, a genuine admiration for the Persian nobility, and his own desire to rule as heir to Darius. To the Macedonians it was highly distasteful, and the source of much of the disaffection that dogged him. If Alexander worked for the unity of mankind (which many doubt altogether), he did not carry the day. His flamboyant style sufficed for gestures, but hardly for serious reform. Universalist ideas did grow up in the next century.

V. Alexander and Hellenism. Greek influence was already widespread in the E (Darius had a strong force of Greek mercenaries on his side throughout), but Alexander's triumphs insured it a thousand-year ascendancy, especially in Syria and Egypt. The heirs of SELEUCUS and PTOLEMY,

The empire of Alexander the Great.

two of his generals, firmly established the new way of life, and passed it on to the Romans. Even in Bactria and India, the Greek veterans, left behind in garrison-settlements, provided the basis for an empire that prevailed for two centuries. In Palestine the Hellenistic civilization met the determined reaction of those who preferred to follow another law, and so the conflicts of the Maccabean era and of the time of Christ belong also to the legacy of Alexander. See HELLENISM.

VI. Alexander and the Jews. The ancient commentators saw the leopard of Dan. 7:6 as Alexander; he is also the goat of 8:5, 21 (the ram being Darius), and the "mighty king" of 11:3. Alexander is named in 1 Macc. 1:1 as the conqueror who set up the division of power that led to the outrages of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes. JOSEPHUS, writing in the late 1st cent. A.D. (*Ant.* 11 §§314ff.), tells the story of a visit by Alexander to Jerusalem, in which he pays respect to the high priest, having been warned to do so by God, who had assured him of victory in a dream. This visit is not now accepted as historical. In the Middle Ages a number of other stories from Jewish sources were popular, including Alexander's walling up of the tribes of Gog and Magog, who waited to break out into the civilized world in the last days, and his discovery of the ten lost tribes of Israel beyond the Caspian. (See R. L. Fox, *Alexander the Great* [1973]; N. G. L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman,* 2nd ed. [1989]; A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham, *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* [2000]; C. G. Thomas, *Alexander the Great in His World [2007].)*

E. A. JUDGE

Alexandria

Alexandra al'ig-zan'druh ('λεξάνδρα). A HAS-MONEAN ruler, the only Jewish queen regnant other than the usurper ATHALIAH. Known in Hebrew as Salamzion (other forms are Salome, Salina, etc.; see *HJP,rev. ed.* [1973-87], 1:229 n. 2), Alexandra was the wife of Aristobulus I (104-103 B.C.),

and after his death became the wife of his brother Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), apparently as the result of a LEVIRATE marriage. (According to some scholars, however, the wife of Aristobulus was Salome or Salina, and she is to be distinguished from the queen, Salamzion. Cf. T. Ilan in *JSJ* 24 [1993]: 181-90.) At the close of his turbulent rule, Alexander left the kingdom to his wife, advising her to make peace with the PHARISEES. During her rule (76-67 B.C.), the Pharisees achieved dominant power by being admitted to the SANHEDRIN for the first time *(Jos. Ant.* 13.12.1; 13.15.5; 13.16.1-2, 5-6). Her wise and peaceful rule quieted internal dissensions in the kingdom, and her reign was generally looked upon by the people as one of prosperity. A celebrated Pharisee, Simon ben Shetach, reputedly was the brother of Alexandra.

D. E. HIEBERT

Alexandria al'ig-zan'dree-uh. Capital of EGYPT during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Alexandria was founded in 332 B.C. by the Macedonian conqueror ALEXANDER THE GREAT, and it was only one of many cities that bore his name. Alexander was in the midst of his destructive drive through the crumbling Persian Empire, an advance maintained and spearheaded by his superbly drilled Macedonian phalanx and its fine cavalry arm. Without adequate communications, he was successful largely because of the shock tactics of his assault on an ill-knit and loosely garrisoned, polyglot political system. Alexander needed bases and a network of control behind him as he drove deeper and deeper into E Egypt, strategically essential to the control of the Eastern Mediterranean and strategically vulnerable, requiring a strong garrison and firm government. A city and port on the NILE delta provided both, with harbor facilities in addition. The astounding Greek conquest of the Middle E brought unprecedented unity to a vast and ancient sector of the world, thus promoting the growth of Alexandria.

When Alexander died in 323 B.C., and PTOLEMY, one of his generals, took Egypt as his share of the succession, a Greek state was founded in Egypt. Alexandria became the seat of government in place of MEMPHIS, the last capital of the pharaohs. Ptolemy was aided not a little by his shrewd interception of Alexander's corpse, for which he built a magnificent tomb. The dynasty Ptolemy founded lasted three centuries. Fourteen monarchs of the name sat on the throne of Greek Egypt, and the last of the varied line was the famous CLEOPATRA, who almost divided the Roman empire before its time.

From the beginning Alexandria was cosmopolitan. Greeks and Jews in large numbers made it a goal of emigration. There was a large native Egyptian population. Rapidly becoming a great commercial center and a nodal point of communication like CORINTH, Alexandria was a terminal of the E Mediterranean sea routes, with canal links from the Nile to the Red Sea, and the dhow trade, which plied to the Malabar Coast and Ceylon. The city became the metropolis where E met W, where wealth inevitably accumulated, and where the ambitious, the able, and the cultured assembled. They gathered under the stimulus and encouragement of the first able members of the Ptolemaic line. (Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 3 vols. [1972].)

HELLENISM was born in Alexandria. The Museum, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second ruler of the dynasty, was one of the first great universities of the world. A "museum," in ancient parlance, was not, as in modern times, a collection of objects of art, rarity, and curiosity, but a center of culture, a "home of the Muses," as its name implies. The Alexandrian Museum was established in 280 B.C. on the advice of Aristotle's pupil Demetrius of Phalerum. Ptolemy gathered a band of men, who today would be called research scholars, from all parts of the Mediterranean and supported them by generous salaries to foster learning, academic discussion, and writing. The Caesars inherited the

Museum from the Ptolemies, and for centuries its band of learned men promoted the culture of the Greek and Roman world. The buildings, worthy of a city famous for its architecture, were splendidly furnished and had a great dining hall and lecture and seminar rooms.

In spite of the vicissitudes of cultural life in a politically turbulent city, and the fortunes of changing imperialism, the Museum pursued its active life for at least five centuries, and the preservation of much of the culture of the ancient world must be ascribed to its beneficent work. This invaluable function of conservation was shared by the great library of the city, also a foundation of the first two Ptolemies (see R. MacLeod, ed., *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* [2000]; L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* [2001]). A series of notable scholars and literary men worked in this great institution and together established a Silver Age of Greek literature, whose forms and canons deeply influenced and inspired the literature of Rome, and through Rome the literature of Western Europe and the world.

It was in Alexandria, under the influence of the cultural and literary activity gathering around the Museum and the Library, that the scholars from the great Jewish sector of Alexandria produced the SEPTUAGINT (LXX), the Greek translation of the OT. The production of this version is one of the most significant events in the history of religion. The LXX is the subject of much legendary lore, and it is not known for certain how and when it was produced. It is sufficient to say that it

The so-called Column of Pompey in Alexandria dates between the 3rd cent. B.C. and the 3rd cent. A.D. (View to the W.)

probably appeared at intervals during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., the work of unknown translators of unequal merit. The influence of the LXX in the history of world Judaism is beyond calculation. It played a major part in the growth of the intelligent Hellenistic Judaism whose exponents—men like STEPHEN, PHILIP, and PAUL—took Christianity to the world and preserved it from the narrowing influence of metropolitan Judaism. The LXX, of course, had currency and influence in wider spheres than Judaism and the Hellenistic synagogues. It familiarized thoughtful multitudes, to whom old forms of paganism no longer appealed, with the God of the Jewish faith and OT canons of righteousness. The fact that quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures in the NT are from the LXX shows that the Alexandrian translators had provided the early church with a Bible.

The same hothouse atmosphere of speculation, philosophy, and literary criticism that produced

the attempt to fuse Hebraism and Hellenism found its greatest exponent in the Jewish scholar PHILO JUDAEUS, a contemporary of Christ. This movement, with its elaborate and obtuse allegorizing, was a barren one, but it influenced a school of Christian theologians including CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and his successor ORIGEN, whose speculative interpretations and extravagant "typology" has always found partisans in the church. For the most part, however, Jewish Alexandrianism was irrelevant to the emerging theology of Christianity, though some have thought that here lay the reason for the further instruction APOLLOS of Alexandria needed from PRISCILLA AND AQUILA (Acts 18:24-28). Others have thought that the epistle to the Hebrews and parts of the epistle to the Galatians (e.g., Gal. 4:24-31) show traces of Alexandrian hermeneutics. The fact that the synagogue of the Alexandrian Jews (Acts 6:9) in Jerusalem emphatically opposed Stephen's plain interpretation of OT history shows that Christianity owed little to Alexandrian Jewish thought. Paul, in his person, doctrine, and writing, demonstrated that fusion of Judaism and Hellenism which the Jews of Alexandria and Philo's school attempted to achieve but failed to discover.

The Jews of Alexandria reflected the spirit of the city in other ways than in their enthusiasm for literary culture and intellectual speculation. They constituted a turbulent section of the great city, ever prone to riot and contention with the Greeks, and frequently the victims of pogrom and repression. It was an explosive situation. In Alexandria the largest and most self-conscious section of the Jewish DIASPORA lived side by side with a Greek community notorious for its unruliness. The Jewish community claimed to be coeval with the city itself and had received special privileges and concessions from the first Ptolemies. They had rapidly overflowed the NE quarter, their statutory ghetto, and when in A.D. 42 the bungling governor Flac-cus declared alien all the Jews domiciled in Greek districts of Alexandria, no fewer than 400 business establishments were destroyed by the riotous mob. The anti-Semitism was probably inspired by the manner in which the Jews were dominating the trade and commerce of the city. There is some evidence that they controlled the wheat export trade, and since Egypt was Rome's granary, vast tonnage of grain passed through the Alexandrian docks. It was a grain ship of Alexandria on which Paul sailed to Rome (Acts 27:6). Flaccus, no doubt, was encouraged by CALIGULA'S well-known hostility to the Jews, an attitude that occasioned Philo's embassy to Rome, but such outbursts must find base and impetus in popular discontent. It was a dangerous situation relieved only by the mad, young emperor's early and opportune death. (On the significance of Alexandria for Judaism, cf. V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [1961], 320-328, 409-415.)

CLAUDIUS, learned and conciliatory, succeeded Caligula, and the pogrom was the occasion of a wordy letter to the Alexandrians in which, with appeal and threat commingled, Claudius sought to reduce the city to peace. In the course of the document he mentions "Jews who come down the river from Syria." This may be the first indication of Christian missionaries arriving in Alexandria and becoming there, as elsewhere, a source of debate and unrest in the Jewish community. Apart from this, there is no certain knowledge of how the Christian religion reached Alexandria.

Alexandria probably housed a million people by the end of the 1st cent. B.C. The city was worthy of the reputation that wealth, trade, and a cultured

Alexandria's modern lighthouse and harbor. (View to the SW.)

monarchy had given it. The Romans inherited from the Ptolemies a city of palaces and public buildings unique in the world, interlaced with parkland like some ancient Washington or Canberra. The royal palace, where Julius CAESAR first met CLEOPATRA, occupied a whole section of the level waterfront, dominated by the Pharos, the mighty 590-ft. lighthouse built for the second Ptolemy by Sostratus of Cnidus. The temple of Serapis was accounted one of the finest buildings in the world. The temple of Pan is described by the geographer Strabo as an artificial rock mound like a pine cone, from the top of which was a panoramic view of the whole flat, geometrically planned city. Ancient writers mention many other magnificent buildings. The architectural magnificence of Alexandria, its boulevards, motley crowds, industry, culture, trade, crowded dockland, and busy roads and waterways made Alexandria more like some modern metropolis than almost any other city of the 1st cent. Its active life is as open to modern view as that of Rome itself. Rome left a literature in poetry, prose, and multitudinous inscriptions. Alexandria also left considerable literature, but the papyri of Egypt (see PAPYRUS), with their astounding revelation of common life in town and countryside over the many centuries of Alexandria's preeminence, give as vivid a view of the teeming life of the delta port and metropolis as any source which the ancient world has to offer. (See further W. V. Harris and G. Ruffini, eds., *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece* [2004]; A. Hirst and M. Silk, eds., *Alexandria: Real and Imagined* [2004].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Alexandrian text. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT) V.

Alexandrinus. See CODEX ALEXANDRINUS.

algum. See ALMUG.

Aliah al'ee-uh. See ALVAH.

Alian al'ee-uhn. See ALVAN.

alien. See FOREIGNER.

all. The word *all* (which renders a variety of Hebrew and Greek terms) cannot in every case be taken in an absolute sense. Its real meaning can usually be determined from the context. Frequently it means a "large number" or a "great part of," as in Lk. 2:1 (KJV, "that all the world should be taxed"; NIV, "that a census should be taken of the entire Roman world"; cf. also Acts 11:28; 19:27; 24:5). There are also a number of puzzling expressions involving the use of "all" in the KJV that are rendered more clearly in modern translations. In Jdg. 9:53, the KJV reads, "A certain woman cast a piece of millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to brake his skull." What does "all to brake his skull" mean? Does it express the purpose of the woman or the result of her action? The Hebrew means literally "crushed his skull" (cf. NRSV). To understand what the KJV translators intended, one must know that in Old and Middle English "all to" was regarded as an adverb meaning "completely" or "entirely." A different example from the NT is 1 Cor. 11:5, "that is even all one as if she were shaven," where the NIV has, "it is just as though her head were shaved." H. A. HANKE

ʿAlla, Deir. See DEIR ʿALLAH.

Allammelech uh-lam'uh-lek (אלמלך *H526,* "terebinth of the king"). KJV Alammelech. A town in the tribe of ASHER (Josh. 19:26). It was probably located in the southern part of the tribe's territory, but the precise site has not been identified.

allegory. The corresponding Greek verb *(allēgoreō G251,* from *allos,* "other," and *agoreuō,* "to speak") originally meant "to speak in a way other than what is meant." The English term *allegory* usually refers to a device whereby a writer conveys hidden, mysterious truths by the use of words that also have a literal meaning. Even if the writer did not intend a hidden meaning, the allegorical method is a way of interpreting a poet, a story teller, or a Scripture passage in such a way that the interpreter sees a mysterious meaning the writer may not have intended.

This view, that there is a deep meaning not intended by the writer, accompanies Scripture INTERPRETATION more often than it accompanies the interpretations of other writings, because it is understood by many that the Holy Spirit might well have conveyed to future generations, as he inspired the writers of the Bible, meanings that were not at all evident to the writers themselves. Spencer's *Faerie Queen,* Swift's *Tale of a Tub,* and, above all in English literature, Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* are allegories. It is evident that their authors themselves intended deeper meanings than are seen on the surface. In Bunyan's allegory, thought up and written down for his own devotional exercise, the people whom Pilgrim meets on his journey, the obstacles he encounters, and the journey's final culmination are all intended to tell a deeply religious story about a person's journey through this life and on into heaven—a story that runs alongside the literal story.

Because, in a given allegory, one often has repeated instances of a deeper meaning attaching to a tale, allegory has often been called "a sustained metaphor." The hidden meaning is not as obvious as in a simile, where something is said to be like something else (e.g., "As the deer pants for streams of water, / so my soul pants for you, O God," Ps. 42:1). A metaphor is more subtle than a simile, as when Jesus says of Herod, "Go and tell that fox…" (Lk. 13:32). The metaphor is a less obvious comparison, but often more vivid and more direct and, therefore, more communicative than a simile. An allegory, which is a sustained metaphor, often contains repeated strokes in which a deeper meaning is drawn, along with a story that has also a literal meaning.

A PARABLE is at least somewhat sustained, as a full-fledged allegory is; but a typical parable gathers a truth up in order to teach one important matter, whereas an allegory is not unified to that extent and teaches numerous hidden truths throughout the story. The fable, used especially among the ancient Latins, is similar to the parable in being a sustained story about a fictitious event, but it often treats things and animals as though they were persons. Some consider Jdg. 9:8 a fable, where JOTHAM says, "One day the trees went out to anoint a king for themselves. They said to the olive tree, 'Be our king.'"

An allegory, since it appeals to the imagination, is different from an analogy, which appeals to reason. An analogy presented as a puzzle is a RIDDLE (cf. Jdg. 14:14; Ezek. 17:3-21). An allegory is also different from TYPOLOGY, which succeeds when there are earlier things and places, and even persons, that are similar to later ones and are, therefore, thought of as meaningful anticipations of the later ones (the book of Hebrews abounds in these). In an allegory the hidden meaning is inherent and does not depend on certain later historical developments.

I. Allegory in the Bible. There is some use of allegory in the OT itself. More than anywhere else in that body of literature, allegory is found in the book of Ezekiel. That prophet was a poet, and he preferred to say or act out something that had a deeply spiritual meaning, instead of writing down prose that had simply a literal significance (see J. Kenneth Grider in *Beacon Bible Commentary,* 10 vols. [1964-69], 4:566ff.).

Many Jewish and Christian scholars have supposed that the SONG OF SOLOMON is an allegory. Ancient Jewish scholars usually interpreted this book as depicting God's love for Israel. Christian scholars have often interpreted it as an allegory depicting Christ's love for his church. It has been argued that this way of interpreting that beautiful love story, on the part of both the rabbinical and Christian scholars, arises out of a Greek-influenced notion that the human body, with its sexual desires, is sinful and that the story, therefore, could not mean what it says—that it describes the attraction between a man and a woman. (Others believe that although the focus of the book in on human love, it also functions as a picture of the love between God and his people.)

The NT contains perhaps still more allegory than does the OT. Jesus' references to himself as "bread" (Jn. 6:35) and as a "vine" (ch. 15), for example, may be understood as brief allegories, although some such references are hardly more than metaphors. Jesus might have used allegory in his own interpretations of some of his parables (e.g., the sower, Matt. 13:18-23; Mk. 4:14-20; Lk. 8:11-15). His interpretations of parables, in which something literal often has another and deeper meaning, are not allegories as such. They are clarifications of parables and are intended to teach truth plainly, not obscurely, as is often done in allegories. Jesus did not interpret the OT allegorically (as the contemporary PHILO JUDAEUS did), with the possible exception of his reference to "the stone the builders rejected," at the end of the parable of the wicked husbandmen (Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17-18).

The book of Revelation employs allegory, however, where such references as "woman" (Rev. 12:1), "creatures" (4:6; 19:4), and a "white horse" (6:2; 19:11) must be interpreted as having a deeper-than-literal meaning. So many allegories, in fact, appear in this book, that Martin Luther, who preferred plain teachings to obscure ones, did not include Revelation among the first-class books of his canon.

The apostle PAUL did not resort to allegory frequently, as Philo did earlier and as ORIGEN did later, but many believe that it is found in his writings. In a well-known passage in Galatians he refers to Abraham's "free" wife, Sarah, and his "slave" wife, Hagar, and says, "These things may be taken

figuratively *[allēgoroumena],* for the women represent two covenants.…Now Hagar stands for Mount Sinai in Arabia" (Gal. 4:24-25). According to some scholars, however, Paul's method here is better described as typological.

Another example is Paul's interpretation of the law that forbids the muzzling of an ox as teaching that the Christian church should support its ministers financially. After stating that Christ's ministers have the right to live by their service, he gives as authority for his view Moses' law that the ox should not be muzzled as it treads out the grain (Deut. 25:4). Paul even appears to deny the literal sense of the Mosaic law on this matter. He asks, "Is it for oxen that God is concerned?" (1 Cor. 9:9 NRSV). He implies "No" by another question: "Or does he not speak entirely for our sake?" Then he puts it into a positive statement, adding, "It was indeed written for our sake" (9:10). (Note, however, that the broader context of the OT passage cited by Paul focuses on such topics as not taking advantage of a hired man, allowing the poor to take part of one's harvest, and being humane when punishing criminals, Deut. 24:14-15, 19-21; 25:3.)

There may be an instance of allegory when Paul, referring to the rock from which the Israelites drank in the wilderness, explains that the rock was Christ (1 Cor. 10:4). Some scholars question whether this is an allegory because Paul might have meant that Christ really was the one who sustained them at that time. Yet he is called a "rock," and this figure may be considered allegorical.

Paul and other NT writers (esp. the writer of Hebrews) often use typology, as was mentioned earlier, which is similar to allegory, but different in that something referred to in the OT, such as Egypt, the Jordan, or Canaan, means more than what it does literally, and is symbolical of (or a type of) teachings on such matters as sin and grace which appear in the NT.

II. Extrabiblical allegory. No one knows just when the interpretation of literature by the allegorical method of discerning hidden meaning first began, but it was at least several centuries before the Christian era. Among the earliest known usages of this method are those connected with interpretations of Homer. Theogenes of Rhegium (c. 520 B.C.) was probably the earliest Homeric allegorist.

Homer had talked of battles, injustices, immoralities, and other imperfections among the gods, and as the Greeks became more ethically sensitive, they began to interpret Homer allegorically, so as to make him more palatable. Plato was aware of such interpretations. In the *Republic* (378-79), speaking of the battles of the gods in Homer, he says that "these tales must not be admitted into our State, whether they are supposed to have an allegorical meaning or not." He adds, "For the young person can not judge what is allegorical and what is literal…therefore it is most important that the tales which the young first hear should be models of virtuous thoughts" (trans. B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato,* 4th ed. [1953], 2:223). Plato is aware, then, of the allegorical interpretation of Homer, and of other Greek poets for that matter, but he does not try to save them by any such device. He says, simply, "Then we must not listen to Homer" (ibid., 2:224).

The poetry of Homer, which was the oldest literature the Greeks possessed, became quasi-sacred for the Greeks, and many of them, especially the STOICS, tried to salvage such literature by supposing that it did not mean what it said, and that it contained instead hidden meanings that were deeply moral and ennobling. It was popular to be known as teaching what Homer taught, so the Stoics interpreted Homer allegorically to make him not only morally palatable, but also to bring him into harmony with their own philosophy. (See L. Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology* [2004]; I. Ramelli and G. Lucchetta, *Allegoria,* 3 vols. [2004-].)

A Jew by the name of Aristobulus, who lived during the early half of the 2nd cent. B.C., was probably the earliest allegorist of the OT (see ARISTOBULUS #9). He was confident that Moses had taught what Plato and other Greek philosophers later advocated (portions of Aristobulus's work have survived in EUSEBIUS, the 4th-cent. historian). In some of the APOCRYPHAL books there is allegory, as in Wisd. 16, where the daily MANNA by which Israel had been fed was taken to refer to God's people being fed upon God's word. Better known is the fact that Philo of Alexandria (49 B.C.-A.D. 20) allegorized the OT to harmonize it with Plato and other Greek philosophers. He "summoned to his aid, as the solvent of all problems, the system of allegorical interpretation" (J. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus* [1888], 18). A real extremist in this matter, Philo thought that while the divine Scriptures contain a literal sense, that sense is not as important as its spiritual, mystical meaning. Just as our bodies are less important than our souls, so, for Philo, the literal meaning is less important than the figurative.

While JUSTIN MARTYR, as a Christian, uses the allegorical method of interpretation in order to make the OT and NT teach Greek philosophy, it remained for CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150-215) and his successor ORIGEN (c. 185-254) to capitalize upon this method for commenting on the Scriptures. Along with baptizing some of their Platonic views into Christianity (e.g., Origen's view of the soul's preexistence), they used the method to baptize Judaistic faith, especially in the prophetic and the poetic books, into Christianity (see Clement's *Stromata* 7.16 in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library 2* [1897]; and Origen's *Concerning Principles,* Books *4-5, in ANF 4:349ff.).*

Until Luther, Origen and his like prevailed. Indeed, it was often a far more puerile allegorizing of Scripture that prevailed. The School of Antioch sounded alarms against the method, but such alarms were seldom heeded. JEROME seemed to be aware of the divorcement from Scripture that such interpretation could produce, and he said many unkind things about the allegorical method used by Origen and others. Yet he resorted to this method frequently, even when he had no important reasons for doing so. Origen often had reasons for allegorizing that were philosophically important to him. Jerome would allegorize for purely fanciful and frivolous reasons (cf. F. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* [1886], 222ff.).

AUGUSTINE (354-430) likewise had sound things to say about rules for interpreting Scripture, and yet he seemed oblivious to his own rules in his actual comments on Scripture. He was even more fanciful than Jerome in his allegorizing. On the theory that nothing in Scripture could possibly oppose his own theology, and what he considered Christian orthodoxy, he fit Scripture into his own scheme by mystical interpretations.

With all the acumen of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) as a theologian, he was like the Scholastics in general, including his teacher, the encyclopedic Albert the Great, in fanciful flights of allegory in Scripture interpretation. Just after the time of Aquinas, the little known Nicholas of Lyra exegeted the Scriptures with real respect for the literal sense. This method was little heeded, and not until the Reformation itself was there a real breaking of the stranglehold of the allegorical method upon the church's interpretation of Scripture. (However, cf. M. Silva, *Has the Church Misread the Bible?* reprinted in *FCI,* 32-61.)

As is well known, Martin Luther (1483-1546) did far more than anyone up to his time to break down the traditional use of allegory in Scripture interpretation. Only one or two of the Scholastics had taken the pains to learn Greek and Hebrew well. Luther, however, knew the languages and had a doctoral degree in the Holy Scriptures. He not only translated the entire Bible into German (NT, 1522; OT, 1534), but he also wrote many commentaries. In these, he often resorted to allegory, especially to see Christ referred to in Genesis and other OT books such as the Psalms; but for the most part he advanced and supported the method of interpreting Scripture from the standpoint of what is in the grammar and the historical situation in which the passage is set. John Calvin (1509-1564), more consistent than Luther, avoided the allegorical method. He helped greatly in establishing the tradition that downplays this method and emphasizes what is known as grammatico-historical exegesis.

J. K. GRIDER

alleluia. See HALLELUJAH.

alliance. A close association or formal agreement between nations or other groups. The concept is expressed in Hebrew with various terms, such as *ḥābar H2489,* "to bind, unite" (e.g., Gen. 14:3; 2 Chr. 20:36), *ḥātan H3161,* "to combine, join affinity" (as in marriage, 2 Chr. 18:1; 1 Ki. 3:1), *bĕrît H1382,* "covenant," with the verb *kārat H4162,* "to cut [i.e., make] a covenant" (Gen. 15:18; 21:27). See COVENANT.

I. Nature and confirmation. Alliances are akin to covenants, although the former apply more to the political and military and the latter to the religious and personal. Alliance implies reciprocal action. It involves obligations, risks, protection, and rewards. Because of the anticipated threat of religious contamination by cults of Canaanite neighbors, MOSES issued a law prohibiting Israel's alliance with them (Exod. 34:15-16; Deut. 7:1-6). The manner of making alliances varied, but most of them had certain factors in common, such as oral agreement of mutual protection, oaths, exchange of gifts, eating together, and often intermarriages.

II. Military and political incidents. The earliest record of a Hebrew alliance is that between ABRAHAM and three AMORITE chieftain brothers, MAMRE, ESHCOL, and ANER (Gen. 14:13). Later Abraham made an alliance with ABIMELECH, king of GERAR (21:22-34). Likewise ISAAC and King Abimelech made an alliance, from which it is said that BEERSHEBA received its name (26:26-33).

JACOB and LABAN made a divisional covenant whereby GALEED was established and enclosed by a heap of stones as the boundary between Israel and Syria (31:44-54). Moses married a KENITE woman and formed an alliance with the Kenites that lasted for generations (Exod. 18; cf. Num. 10:29-31; Jdg. 1:16; 4:11; 5:24; 1 Sam. 15:6). The Gibeonites (see GIBEON) tricked JOSHUA into making an alliance with them, and the Israelites honored it even after learning of the deception (Josh. 9).

DAVID, while an exile in PHILISTIA, made an alliance with King ACHISH by which he received ZIKLAG for his military exploits (1 Sam. 27:5-12). He later formed an alliance with ABNER, resulting in the union of all the tribes under David (2 Sam. 3:12-21). In the successful expansion of his kingdom, David secured his holdings by forming alliances with his neighbors, such as HIRAM of TYRE and King Tou (Toi) of HAMATH (2 Sam. 5:11; 8:9-12).

III. Marriage alliances. These were formed by kings for political reasons. Such intermarriages sealed alliances, fostered good relationships, and were a guarantee to loyalty. The intermarriage of royalty was an approved custom in the context of political alliances. David had twenty or more wives and concubines, of which two or more were foreign princesses (2 Sam. 3:2-5; 5:13-16). "Solomon made a marriage alliance with Pharaoh king of Egypt" and with many other neighbor countries (1 Ki. 3:1 NRSV; 9:16; 11:1). OMRI and ETHBAAL formed a Phoenician-Israelite alliance and ratified

G. B. FUNDERBURK

Remains of a necropolis from about the 9th cent. B.C. The lower flat-roofed structure cut out of bedrock was a tomb memorial that once had a pyramid roof. It is usually referred to as the Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter. it by the marriage of Prince AHAB to Princess JEZEBEL (16:23-31). JEHOSHAPHAT "made a marriage alliance with Ahab" (2 Chr. 18:1). Both Israel and Judah made alliances with Aram (1 Ki. 15:15-20; 20:30-34). Three southern kings formed alliances with Assyria (2 Ki. 16:5-9; 23:29-33). HEZEKIAH and ZEDEKIAH allied with Babylon (2 Ki. 20:12-16).

Allogenes Supreme a-loj'uh-neez. A Gnostic apocalyptic discourse preserved in the NAG HAM-MADI LIBRARY (NHC XI, 3). It consists of revelations that the female deity Youel gave to Allogenes (Gk. *allogenēs G254,* meaning "of another race, foreigner"), who in turn relates them to his son Messos. This work has affinities with other tractates, such as the *Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII, 5), and contains much philosophical language. It speaks of God as "the Unknown One" and as "the perfect Triple Power." While the Coptic codex itself is dated A.D. 300-350, the original Greek work was composed perhaps a century earlier. It is apparently cited by Porphyry in his biography of Plotinus.

(For an English trans., see *NHL,* 490-500.)

Allom al'om. KJV Apoc. variant of ALLON (1 Esd. 5:34).

Allon al'on (אלון *H474,* "oak"). (1) Son of Jedaiah and descendant of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:37); included in the genealogy of Ziza, a clan leader.

(2) KJV rendering in Josh. 19:33, where modern translations, correctly, have "the oak" (NRSV) or "the large tree" (NIV).

(3) One of SOLOMON'S servants whose descendants returned from exile under ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:34 NRSV [KJV, "Allom"]). According to a conjecture, the name here should be *Amōn;* see AMON #3.

Allon Bacuth al'uhn-bak'uhth (אלון בָּכוּת *H475,* "oak of weeping"). TNIV Allon Bakuth. The burial site of DEBORAH, REBEKAH'S nurse, somewhere in the vicinity of BETHEL (Gen. 35:8). Some modern scholars allege that the text confuses this person with the later Deborah who used to hold court under a palm tree "between Ramah and Bethel" (Jdg. 4:5). The confusion is only in the mind of critics. One may infer with Luther that the burial of this servant merits the attention of the writer because of the way she served and advised JACOB.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

allotment. This English term (rendering such Heb. nouns as *gôrāl H1598,* "lot" which is cast, and *maḥălōqet H4713,* "share" of property) is used primarily in reference to the allocation of Palestine to the tribes of Israel (Josh. 15-17). Such practice stems, not from the land's originally communal ownership, as is sometimes alleged (*IDB,* 1:85; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 165), but from its divine ownership (Josh. 22:19); the human residents were "aliens" and "tenants" before God (Lev. 25:23). Even as God chose Israel for his inheritance (Exod. 19:5; Deut. 4:20), so he in turn became the "portion" of his people (Pss. 16:5; 73:26). Specifically, he promised to the seed of ABRAHAM the land of Canaan (Gen. 13:15; 17:8; cf. Josh. 21:43) and then provided for its distribution to their tribes and families (Num. 26:53; 33:54). Precise amounts depended upon the size of each group (26:54); but assignments were to be made by lot (26:55-56; cf. Josh. 16:1; 17:1), indicative of God's ultimate control (Prov. 16:33; Isa. 34:17). See LOTS.

MOSES before his death simply distributed TRANSJORDAN to the two and one half tribes upon their own request (Num. 32:33; cf. their borders in Josh. 13:15-32); JOSHUA, however, assisted by ELEAZAR and the tribal chieftains, subsequently divided W Palestine among the remaining nine and one half tribes by lot, as God had commanded (Josh. 11:23; 12:7; 13:7; 14:1, 2; cf. Num. 34:13, 16-29). LEVI received no land, since God's offerings were their inheritance (Num. 18:20; Deut. 10:9; Josh. 13:14; cf. their forty-eight cities, assigned by lot, Josh. 21; 1 Chr. 6:34-81), but the tribe of JOSEPH had been divided into the two tribes of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH (Josh. 14:4). Joshua made final allotments to the seven remaining tribes (18:11—19:48), on the basis of a land survey conducted by a special commission composed of three representatives from each tribe (18:2-10).

No reallotments are recorded in Scripture. (Ezek. 24:6 appears to discuss merely a possible exemption from exile, on the basis of lots.) Lands were not to be sold permanently (Lev. 25:23); and alienated properties were subject to redemption within the family (v. 25), and were to revert to their original owners at the JUBILEE YEAR (vv. 8-10). Even upon the default of male heirs, inheritances

were to be kept within the family and tribe (Num. 27:8-11; 36:7-9). In the face, however, of extortion and conquest (1 Sam. 8:14; Isa. 5:8; Mic. 2:2), the prophets envisioned a future reallotment (Mic. 2:5; cf. E. Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets* [1966], 2:211), especially in messianic times (Ezek. 45:1; 47:22; 48). (Cf. further *NIDOTTE,* 1:840-42; 2:162-63.) See also INHERITANCE.

J. B. PAYNE

alloy. See METALS AND METALLURGY.

Almighty. This English term is often used to render Hebrew *šadday H8724,* which occurs in the OT forty-eight times (thirty-one of these in the book of Job), either alone or in combination with)ēl *H446,* "God." The Greek term *pantokratōr G4120* occurs in the NT ten times (nine of these in Revelation). No satisfactory interpretation of the root meaning of š*adday* has been found. One widely accepted theory connects it with the Akkadian word for "mountain," which is sometimes used as an epithet of some of the gods. In ancient times the symbol of the mountain often was used to point to the power and majesty of a deity. According to Exod. 6:2-3, the worship of Yahweh began with Moses, and in the period of the patriarchs God was known as EL SHADDAI (Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; 49:25; Exod. 6:3; Num. 24:4, 16; Ruth 1:20-21; Job 5:17; Pss. 68:14; 91:1; Isa. 13:6; Ezek. 1:24; Joel 1:15; et al.). The NIV also uses "Almighty" to translate the name *Sabaoth.* See GOD, NAMES OF; LORD OF HOSTS. S. BARABAS

Almodad al'moh'dad (אַלְמוֹדָד *H525,* possibly "God is loved"). Eldest son of JOKTAN and descendant of SHEM (Gen. 10:26; 1 Chr. 1:20). He was presumably the eponymous ancestor of a S Arabian tribe *(see ABD,* 1:160-61).

Almon al'muhn (עַלְמוֹן *H6626,* possibly "signpost"). See ALEMETH (PLACE).

almond. The almond tree (*Prunus amygdalus communis)* was common in Palestine in JACOB'S days (Heb. *šāqēd H9196,* Gen. 43:11), probably introduced into Egypt when JOSEPH was governor. This is how the children of Israel were able to use almonds as models for the cups of the golden lamps (Exod. 25:33–36). AARON'S ROD that budded and produced almonds (Num. 17:1–8) was probably brought from Egypt in the exodus. There is a play on the Hebrew word in Jer. 1:11–12, based on the fact that the flowers of the almond appear long before the leaves. Jeremiah said, "I see the branch of an almond tree," to which the Lord responded, "You have seen correctly, for I am watching [from *šāqad H9193]* to see that my word is fulfilled." The blossoming of the almond tree pictures old age in Eccl. 12:5 because the flowers, which appear in

In the biblical world an almond tree in blossom was a reminder of the white hair that comes with old age.

midwinter in Palestine, look white from a distance. The Hebrew word *lûz H4280* (Gen. 30:37; KJV, "hazel") also refers to the almond tree, which gave its name to the city of Luz (later Bethel). (Cf. *FFB,* 90–90.) See also FLORA, under *Rosaceae.*

W.E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Almon Diblathaim al'muhn-dib'luh-thay'im (עַלְמֹן דִּבְלָתָיִם *H6627,* possibly "signpost of the [double] fig cakes"). A stopping place in the wilderness journeys of the Israelites (Num. 33:46–47) in MOAB. It is usually identified with BETH DIBLATHAIM (Jer. 48:22).

alms, almsgiving. Our English word *alms* (derived from Gk. *eleēmosynē G1797,* "pity, charity donation") refers to benevolent giving for the relief of the poor. Only in the NT is there direct mention of the giving of alms. In the KJV *eleēmosynē* is rendered "alms" twelve times and "almsdeeds" once (Acts 9:36; "acts of charity" RSV). In Matt. 6:1 the true reading is *dikaiosynē* ("righteousness" ASV; "piety" RSV). The verse properly is not limited to "alms," but is introductory to the three exercises commended: almsgiving (vv. 2–4), prayer (vv. 5–15), and fasting (vv. 16–18).

I. In the OT. Although almsgiving as such is not explicitly mentioned in the OT, the duty of compassionate aid to the poor is strongly emphasized throughout. It is difficult to make a sharp distinction between general benevolence and almsgiving. The Israelite was enjoined to be generous, "to be openhanded toward your brothers and toward the poor and needy in your land" (Deut. 15:11). The law required that the gleanings of the field, the olive tree, and the vineyard should be left for the poor, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow (Lev. 19:9–10; 23:22; Deut. 24:19–22). Every Israelite was allowed, as a special consideration for the poor and hungry, to eat his fill from a grain field or vineyard when passing by it (Deut. 23:24–25). Every third year the tithe of the produce was to be given to the Levite, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow (Deut. 14:28–29). The fields were to be left fallow every seventh year so that "the poor of your people may eat" (Exod. 23:10–11).

The motives for such generosity to the poor were religious: obedience to God's command, remembrance of his mercies in the exodus, and the hope of reward (Deut. 15:2–5; 24:19–22). It was recognized that there would always be the poor in their midst (15:11), but poverty was the exception rather than the rule when the law was obeyed (15:3–6). Since Israel was largely an agricultural

people, POVERTY was generally the result of indolence (Prov. 20:4; 24:30–34). Beggary was a punishment pronounced upon the house of ELI (1 Sam. 2:36) and a curse invoked upon the children of the persecutor (Ps. 109:10).

JOB was famed for his generosity to the poor (Job 29:12–17; 31:16–23). Proverbs pictures kindness to the poor as an index of character (Prov. 14:21; 19:17). The prophets condemned heartless oppression of the poor and cited it as a cause for impending judgment (Isa. 3:14; 10:2–3; Amos 8:4–8).

II. In the intertestamental period. Following the EXILE, greater emphasis began to be placed on the value of almsgiving. Poverty was widespread, and it was regarded as pious to meet the needs of the poor. Begging became a profession. Gradually almsgiving lost the motive of inner compassion and gratitude to God and was regarded as a meritorious act with sacrificial and atoning values.

This view finds clear expression in the APOCRYPHA. Sirach taught, "Almsgiving atones for sin" (Sir. 3:30; cf. 29:12), while Tobit said, "Almsgiving delivers from death, and it will purge away every sin" (Tob. 12:9). Prayer, fasting, and almsgiving were held to be "righteousness," almsgiving being the foremost righteous act. In the SEPTUAGINT the Hebrew word for "righteousness" (*ṣêdāqâ H7407)* is often rendered "alms" (*eleēmosynē G1797).* In rabbinical literature the phrase *ntn ṣdqh* ("to give [do] righteousness") corresponded to Gk. *didonai eleēmosynēn* ("to give alms"; see *TDNT,* 2:486). This view of almsgiving as righteousness prevailed among the Jews in Jesus' day, and spread also among the Christians, accounting for the change from *dikaiosynēn* ("righteousness") to *eleēmosynēn* ("alms") in many MSS at Matt. 6:1.

In support of this view, appeal is sometimes made to Prov. 11:4, but the next two verses make clear that here "righteousness" does not mean "alms." Support for the notion that alms have saving merit is sometimes claimed from Dan. 4:27, where Daniel says to Nebuchadnezzar: "Renounce your sins by doing what is right, and your wickedness by being kind to the oppressed." However, he is commanded to cease his sinful practices and to practice justice, not so that his sins may be thereby forgiven, but so that the humiliating judgment that will teach him wisdom may be delayed (cf. E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary* [1949], 108–9). In Ps. 112:9 (quoted by Paul in 2 Cor. 9:9) "alms" are equated with "righteousness," not as justifying a person, but as an outward expression in right conduct, having lasting spiritual values.

There is almost complete silence concerning almsgiving in the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. Apparently this was due to the communal manner of life. The silence need not mean that the Qumran community did not believe in or practice almsgiving.

III. In the NT. The teaching of Jesus concerning alms must be viewed in the light of contemporary Pharisaic views and practices. His words in Matt. 6:2–4 assume that his followers will practice almsgiving. Jesus and his disciples did so (Jn. 13:29). He did not condemn aiding the poor openly, but rebuked ostentatious charity for the purpose of gaining praise. The injunction "do not announce it with trumpets" (Matt. 6:2) is not to be taken literally, for which practice there is no evidence, but figuratively, as prohibiting self-advertisement (cf the expression, "blow your own horn"). The warning has parallels in Jewish writings.

Jesus commended liberal giving (Matt. 5:42; Lk. 6:38). He prized not the costliness of the gift, but the love and proportional self-denial that prompted it (Mk. 12:42–44). His followers were urged to give with spiritual motives (Lk. 11:41; 12:33), for giving has value for breaking the stranglehold of materialism (Matt. 19:21). He also taught the blessedness of giving (Acts 20:35).

Caring for the poor received due attention in the early church. The needs of the poor were voluntarily supplied (Acts 4:32–35). Its first officers were elected for almsgiving (Acts 6:1–6). Paul urged the duty of helping the poor by his personal example (Acts 24:17; Rom. 15:25–27; 1 Cor. 16:1–2; 2 Cor. 8–9; Gal. 2:10) and instruction (Rom. 12:13; Eph. 4:28; 1 Tim. 6:18). Paul urged support for the needy, not for the lazy (2 Thess. 3:10), and commanded honest work that would enable giving to the needy (Eph. 4:28). A mendicant order has no place in Paul's teaching. The writer of Hebrews describes such deeds of charity as sacrifices well-pleasing to God (Heb. 13:16). Both James and John insist that such a willingness to share with the needy has spiritual significance. It proves that such a one has a living faith (Jas. 2:14–17), and it is a test of the reality of Christian profession (1 Jn. 3:16–18). See KINDNESS.

D.E. HIEBERT

almug tree. A type of wood mentioned in 1 Ki. 10:11–12 (Heb. *)almuggîm H523)* as an import from OPHIR. It is thought by some to be the red sandalwood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*), an Indian wood that accepts a high polish; it is red-colored, smooth, and expensive to use. Others believe it is the *Juniperus phoenicia excelsa,* native to Lebanon. (See *FFB,* 88.) In 2 Chr. 2:8; 9:10–11 the word appears as "algum" (*)algûmmîm H454*), probably a spelling variant, although some think it may be a different species growing in Lebanon, perhaps the cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens horizontalis)* or the eastern savin (*Sabina excelsa).* See also FLORA (under *Leguminosae*).

W.E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Alnathan al-nay'thuhn. KJV Apoc. form of ELNA-THAN (1 Esd. 8:44).

aloes. This aromatic substance is mentioned in both OT and NT (Heb. *)ăhālîm H193,* Gk. *aloē G264)* in connection with INCENSE or PERFUME (Num. 24:6 [KJV, "lign aloes"]; Ps. 45:8; Prov. 7:17; Cant. 4:14; Jn. 19:39). The perfume of the true aloe comes from the island of Socotra at the lower end of the Red Sea, hence its Latin name, *Aloē succotrina.* It is thought, however, that the aloe mentioned in the OT is the *Aquilaria agallocha* (alternatively, the *Aloexyllon agallochum* or perhaps the sandalwood, *Santalum album)*. The *A. agallocha* is the eaglewood that grows in N India, Malaya, and parts of China, where it is sometimes called the "aloes wood." It is when the wood partially decays that the fragrance appears, and this is highly valued in the E. The sandalwood is close-grained and fragrant. The strong scent repels all insects. It was, therefore, used often for chests and cabinets. The aloes mentioned by Balaam (Num. 24:6) could not have been eaglewood, because they do not grow in the Holy Land. Is Moffatt's translation right, therefore, when it calls the lign-aloes "oaks," which were native to the region? Moffatt assumes an error in the text for the word *)ēlâ H461,* "oak." (See further *FFB,* 90–91.)

There is little doubt that the aloe mentioned in Jn. 19:39 is the true *Aloē succotrina,* which was used often by the Egyptians, both for embalming and for perfume. It was mixed with MYRRH and sprinkled evenly among the wrappings during the embalming process. NICODEMUS used a large quantity (he bought 100 Roman pounds, approximately 75 lbs. avoirdupois) for embalming the body of the Lord Jesus. The drug was imported, so Nicodemus would have found it extremely expensive. In all hot countries, large quantities of scented SPICES have to be used because dead bodies putrefy quickly. The *Aloē succotrina* produces tubular, red flowers from thick, fleshy, pointed leaves, which grow as a large rosette. The fragrant drug comes from the pulp in the leaves. See also FLORA (under

Liliaceae).

W.E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Aloth ay'loth (עָלוֹת *H6599,* meaning unknown). One of the Solomonic districts (1 Ki. 4:16); the Hebrew text can be read as either "in Aloth" (KJV, NIV) or "Bealoth" (NRSV, NJPS). See B EALOTH #2.

alpha and omega al'fuh, oh-meg'uh (τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ *G270 + G1642,* the latter an abbreviation of ὡ έγα). The first and last letters of the Greek alphabet (α and ω), *alpha* being roughly equivalent to our letter *a,* and *omega* (literally, *great o)* to our *o*. The first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet are א (see ALEPH) and Π (see TAU), and these were used by the ancient Jews to mean "from first to last" or "from beginning to end" (cf. English "from A to Z"). This Jewish background may explain the similar usage of *alpha* and *omega* in the NT.

The phrase occurs three times in the NT (Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13), and always with the repeated definite article. It is probable that the occurrences in Revelation were intended as allusions to Isa. 44:6 and 48:12, "I am the first, and I am the last," asserting the eternal and transcendent greatness of Yahweh. Perhaps also they were intended as allusions to Rom. 11:36 and Eph. 1:10, not in the actual words but in the theological concepts involved.

In Rev. 1:8 it is "the Lord God" who asserts, "I am the Alpha and the Omega," and the speaker is further described as the One "who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty." In 21:6 and 22:13, on the other hand, the Lord Jesus Christ is the speaker who calls himself "the Alpha and the Omega." These two verses taken with 1:8 constitute a strong assertion of the true and eternal DEITY OF CHRIST. Similarly, the use of language in 21:6 and 22:13 concerning Jesus Christ is equivalent to that used concerning Yahweh in Isa. 44:6 and 48:12 and involves a strong implication Jesus' divine nature. As used in these texts, the meaning plainly is not merely chronological or taxonomic, but ontological and metaphysical; it concerns not merely when Jesus Christ exists or where he is to be ranked among existences, but who and what he is in his essential being or nature. The implication includes his eternity, preexistence, and essential deity. For any created being, however exalted, to claim to be the Alpha and the Omega, as these terms are used of Jesus Christ in Scripture, would be blasphemy.

J.G. Vos

alphabet (through Lat. from Gk. ἀλφάβητος derived from the initial two letters of the Greek alphabet, ἄλφα and βῆτα). A series of conventional signs for transcribing the sounds of a language, each sign ideally representing one single sound. This concept must be distinguished from other forms of WRITING, of which there are two main types: (a) the *ideogram,* which is a single, often complex sign signifying one word or idea, the sign itself being generally derived from the *pictogram,* a diagrammatic drawing of the thing signified by the word or illustrating its main aspect; and (b) the *syllabary,* which is a series of signs representing syllables, often consonant followed by vowel. These two forms of transcribing human speech, which still continue to be used, preceded strict alphabetic writing.

This article will be limited in scope to a discussion and description of such prealphabetic series and such alphabets properly so-called as are relevant to the study of the Christian Scriptures and their ramifications. It excludes, therefore, from its purview the Chinese alphabet, its related scripts and

derivatives, the alphabets of India and SE Asia, and the indigenous scripts of America. The article will be divided under the following heads:

1. Prealphabetic writing of the ANE
2. Prehistory of the alphabet
3. Derivation of the alphabet
4. Developments of the North Semitic alphabet
    1. Early Hebrew and related scripts
    2. Phoenician
    3. Aramaic
    4. Descendants of the Aramaic script
5. Derivatives of the Phoenician script
    1. The Greek alphabet
    2. Descendants of Greek script
    3. The Latin alphabet and its descendants

I. Prealphabetic writing of the ANE. CUNEI-FORM (wedge-shaped) writing was used in MESOPOTAMIA and the adjacent lands from the 3rd millennium B.C. into the Christian era. It is so called because it was designed to be written upon wet clay with a stylus that left a wedge-shaped mark. The most influential form was perfected for the expression of the language of SUMER. (Some remains of a distinct early Elamite cuneiform are known, but later this was superseded by a script of Sumerian derivation. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE.)

This script was originally pictographic; one sign could often represent several words semantically related (e.g., AN = "heaven," but also "God/goddesss"; KA="mouth," but also "tooth, word, to speak"). Combinations of signs expressed other related ideas (e.g., LU. GAL, "man" plus "great" = "king"; SAL. KUR, "woman" plus "mountain"="slave-girl," i.e., a woman from the hill country taken in war). In the former case identical signs for different words were distinguished in their use by added signs used as determinatives; for example, the sign for a place added signified that the preceding sign was used for a "place word." Other determinatives were signs expressing in themselves the sound of the final syllable of the specific word intended. (See G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet,* 3rd ed. [1976]; J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet* [1982]; G. J. Hamilton, *The Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet in Egyptian Scripts* [2006].)

Sumerian cuneiform was adapted for a number of languages, the best known to modern scholars being its adaptation for Akkadian in ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. Whereas for Sumerian a sign meant one word, when adapted for Akkadian the signs were used as syllables, so from an ideographic writing a syllabary was created. However, since Sumerian functioned as the "classical" language of Babylon and Assyria, ideograms continued to be used alongside or as alternatives to words written in syllables (e.g., the people called HABIRU in some Babylonian texts are indicated by the ideogram SA. GAZ in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters). The HITTITES too adopted cuneiform for their writing. While retaining many Akkadian and Sumerian forms, they basically reduced the number of signs and also introduced separation of words.

In EGYPT, writing developed perhaps a few centuries after the production of cuneiform and possibly under its influence. The oldest form, clearly pictographic in origin, is *hieroglyphic,* chiseled or painted by brush on temple walls. A more stylized form named *hieratic* was created for writing on papyrus, wood, and other materials, while later yet a cursive adaptation, *demotic,* was produced for

use in business and other nonsacred connections. The basic principles are the same in all three. There are three classes of signs. The earliest were ideograms. Second, signs of phonetic meaning were developed; these expressed only consonants, some only one, some more than one. Third, and increasingly throughout the history of the language, determinative signs were created. In spite of the presence of phonetic signs, Egyptians never developed alphabetic writing; ideograms continued to be used, alternating with or accompanied by phonetic spellings and followed by determinatives.

II. Prehistory of the alphabet. There are several instances of attempts to create alphabetic systems from cuneiform or hieroglyphic systems, although none of them is connected with the present alphabet. Such are the so-called pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions of Byblos, thought by some to be a way of writing Phoenician; the adaptation of Akkadian cuneiform to express Persian, as on the well-known BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION of DARIUS I; and the Cypriot syllabary, known from inscriptions mainly in Greek, but evidently (as a few remains show) designed for a different language. Moreover, an alphabet written upon clay with stylus like cuneiform is known in the epoch-making material from UGARIT, discovered at Ras Shamra, in which both language and material reveal otherwise unknown aspects of Canaanite culture and religion. It is probable, however, in the cases of Persian cuneiform and Ugaritic script, that the prior existence of a true alphabet influenced their creation.

III. Derivation of the alphabet. Although there are some remains that can be dated earlier, the earliest examples of alphabetic writing that have yielded intelligible phrases on decipherment are the series of inscriptions, about twenty-five in number, from the mines in the Sinai peninsula. They have been variously dated between the mid-19th cent. and the 16th cent. B.C. They were the work of Semitic laborers in the mines. The writing is evidently related to the Egyptian hieroglyphic, but since only twenty to thirty signs are used, it is clearly alphabetical. The phrase "to the [goddess] Baʿalat," the verbal noun "giving" or "gift," and the personal name "beloved of Baʿalat" have been identified. Paleo-Sinaitic or Proto-Sinaitic are the names given to these inscriptions, to distinguish them from much later Neo-Sinaitic inscriptions dated just within the Christian era.

The Paleo-Sinaitic inscriptions give some indication of the probable origin of the alphabet and of the principles upon which it was formed. The creators followed the *acrophonic* principle; that is, to represent a sound, they chose a common and simple word that had that sound as its initial consonant, and represented this sound by the pictogram or ideogram depicting the whole word. While this factor does not account for all the signs, it shows how the creators of the alphabet began their task. No such readily comprehended primary principle has been found to explain the order of the alphabet—an inquiry further complicated by the different orders of the N Semitic alphabet (from which most others are derived) and its S Semitic counterpart.

These two alphabets developed, with little if any contact, from a prototype probably fairly close to the Paleo-Sinaitic. The S Semitic alphabet is found in a number of inscriptions in various dialects spoken in S Arabian kingdoms and survives to this day in Ethiopic script, used for the classical Geʿez of ETHIOPIA and the current vernaculars (e.g., the official language Amharic). In these, each letter is modified in seven different ways to represent its consonantal sound followed by a particular vowel. Much biblical, late Jewish, and patristic material has been preserved in Ethiopic (Geʿez).

IV. Developments of the North Semitic alphabet. The order of the N Semitic alphabet is attested in archaeological evidence by the series of letters *ʾaleph, beth, gimel, daleth, hē,* inscribed on a step in

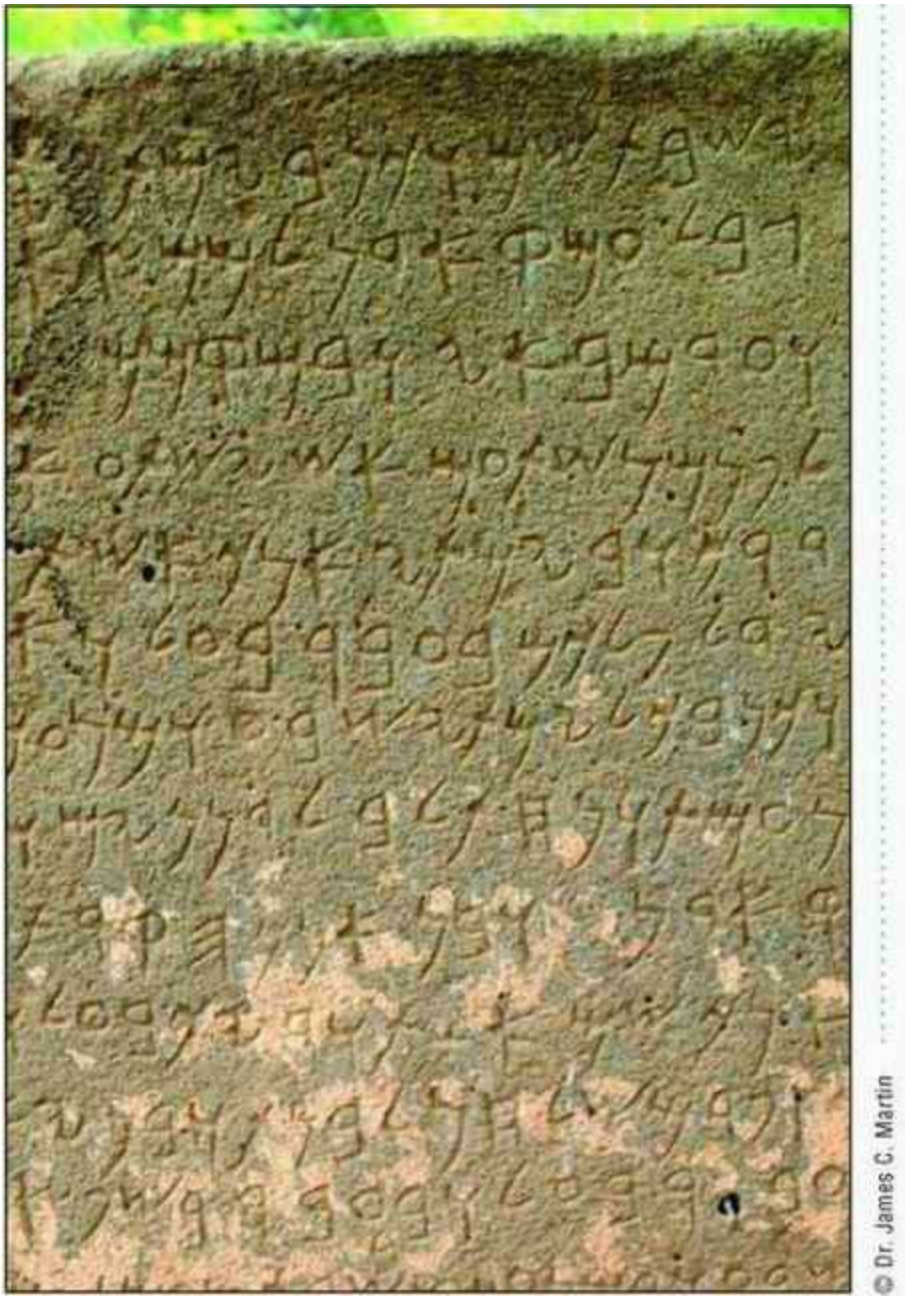
the 7th-cent. B.C. palace at Lachish. It is also reflected in the acrostic form of several psalms and prophetic passages (e.g., Pss. 25; 34; 37; 111; 112; 119; 145). It may be that in Isa. 28:10 (where the familiar translation "precept upon precept, line upon line" is purely conjectural) there is an echo of the recitation of the alphabet in school, repeating the teacher's words, *ṣaw lāṣāw ṣaw lāṣāw qaw lāqāw qaw lāqāw,* namely, the letters *ṣadhe* and *qoph* in the N Semitic order. The word *zĕʿêr H2402* ("a little") will mean "lad," "little one," the teacher calling for answers from members of his class.

The principles of formation are easily illustrated by noting several letters in the early Phoenician-Hebrew alphabet (in contrast to the "square" Aramaic-Hebrew forms, which are later). The first consonant, *ʾaleph* (a glottal stop), is a picture of an "ox" (which is the meaning of *ʾelep H546).* Similarly, the *yod* represents a "hand" (*yād H3338*), and the *mem* is a picture of running "water" (*mayim H4784).*

The N Semitic alphabet is divided into two main types, Canaanite and Aramaic. The Canaanite type has two main subdivisions, early Hebrew and Phoenician, with minor varieties such as Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite, related to early Hebrew.

A. Early Hebrew and related scripts. The earliest example of early Hebrew script is the so-called GEZER calendar (see AGRICULTURE V), a list of months defined by their agricultural operations; it is dated between 1100 and 900 B.C. Next in date, from about 850 B.C., comes the celebrated MOABITE STONE, a stela of MESHA, king of MOAB, recording his victory over Israel (cf. 2 Ki. 3:4–27). Seals and inscribed potsherds enable us to trace the script through the next 150 years to the SILOAM inscription, which records the completion of the conduit from the Virgin's Spring to the pool and is to be dated in the reign of HEZEKIAH about 700 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 20:20). The final monument of early Hebrew script is found in the LACHISH letters, twenty inscribed potsherds carrying correspondence between an outpost of Hebrew soldiers and the military governor of Lachish as the Babylonians closed in on the city about 586 B.C. After the EXILE, early Hebrew script was superseded by square Hebrew, a form of the Aramaic script, but it continued to be written in a limited way and is found on coins minted during several periods of Jewish independence (between 135 B.C. and A.D. 135). It has also continued to be used to this day by the Samaritans. The use of the Hebrew letters to represent NUMBERS (acrophonic system) is probably a postbiblical development.

B. Phoenician. From Byblos, the ancient GEBAL, already the source of a series of pseudohieroglyphic inscriptions, comes the earliest inscription in the Phoenician type of N Semitic alphabet, the inscription from the tomb of King Ahiram, who has been variously dated between the 13th and the 10th cent. B.C. Without doubt the script was used much earlier, but there is no archaeological evidence. We have some further royal inscriptions of the 10th cent. and later, and also material from the time of NEBUCHADNEZZAR. But, inexplicably, it is not in PHOENICIA itself that the majority of



Phoenician text inscribed on basalt, found in Hittite : excavations.

inscriptions are found; the far-flung trading contacts throughout the Mediterranean have so influenced the record that inscriptions are found in Cyprus, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Greece, N Africa, Spain, and Cilicia. In Carthage, the Phoenicians planted their most enduring colony; the form of the language used there is referred to as Punic. Phoenician script was used in the homeland until the 2nd cent. B.C., but the latest Punic inscription is from the 3rd cent. A.D. The main importance of the Phoenician alphabet lies in its parenthood of the Greek and Latin alphabets, to which we shall return in section V.

C. Aramaic. The Arameans (see ARAM) were in origin Semitic nomads who were first heard of in Assyrian records of the 12th cent. B.C. They established themselves in little kingdoms in Syria and Mesopotamia. Although these were at length overthrown by the Assyrians in the 9th and subsequent centuries, the ARAMAIC language and its script became the *lingua franca* of the ANE by the end of the 7th cent. B.C., and in the period of the Persian empire was the language of diplomacy as well as trade. It was spoken as the native language throughout Syria and Mesopotamia and during the exile became the speech of the Jews, the language of parts of Scripture and of other religious writings,

including the TARGUMS and parts of the TALMUD. It was the tongue of Jesus and the early church, whose traditions were transmitted and perhaps even written in Aramaic; in its Syriac form, it was the language of an important section of the early church. It survives sporadically as a vernacular in Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, and adjacent parts of the Soviet Union, and as the liturgical language of certain churches in Syria and India.

The Aramaic form of the N Semitic alphabet spread as the vehicle of the language, assuming different varieties of form and being adapted for transcribing other languages in nearby lands. The earliest inscriptions are royal stelae, one giving the title BEN-HADAD (not infrequently met in the Bible) for a king of DAMASCUS about 850 B.C. With the spread of Aramaic, many cuneiform documents are found with Aramaic summaries of their contents. Many Aramaic texts in PAPYRUS and OSTRACA come from Egypt, among them the important ELEPHANTINE papyri, remains of a Jewish or Israelite military colony in Persian times, which reflect the immediate period after the exile and the times of EZRA and NEHEMIAH. A similar, more recently found collection is of parchments, official documents of Persian officers in Egypt.

D. Descendants of the Aramaic script. Tradition has it that the "square Hebrew" (still used today) was adopted by the Jews during the exile, and accordingly it is alternatively called the "Assyrian" script. Archaeological evidence for its use is found first in the Maccabean period (see MACCABEE). Biblical MSS of a period earlier than the 7th cent. A.D. were wanting until recently, apart from the NASH PAPYRUS containing the Decalogue (dated variously between the Maccabean period and the 2nd cent. A.D.). The DEAD SEA SCROLLS (some of which date from the 1st cent. B.C. and earlier) have provided many almost complete biblical books and many fragments, mostly written in the square script, which continued to be used through the Middle Ages. Some biblical MSS from the 9th-cent., and many from between the 12th and 16th cent., have survived.

This script was used also to write the languages spoken by Jews in the W, namely Yiddish (a German dialect) and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino). While it has shown varieties of form in this long history of use, it has maintained an essential unity, so that those who know the modern printed alphabet can readily recognize it in ancient MSS. It is to this alphabet that the familiar "jot" and "tittle" of Matt. 5:18 KJV refer, the "jot" being the smallest letter (*yod*), and the "tittle" being a tiny stroke (Heb. *qeren H7967,* "horn") by which closely similar letters are distinguished from one another (e.g., ר from ד and כ from כ). The systems of indicating vowels by signs above or below the line are of much later origin than the alphabet, in which only consonants are indicated.

The Aramaic language and script were used in inscriptions by the NABATEANS, an Arab nation with a capital at the famous PETRA; they were powerful until the early 2nd cent. A.D. The alphabet of the Neo-Sinaitic inscriptions is related to Nabatean Aramaic, so that they appear to represent two stages in the creation of the script of classical Arabic. Inscriptions show that this system was created before the rise of Islam, but naturally it was this religion and its conquests that gave to Arabic the vast spread of influence which it holds to the present throughout the Muslim world.

The city of Palmyra in northern Syria (see TADMOR) gained importance by its position on the caravan routes to Mesopotamia; it was powerful in the two last centuries B.C. and the early centuries A.D., sometimes independent, sometimes under Roman rule, even under the Queen Zenobia (who ruled a vast section of the eastern part of the Roman Empire). Aramaic was spoken in Palmyra, and the form of Aramaic script used there is known from many inscriptions carved in the centuries of the Christian era (from these the study of Semitic inscriptions at large began). While Palmyra fell into oblivion, its script was widely influential in the production of several alphabets important for the

history, and particularly the religious history, of West and Central Asia in the Roman and medieval centuries. Palmyrene inscriptions are found not only in Palmyra but also in many places of the Roman empire, even in England, the work of Palmyrene legionaries.

The term *Syriac* is reserved to designate an "eastern" form of Aramaic, classically the language spoken in EDESSA, in which Christian Scripture, liturgy, and other literature were written. Some examples of this form of the language and its alphabet are known from pre-Christian times, but the main body of literature is Christian. The form of the alphabet is closely related to Palmyrene and may have been derived from it. There are three main forms of the Syriac script: Estrangela, Jacobite, and Nestorian. Estrangela (prob. from Gk. *strongylē,* "round") was a beautiful script already by the date of the earliest dated MSS (A.D. 411). The other forms are named after the two major divisions of the church among the Syrians following the divisive Council of Chalcedon, namely, Monophysite or Jacobite (from their leader Jacob Baradaeus) and Nestorian. The earliest dated Jacobite MS was written in A.D. 731; the script is also called Serta ("the [ordinary, normal] writing") and is a fluent cursive style. Nestorian is first encountered in a dated MS of A.D. 599. There are also biblical and other Christian writings in a somewhat distinct dialect known as Christian Palestinian Syriac, which is closer to Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; its script is related to the Estrangela style, but may have been developed directly from Palmyrene in some letters. When the Arabs overran and dominated Christian lands, Arabic eventually ousted Syriac; in the early period of this development Arabic was sometimes written in the Syriac alphabet, which was then known as Karshuni, a word of uncertain meaning and derivation.

About A.D. 215 there was born in Babylonia a man named Mani, who founded the MANICHEAN religious system. It owed something to the MANDE-ANS (see below) and to Christianity; Mani, in fact, called himself the apostle of Jesus. He was executed by the Persian king Bahram I c. A.D. 273. The religion spread westward, where it competed for awhile with Christianity, and into Asia. Mani committed his teaching to writing in Middle Persian, and for this end perfected a form of alphabet, evidently related to Syriac Estrangela, but probably derived from a common ancestral script akin to Palmyrene. This script was also used for Sogdian, in which both Manicheans and Christians wrote. It was later adapted for the language of the Uigurs, a Turkish people who embraced the religion in the 8th cent., and became the ancestor of the Mongolian alphabet.

Aramaic had been the official language of the Persian empire in the pre-Christian period; this form of the language is called Official or Imperial Aramaic. The form of the Aramaic alphabet used for it was gradually adopted for writing the various Iranian dialects. This was not done on a purely alphabetic basis, for many Aramaic words of frequent occurrence continued to be used as ideograms. This prevented the script from becoming available to the masses, and helps to explain why later in the religious context it was superseded by the Manichean script. The name Pehlevi is given to this adaptation of the Aramaic alphabet.

The script used for the Mandean writings was probably developed from the Aramaic script of the imperial period. This sect, with its curious and involved Gnostic beliefs, exists to this day in Iraq and Iran, having fled into Mesopotamia from Syria to escape persecution by the Byzantine emperors. It influenced Mani, and at an earlier stage may have had contacts with primitive Christianity. A vowel system has been developed from the letters *)aleph, waw,* and *yod,* which are added to the consonants to make a syllabary analogous to that developed in Ethiopic.

The kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia have the honorable place in the history of Christianity of being the first two kingdoms to accept the faith nationally, in the 3rd and 4th centuries respectively. Tradition has it that the Armenian Mesrop (in another source known as Mashtotz) created alphabets

for both nations and their languages. Whether or not this is true, both alphabets are masterpieces of exact phonetic transcription, and the uncial or capital forms of the two are closely similar, though not identical, and thus perhaps show the same mind at work. A third people Christianized at this time were the Caucasian Albanians, for whom also Mesrop created an alphabet; few traces of it remain and there are no traces of biblical or other MSS, since at length the Muslims obliterated the church. A form of Pehlevi was the probable model for the work of Mesrop in all three alphabets, but it is undecided which specific form. Both Armenian and Georgian alphabets remain in use today. Armenian has capital or uncial (*Erkathagir)* and minuscule or cursive (*Bolorgir)* forms of the letters; Georgian has three forms, namely (a) capital or uncial, (b) minuscule (these first two were the initial forms, later used only for sacred literature and hence known as Khutsuri or priestly writing), and (c) a more rounded form under Greek influence created in about the 13th cent. and known as Mkhedruli or knightly writing, which is the form used currently.

V. Derivatives of the Phoenician script. The Phoenicians left a permanent mark upon the cultural and intellectual history of mankind in the bequest of their alphabet to the European peoples, specifically to the Greeks and the Italic peoples. (Cf. P.K. McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* [1975].)

A. The Greek alphabet. The decipherment of the hieroglyphic "Linear B" of Cnossus and Mycenae makes it probable that a way of writing the GREEK LANGUAGE was used at that primitive period, but it is clear that it was lost after the fall of these kingdoms, about 1150 B.C. The earliest Greek alphabetic inscriptions date from the 8th cent., and although legend suggests otherwise, it is thought that the adoption of alphabetic writing antedated these by only a little. The Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet is proven by a number of facts. The names of most of the letters are meaningless in Greek, but clearly show the Semitic names known to us. The earliest form known consists of twenty-three letters, one more than the N Semitic, and follows its order with an additional sign at the end. There is a close similarity between the earliest Greek signs and such important Semitic monuments as the Ahiram epitaph, the Moabite Stone, and the Siloam inscription. Greek writing originally went from right to left, the order of Semitic script. (Later it alternated right-to-left and left-toright on consecutive lines, called "writing *boustrophedon*" [i.e., as the oxen turn in plowing], before eventually being written left to right throughout.) Lastly, with one important difference, the majority of Greek signs represent the same basic sounds as their Semitic equivalents.

The main distinction lies in the use of certain signs to express vowels, which are not represented in the N Semitic alphabet. Certain Semitic guttural sounds were not found in Greek, leaving the signs for *)aleph, he,* and *(ayin,* together with *yod,* without function. These were utilized for the vowels α, ε, ο ι respectively (and a new sign for *υ* created), but without distinction of vowel-length. At the earliest period, and for much longer in many dialects, the sign H, derived from the guttural *ḥeth,* was used to express aspiration or breathing before a vowel. The sign derived from *waw* was retained, as the sound *w* still was found in Greek: we have only the Byzantine name *digamma* for this sign (it looks like two capital *gammas,* similar to our "F").

Three more additional signs were soon created, the present Φ, ψ, χ, which were used for different sounds in different areas. The alphabet known to students of the NT and classical Greek is that developed for the Attic dialect. In it, the *ēta* sign (H, η) is used to distinguish long from short *e,* and the additional sign *omega* (Ω, ω) is added to make possible a similar distinction between long and short *o*. The Semitic *samekh* has become the sign for ξ (the double sound *ks*), while *ṣadhe* and

qoph (koppa) have quite fallen out. The signs Φ and χ express aspirated sounds ([p^h] and [k^h] respectively, similar to English κ and ρ, but later pronounced like English *f*

Replica of a Greek abecedary from the 7th cent. B.C. The alphabet here is written right-to-left.

and German *ch* respectively), while Ψ represents the double sound *ps.* The breathings (derived from a simple bisection of capital *ēta)* and accents are later developments; when the alphabet is used as a series of numerals, the obsolete *digamma, koppa, sadhe are* retained so that the twenty-seven signs give expression to hundreds, tens, and units to nine hundred.

In MSS, the Greek alphabet appears in two forms, uncial (capital letters), used for literary texts until the 12th cent. A.D., and cursive, used in private correspondence in the pre-Christian period, but not adapted to calligraphical use until the 9th cent. A.D. Cursive adapted to the writing of literary texts is also called *minuscule;* the printed form of Greek derives from the latest medieval form.

B. Descendants of Greek script. The Greek alphabet was adopted by Egyptian Christians to write their native language, the last stage of old Egyptian. Greek remained the official language in Egypt so that the writings of the Christians were primarily religious in content. The language and its script are known as Coptic, which is simply the Arabic rendering of the Greek for "Egyptian." Since there were certain sounds in Coptic not found in Greek, seven signs from the demotic form of ancient Egyptian writing were taken over to express these. Some signs were used only in words of Greek derivation, namely *g, d,* and *z,* since Coptic did not have these sounds (they are sometimes confounded with *k, t,* and *s).* Since *b* and *f* alternate in spellings, it would seem that β was already pronounced approximately like English *v* in the Greek of the time. With the conquests of Islam, Coptic gradually died out as a spoken language, although it is still used liturgically today. Much Christian and Gnostic writing is preserved in Coptic.

An alphabet for transcribing the language of the Christian Goths was created in the mid-4th cent. by Wulfila, the native translator of the Scriptures into Gothic. Nineteen or twenty signs were taken from Greek and five or six from Latin, while the letters for *th* and *o* appear to have been derived from the Runic system of writing. (Runic consisted of about twenty-seven signs of unknown origin, perhaps from Etruscan [see below]. It was used—to judge from inscriptions—in Scandinavia, the British Isles, and S Germany, to write the various Germanic languages of those regions. Inscriptions are datable between the 3rd and 12th centuries, but no lengthy texts are known.) There are not many Gothic MSS extant, but they are among our earliest records of versions of the Bible, since they antedate the fall of the Gothic kingdoms in the 6th cent.

The Slavs were converted much later, their evangelization beginning in the 9th cent., when the Byzantine emperor sent Constantine (later Cyril) and Methodius to Moravia at the native prince's request. The brothers, native Slavic speakers, framed a mode of alphabetic writing for their scriptural

and liturgical translations. There are, in fact, two quite distinct alphabetic systems known in MSS, and scholars continue to differ about their origin. The alphabet that has become the basis of the languages of modern Russia, Bulgaria, and other Slavic lands is traditionally known as Cyrillic; it is closely based on late Greek uncial forms, and draws on other sources such as Hebrew for sounds not found in Greek The other alphabet, now little used even for liturgical books, is named Glagolitic (Slavonic *glagol,* "word"), which appears to be quite unrelated to Greek or any other known system, but is as perfectly adapted to Slavonic as the other system. In the view of some, Glagolitic was the work of Constantine, and Cyrillic that of Kliment his pupil in the next generation (providing a script simpler for Greek literates to learn); in the view of others, Constantine invented both. Much Christian literature has been preserved in MSS of either script.

C. The Latin alphabet and its descendants. The Greeks in S Italy gave their form of the alphabet to the Etruscans, a pre-Roman people whose influence on Roman culture was great. There is a wealth of archaeological material, but their language is not understood, although it can be read. This form of the Greek alphabet still had the sign "H" as an aspirate and preserved the signs "F" and "Q." From the Etruscans, the Romans and other Italic peoples adopted it. It thus became the vehicle of Latin literature both pagan and Christian; uncial and minuscule forms are found, the period of change being about the 6th cent. While there was relatively little variation of styles in Greek minuscule, Latin minuscule shows a far richer variety of regional scripts and scripts of particular periods, such as the Irish and Anglo-Saxon hands and the Carolingian hand. The alphabet, in the first instance as the vehicle for religious literature following in the wake of the gospel, was adopted for the languages of Western Christendom, and is still used for the languages of Western Europe. For some of these, such as Italian or Welsh, an alphabetic usage closely related to phonetic needs has been produced; for others, such as English, the needs of the language and the history of the script have produced a complex and indeed perplexing situation. The modern missionary movement has taken this alphabet to non-European lands, in many of which (esp. those not previously possessed of an alphabet) it has been adapted to express native languages.

The alphabet is one of the most influential inventions. Its development has been molded by great cultural and historical movements and events of which we are still heirs, and its spread has often been linked with the advance of the great spiritual and religious experiences of mankind. (See further P.T. Daniels and W. Bright, eds., *The World's Writing Systems* [1996], part 5.)

J. N. BIRDSALL

Alphaeus al-fee'uhs (Ἀλφαῖος *G271,* from Heb. חַלְפַּי). (1) The father of Levi (Mk. 2:14), who is identified with the apostle MATTHEW (Matt. 9:9; 10:3). Nothing more is known about him.

(2) The father of JAMES, another of the apostles, sometimes called "James the younger" (Mk. 15:40; KJV, "the less") to distinguish him from the better known James who was the brother of JOHN THE APOSTLE and the son of Zebedee (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13). Some scholars identify the father of Levi with the father of James the younger, and hold that Levi and James were brothers. CHRYSOSTOM thought that they were not only brothers, but also tax collectors before they became disciples of Jesus. Some MSS (D Θ Φ f^{13}) have "James" instead of "Levi" in Mk. 2:14, but this likely is a scribal attempt to harmonize this passage with those in which James the son of Alphaeus is mentioned (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13). The preponderance of MS evidence is for the "Levi" reading.

Some writers speculate that Alphaeus, the father of James the younger, is the same person as

CLOPAS (Jn. 19:25). It is assumed by them that MARY, the wife of Clopas, who was present at the crucifixion of Jesus with some other women, is the same as Mary the mother of James, who was also present at the crucifixion (Matt. 27:56; Mk. 15:40). James the son of Mary (Matt. 27:56) would then be the son of Mary the wife of Clopas (Jn. 19:25). Some of these scholars also hold that Alphaeus and Clopas are derived from the same Hebrew word, *ḥalpî* (the second by changing the aspirate into the sound *k,* a very doubtful suggestion) and that both names were used by this man. However, the evidence for identifying Alphaeus with Clopas is not strong.

S. BARABAS

Altaneus al'tuh-nee'uhs. KJV Apoc. variant of MATTENAI (1 Esd. 9:33).

altar. This English term, referring to an elevated place where SACRIFICES or religious ceremonies are performed, is used primarily to render Hebrew *mizbēaḥ H4640* (e.g., Gen. 8:20) and Greek *thysiastērion G2603* (e.g., Matt. 5:23; cf. also *bōmos G1117,* Acts 17:23).

I. The name. The common Latin word for altar was *ara.* The term *altare* or *altarium,* from which the English word derives, was late and ecclesiastical. It was a noun formed from the adjective *altus,* which meant "high," and implied any raised structure with a flat top, on which offerings to a deity were placed or sacrifice made.

The common term in classical Greek literature was *bōmos G117,* which apparently derives from *bainō* ("to come, go"). The basic meaning would thus appear to be an "approach," since it was applied originally to any raised platform on which to place something, such as a raised parking place for chariots (*Iliad* 8.441) or the base of a statue (*Odyssey* 7.100). The early Greek apparently felt the need of adding the adjective *hieros G2641* ("holy") when the word was used to denote an altar proper. In the NT *bōmos* is used only once, significantly enough in reference to the Athenian altar to the unknown god. The term marks Paul's characteristic adaptation to his non-Christian audience (Acts 17:23).

The other instances of the word *altar* in the NT represent the Greek term *thysiastērion G2603* (from *thyō G2604,* "to burn"), a word that appears to have been coined by the SEPTUAGINT as a rendering of the common and frequent Hebrew word for altar, *mizbēaḥ H4640* (from *zābaḥ H2284,* "to sacrifice"). The Hebrew term refers to the raised place where sacrifice was made, although it came to be used for any form of offering table, such as the "altar of incense" (Exod. 30:1–10).

II. The shape. The altar, therefore, in all ancient religious practice took shape from the idea of a raised table of stone or turf (Horace, *Odes* 1.9.3) on which an offering of blood, and later burned flesh, or even the products of agriculture (Gen. 4:3) were set before the deity. Combined with the notion of a table was probably an idea more ancient still in pagan practice, that deity resided in great stones and could receive strength by an oblation of shed blood.

The altar was a feature of universal worship used by the Hebrews and developed as an object of ritual and sanctity. It was the centerpiece of every sanctuary and the place of sacrifice: "Make an altar of earth for me and sacrifice on it your burnt offerings and fellowship offerings, your sheep and goats and your cattle…If you make an altar of stones for me, do not build it with dressed stones, for you will defile it if you use a tool on it" (Exod. 20:24–25). This simple structure continued to be a normal Hebrew form until the end of the nation's history (1 Macc. 4:41; Jos. *War* 5.5.6).

A curious feature of the altar, not adequately explained, is the pointed elevation at the four

corners known as the "horns" (Ps. 118:27; Amos 3:14; Rev. 9:13). These details were regarded as of such special sanctity that they were individually marked by the blood of sacrifice in the Levitical ritual (Lev. 4:30; 16:18). Perhaps their original intention was to

Four-horned incense altar discovered at Megiddo, dating to the 10th cent. B.C.

contain the sacrifice on the plane top of the altar, while at the same time allowing the blood, which had deep mystic significance in the ritual, to drain away completely. In addition, the Hebrew altar was constructed without steps, though Canaanitish structures had no such prohibition. The regulation (Exod. 20:26) was designed to preclude any unseemly exposure of feet or legs by the officiating priest in the midst of the solemnities of sacrifice.

III. Pagan altars. All types of altars have been discovered in Canaanitish Palestine (see HIGH PLACE). They range from the small Early Bronze Age structure of plastered stones, set against a wall in a small temple at Ai, to the mud brick and lime-plastered stone rectangular altars of Middle and Late Bronze Age construction, discovered at MEGIDDO, LACHISH, BETH SHAN, HAZOR, and other places. A large structure of rubble and unhewn stone at Megiddo, an elevation 26 ft. in diameter and over 4 ft. high, is perhaps rather to be called a "high place" than an altar. Such an objection may beg the question if altars generally are,

The Canaanite round altar at Megiddo was used between 2700 and 2200 B.C. (View to the S.)

in fact, miniature "high places," and find at least one root of their origin in a symbolic rendering of the common habit of hilltop sacrifice. Such speculation is inconclusive, and the proliferation of all types of altars in pre-Hebrew Palestine is of interest to the Bible student from this major standpoint only. They demonstrate the manner in which the Mosaic code took over, purified, and adapted to its symbolic ritual and monotheistic purposes the forms and practices of alien religion. It is notable, here and elsewhere, how carefully the Pentateuch regulates the construction and use of the altar.

IV. Patriarchal altars. The covenant code (Exod. 20:24–26) clearly recognizes a plurality of altars, implying that the object was an almost indispensable accompaniment of formal WORSHIP, and that sacrifice, which was inseparable from worship, and all forms of approach to the deity could not be made without an altar. Altars were built by NOAH on leaving the ark (Gen. 8:20); by ABRAHAM at SHECHEM (12:7), at BETHEL (12:8), and on MORIAH (22:9); by ISAAC at BEERSHEBA (26:25); by JACOB at Shechem (33:20) and at Bethel (35:7); by MOSES at REPHIDIM (Exod. 17:15) and HOREB (24:4).

It would appear that the special regulations by which the two altars of the TABERNACLE were set up did not preclude the construction and use of the altars authorized in Exod. 20. The patriarchs seem to have set up altars as symbols of some notable encounter with God and as memorials of spiritual experience. The concentration of the Israelite worship in the service of the tabernacle does not appear to have withdrawn from the individual the satisfaction of setting up an altar to commemorate some act or outcome of private devotion. JOSHUA built an altar on Mount EBAL (Josh. 8:30), and GIDEON built one at OPHRA (Jdg. 6:24); an unnamed holy man built one at Bethel, or, like Elijah, rebuilt a disused structure there (Jdg. 21:4). Similarly, SAMUEL built one at RAMAH (1 Sam. 7:17), SAUL at MICMASH after his victory there (1 Sam. 14:35), and DAVID on the threshing floor of ARAUNAH (2 Sam. 24:25). As a solemn prelude to his sacrifice, ELIJAH on Carmel rebuilt an old altar of unhewn stones (see CARMEL, MOUNT). None of these acts appears to have been in conflict with the execution of formal worship at a central and authorized sanctuary.

V. The altars of the tabernacle. The more far-fetched speculations of typological teaching (see TYPOLOGY) need not be accepted along with the ready admission that the TABERNACLE was a great object lesson and a demonstration of spiritual truth. Its presence in the midst of the marching or

encamped host, and the entire pattern of its worship and ritual, were of prime educative importance for a people that was being molded and instructed for a great historic purpose. With meticulous care every detail of construction and furniture was recorded in the account.

Two altars were specified. One, which stood in the eastern half of the courtyard, was of bronze, laid over acacia wood (Exod. 27:1–8; 38:1–7). This piece of furniture measured 5 x 5 x 3 cubits and was called the altar of burnt offering from the use required of it. It had projecting horns and fittings for transport. No top is mentioned, as in the case of the second altar, and it is reasonably conjectured that it was a hollow metal frame packed with earth. This feature would account for the preservation of the wooden frame in spite of the heat of the fire of sacrifice.

The second altar was a smaller piece, 1 x 1 x 2 cubits, made of acacia wood plated with gold (Exod. 30:1–10). It had four horns and a crown of gold, together with devices for transport as the nomad host moved its place of encampment. Curiously enough, these two altars are named elsewhere only in the Chronicles (1 Chr. 6:49; 16:40; 21:29; 2 Chr. 1:5–6).

The placing of the two altars is significant. The altar of burnt offering stood in the eastern part of the court and would thus be the first major feature visible to one who approached the tabernacle, setting forth symbolically the truth that the shedding of blood provided access and forgiveness for the rebel, a truth spiritualized and consummated in the NT (Heb. 9:9, 22). The altar of INCENSE was set before the veil that screened the Holy of Holies (Exod. 30:6; 40:5). It was thus called "the altar before the LORD" (Lev. 16:12). Incense was burned twice daily, symbolizing the offering of prayer (Rev. 8:3). ZECHARIAH was on duty at this place when he received his vision (Lk. 1:8–11).

VI. The temple altars. In the "upper court" (Jer. 36:10) of Solomon's TEMPLE in Jerusalem was placed a vast altar of bronze, 15 ft. high and 30 ft. long. It was, no doubt, an enlarged replica of the tabernacle, departing from that model only in the fact that it was approached by a flight of steps, a sheer necessity to cope with its elevation. The hollow interior was filled with stone and earth so that the blaze of sacrifice should be visible to the crowd in the courtyard below (2 Chr. 4:1). Before this altar, prayer was made (1 Ki. 8:22, 64), and periodic sacrifice offered (1 Ki. 9:25). Solomon's altar stood thus for almost three centuries.

Early in his reign AHAZ (735–715 B.C.) sought the assistance of TIGLATH-PILESER III of Assyria against his northern neighbors and won some dearly bought political success. It confirmed him in his apostasy (2 Chr. 28:23–25), and this may be the explanation of the altar he set up to replace that of SOLOMON in the temple courtyard (the story is told in 2 Ki. 16:7–16). Ahaz visited, as an ally, the conquered city of DAMASCUS and saw "the altar" (not "an altar" as KJV and NIV 2 Ki. 16:10). Perhaps this was the altar of the defeated Syrian god, RIMMON, reconsecrated by the Assyrian victor in honor of one of his own deities. In gross flattery, if this conjecture holds, Ahaz sent to the head priest Uriah a careful drawing of the altar that had so struck his fancy. The subservient priest undertook without protest to have a replica ready upon the king's return to Jerusalem. Ahaz, usurping the priest's office, likewise without protest from a hierarchy that once had firmly resisted Uzziah's intrusion into the sacerdotal office, made offerings personally on his new altar.

It was in the course of this same apostasy that Ahaz removed the bronze altar of Solomon from its place in front of the temple porch. He coveted this position of honor for his own altar. Solomon's ancient altar was removed to the N side, and Ahaz ordered that all sacrifices should henceforth be made upon "the large new altar" (2 Ki. 16:15). The old bronze altar, he said, "I will use for seeking guidance" (does the Hebrew imply, "I can wait until I consider what to do with it"?).

It is not clear what happened upon Ahaz's death. In 2 Chr. 29 there is a full account of the

reconstitution of the temple worship under HEZEKIAH. The chronicler's narrative would appear to indicate that the reforming monarch invalidated the procedures of his predecessor's day (29:7), and the purification of the altar (29:18) may perhaps indicate that Solomon's altar was restored to its proper place. It seems unlikely that the altar of Ahaz, considering its Damascene and pagan origins, survived an inspired iconoclasm as thorough as that of Hezekiah. An enigmatic reference (2 Chr. 33:16) suggests that some restoration was effected in MANASSEH'S superficial reformation fifty years later. It would appear (Jer. 52:17–20) that the altar of Solomon, or its essential metal, was part of the loot NEBUCHADNEZZAR carried off to Babylon.

Perhaps it was this fact, or even the known and visible presence of the piece of sacred furniture in Babylon, that inspired the vision of Ezekiel's ideal temple. Through the three gateways that led to the inner court, right in the middle so that it should be in full view, a great altar of burnt offering was projected, a huge stone structure rising in three terraces to a height of 18 ft., having a breadth and length of 26–27 ft. at the base. The altar thus placed was to be the center of the sanctuary, for the consciousness was growing that the altar was the one indispensable adjunct to the sacrificial worship and the one vast lack for those in exile. When the first exiles returned to the ruins of Jerusalem, and before they were able to rebuild the temple, JESHUA erected an altar on the site and instituted the daily ritual (Ezra 3:2). From Ezekiel's vision, it is evident that the sacrificial consecration of the altar was equated with the dedication of the whole sanctuary (Ezek. 43:18–27).

The second temple no doubt had its altars, and it is unlikely that the tradition of two altars, established with the tabernacle, was fundamentally broken. ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes is said to have carried off a golden altar of incense in 169 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:21). Two years later the same tyrant set up an "abomination of desolation," probably an image of ZEUS, on the altar of burnt offering (1 Macc. 1:54). The Maccabees restored both altars (1 Macc. 4:44–49). It is not known whether these altars were incorporated in HEROD'S enlarged shrine, in which the altar of burnt offerings was a pile of unhewn stone, approached not by the forbidden steps but by a ramp.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the growing consciousness of the centrality and importance of the altar in the temple worship led to the doctrine that the great altar in Jerusalem was the one valid place of sacrifice. Hezekiah seems to have been the first to enforce this, and to have incurred some popular resentment in so doing, if the propagandist taunt of SENNACHERIB'S envoy be read aright (2 Ki. 18:4, 22). It would appear from the Assyrian's words that these altars were considered places of orthodox worship. In JOSIAH'S case it is not so clear that the altars broken down and defiled in the course of the great religious revival were other than pagan (2 Ki. 23:8, 20). To set up an altar, as AHAB had clearly demonstrated (1 Ki. 16:32), was to adopt and sanction a special form of worship and to recognize a god. The presence of the central altar at Jerusalem was, as JEROBOAM foresaw (1 Ki. 12:26–33), a source of tremendous prestige for the city. Thus was the altar welded to politics and Jerusalem established as a holy city, a role which it fulfilled to the end of its history and which it continued to play in the symbolism of the New Jerusalem, wherein was no temple nor the altar that accompanied it (Rev. 21:22).

VII. The altar in the NT. In the worship of the CHURCH, as envisaged in its beginnings in the NT, no altar is prescribed. The furniture of Hebrew religion is set aside and all the symbolism of the altar has found fulfillment. This fact, of course, does not preclude a new Christian symbolism that makes use of a formal altar, provided that no practice associated with it conflicts with central theological doctrine.

The NT necessarily uses the word *thysiastērion G2603* in reference to the altar in the temple of

Jerusalem (eight instances in the Gospels: Matt. 5:23, 24; 23:18–20, 35; Lk. 11:51); and in reference to various OT altars (five instances in the epistles: Rom. 11:3; 1 Cor. 9:13; 10:18; Heb. 7:13; Jas. 2:21). The word is used figuratively in the imagery of Revelation (seven contexts: Rev. 6:9; 8:3, 5; 9:13; 11:1; 14:18; 16:7). One passage in Hebrews may be singled out for the metonymy it seems to contain: "We have an altar from which those who minister at the tabernacle have no right to eat" (Heb. 13:10). If the simple meaning of the prepositional phrase is pressed, the word "altar" stands for the sacrifice that lies upon it, but without essential difference to the meaning, the metonymy may be avoided and the word "altar" taken literally as the place of origin of the appropriated sacrifice.

VIII. The altar of the Areopagus address. The only NT writer to use the pagan word *bōmos G117* is PAUL, who employs it properly in the context of his address to the Court of the AREOPAGUS to refer to a special feature of the Athenian city scene, the altars to "unknown gods," of which epigraphical evidence survives. The matter merits a paragraph because of the importance of the address. Paul's approach was conciliatory and courteous, but perhaps just touched with that irony which was the common fashion of Athenian speech: "Men of Athens! I see that in every way you are very religious. For as I walked around and looked carefully at your objects of worship, I even found an altar with this inscription: TO AN UNKNOWN GOD" (Acts 17:22–23). In the Greek there is noun and adjective only (*agnōstō theō),* without either a definite or indefinite article. One or two examples of such inscriptions survive, but always in the plural, "to unknown gods." In the plural English can avoid using an article, but in the singular a choice must be made between the definite and indefinite article. The definite is better, "to *the* unknown god," provided the reference and context of the inscription are realized. The inscription in each case refers to the unknown deity concerned with the altar's foundation, not generally or transcendentally to a god vaguely realized and sought. Paul adapted the inscription for homiletic ends. He was not deceived about its meaning, but like any perceptive preacher sought an illustration and a point of contact in a known environment. The device captured attention and anchored the theme in experience.

What did the inscription mean? Diogenes Laertus (*Lives* 110.3) preserves a tradition that Epimenides, the Cretan religious teacher and miracle worker, was in Athens about 500 B.C. To combat an epidemic, Epimenides directed the Athenians to loose sheep from the Areopagus, and wherever they lay down, they were to build an altar to the local god; this incident led to the existence of various "anonymous altars." Perhaps the story is an etiological myth, a tale invented to explain a visible phenomenon. Perhaps the altars merely represented a scrupulosity which, in a city full of deities from all the Eastern Mediterranean, sought to avoid offense to any in this slightly naive fashion. It is impossible to say more.

IX. The altar of Pergamum. In the imagery of Revelation is a reference to one of the most famous altars of the ancient world. It stood on the crag of the hill above the Asian city of PERGAMUM and was described by the Greek traveler Pausanias. It was discovered in 1871 and taken to Germany, where it stands reconstructed today in Berlin, something like a small version of Italy's elaborate Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome. The structure, a perron of steps leading to a huge altar, commemorated the defeat of a Gallic invasion two centuries before. The roving Celts, who also reached Rome and Delphi in this era of their folk wanderings, infiltrated ASIA MINOR, where they gave their name to GALATIA. Pergamum was a royal city and strong enough to drive them off. It celebrated the deliverance with the altar to Zeus. Its frieze represents the gods of Olympus battling with the giants, shown in the sculpture as a brood of muscular warriors with snake-like tails. The Zeus to whom the

altar was dedicated was called "Zeus the Savior," a blasphemous offense to Christian minds. The altar must be the throne of Satan mentioned in the letter to Pergamum (Rev. 2:12). (There is a curious footnote: the archaeological discovery of the battered marble figure of a giant in the junkyard of the Worksop Town Council, England. Experts from the British Museum pronounced it to be part of the frieze from Pergamum's altar, brought to England by the Earl of Arundel two centuries ago, and fallen on evil days when Worksop Manor was demolished.)

E.M. BLAIKLOCK

altar of witness. See ED.

Al-taschith al-tas'kith. A word found in KJV in the titles of Pss. 57–59 and 75 as a transliteration of the Hebrew phrase *ʾal-tašḥēt,* meaning "do not destroy" (some versions transliterate "Altashheth"). This phrase may form the beginning of an old tune, normally sung at the harvesting of grapes, as described in Isa. 65:8. See also MUSIC VI.B.

Alush ay'luhsh (אָלוּשׁ *H478,* meaning unknown). A stopping place of the Israelites in their journey through the wilderness (Num. 33:13–14). Alush was apparently located between DOPHKAH and REPHIDIM, but the site has not been identified.

Alvah al'vuh (עַלְוָה *H6595,* meaning unknown). Descendant of ESAU, listed among the clan chiefs of EDOM (Gen. 36:40; 1 Chr. 1:51; in the latter passage, the KJV and other versions have "Aliah," following the *Ketib).* The name was probably applied to a territory as well. Some identify Alvah with ALVAN.

Alvan al'vuhn (עַלְוָן *H6597,* perhaps "tall" or "ascending"). Son of Shobal and grandson of SEIR the HORITE (Gen. 36:23; 1 Chr. 1:40; in the latter passage, the KJV and other versions have "Alian," following most Heb. MSS). Some identify Alvan with ALVAH.

Amad ay'mad (עַמְעָד *H6675,* derivation unknown). A town in the tribal territory of ASHER (Josh. 19:26). The site is unknown.

Amadatha, Amadathus am'uh-day'thuh, am'uh-day'thuhs. KJV Apoc. forms of HAMME-DATHA (Add. Esth. 12:6; 16:10, 17).

Amal ay'muhl (עָמָל *H6663,* possibly "laborer"). Son of Helem, listed among the brave warriors who were heads of families of the tribe of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:35; cf.v.40).

Amalek am'uh-lek (עֲמָלֵק *H6667,* derivation uncertain; gentilic עֲמָלֵקִי *H6668,* "Amalekite"). Son of ELIPHAZ (by his concubine Timna), grandson of ESAU, and a tribal chief (*ʾallûp H477)* of EDOM (Gen. 36:12, 15–16; 1 Chr. 1:36). The name is applied to his descendants, an ancient marauding people in the S of Canaan and the NEGEV who were fierce enemies of Israel, particularly in the earlier part of its history.

The Amalekites roamed throughout this region in SE Israel referred to in the Bible as the Desert of Zin.

I. Early history. According to Gen. 14:7, KEDOR-LAOMER and his associate kings subdued, among others, "the whole territory of the aites." This statement need not be taken as an anachronism, but is to be understood as possibly a different Amalek; or better, the term is used to identify the land that later became the home of the Amalekite descendants of Esau. In Num. 24:20 BALAAM prophesied, "Amalek was first among the nations, / but he will come to ruin at last," probably meaning that the Amalekites were the first nation to attack Israel in her exodus experiences (cf. Exod. 17:8; Num. 14:45).

II. Territory. The Amalekites as a nomadic desert tribe moved about in the area from the Sinaitic region and the steppe land of the Negev in S Canaan, S of BEERSHEBA, over E to include the ARABAH region N of ELATH and EZION GEBER and possibly the more interior ARABIA. See 1 Sam. 15:7, where Saul is said to have "attacked the Amalekites all the way from Havilah to Shur, to the east of Egypt." This region seems to have been the same general area inhabited by the ISHMAELITES (Gen. 25:18). Another passage, 1 Sam. 30:1–2, points to heavy raiding activity on the part of the Amalekites in the area of the Negev, and Jdg. 6:3, 33 speaks of their association with "other eastern people," which suggests that for a period they lived in the Arabian territory.

The Amalekites also extended their influence farther N into the PHILISTINE country and the region of EPHRAIM. This is borne out by Jdg. 12:15, where the area of Ephraim around the town PIRATHON (not far from present-day Nablus) is called "the hill country of the Amalekites." And according to 1 Sam. 27:5–7 and 30:1, they raided Philistine towns like ZIKLAG (a few miles N of Beersheba), which ACHISH king of GATH had given to DAVID.

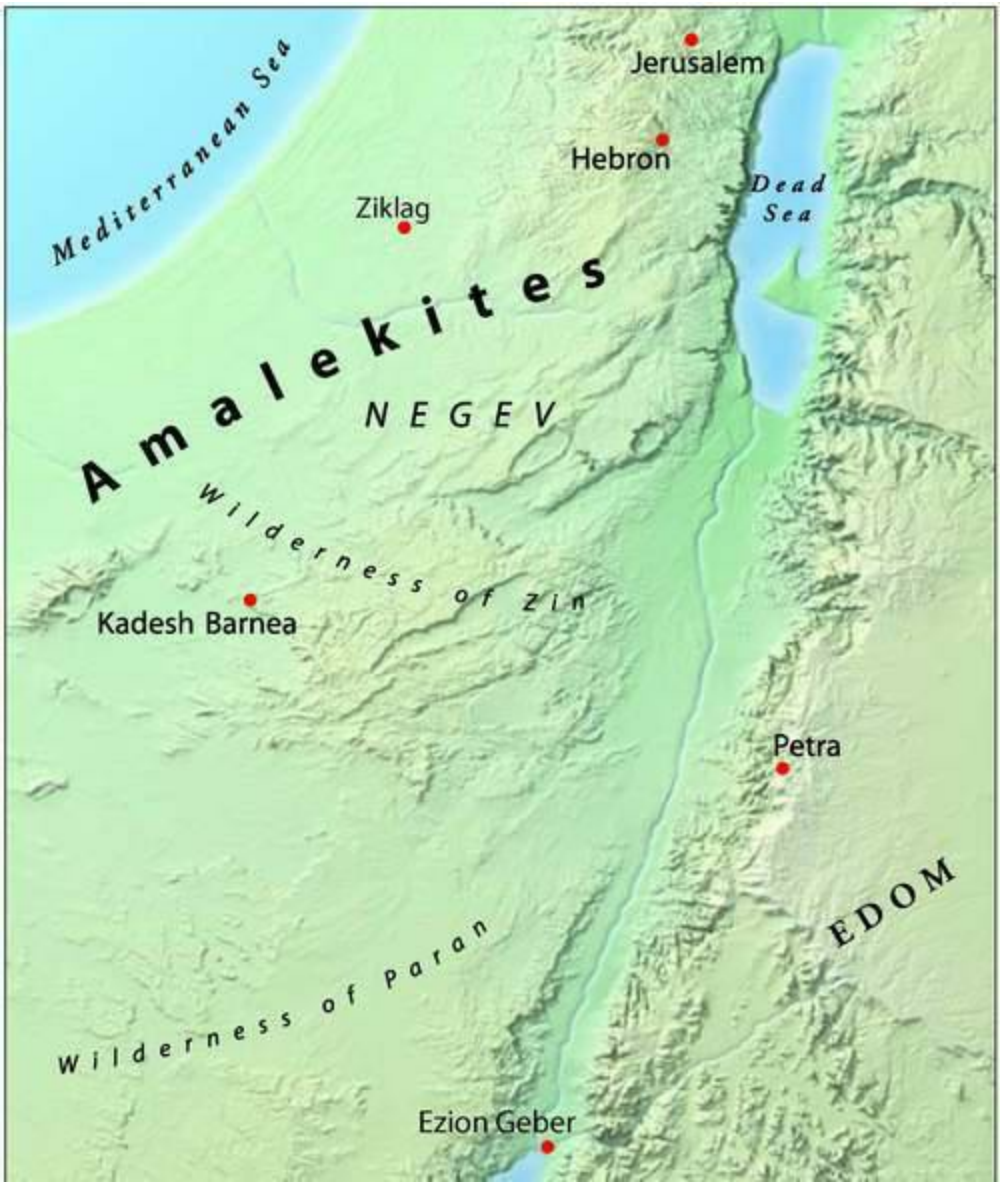
III. Amalek and Israel

A. In the wilderness wanderings. The book of Exodus describes Israel's first encounter with, and defeat of, the wandering Amalekites at REPHIDIM, a place between the wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai where the Israelites camped in their journey from Egypt (Exod. 17:1, 8–16; 19:2). Concerning further harassment Moses recounts how Amalek, with no fear of God, attacked the Israelites' rear guard and cut off those who became physically weak (Deut. 25:17–18). Moses goes on to command that because of this wicked treatment of an oppressed people, Israel later, when in the land of Canaan, was to exterminate the Amalekites (v. 19). That their unrelenting and destructive

spirit and action against God and the cause of his people Israel was heinous to the Lord is seen later in the reminder to SAUL concerning these wilderness incidents and in God's command that the king was to destroy the God-defying Amalekites (1 Sam. 15:2–3; cf. also Jdg. 10:12). Thus, the continuing oppressive spirit of this pagan nomadic tribe required a different treatment by the Lord from that which was to be normally carried out (terms of peace were usually first offered to a potential enemy, Deut. 20:10–12).

After Rephidim, the next major encounter with Amalek came following the report of the Israelite spies that the enemy forces to the N of KADESH BARNEA in the wilderness of PARAN in S Canaan, which included the Amalekites living in the Negev, were too strong to conquer (Num. 13:25–33; 14:38). Israel rebelled. When God in judgment withdrew his hand of blessing and ordered them to go back S into the wilderness (14:1–25), the people again disobeyed God and, with their own feeble effort, attacked the Amalekites. They were completely defeated and chased as far as HORMAH (near ARAD and ZIKLAG, Num. 14:39–45; Josh. 12:14; 15:30).

B. In the period of the judges. Later in the time of the judges the Amalekites showed continued harassing activity against Israel. When some men of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites who exercised some control over the Negev and the area of HEBRON, presumably they also came in contact with the Amalekites who roamed the same general area. The KENITES lived with the Amalekites at the city of Amalek (1 Sam. 15:5–6) and earlier had taken up this residence with the people in the region of the Negev near Arad (Jdg. 1:16), which was only about 20 mi. S of Hebron. Observing this connection, there is no need to follow the NRSV in emending the text of Jdg. 1:16 from "the people" (*hāʿām)* to "the



Amalekites.

Amalekites" (*hāʿămālēqî);* the connection of the Kenites in these two passages is clear, and evidence for changing the text is lacking.

Within this period of the judges the Amalekites were associated with the Moabites, Ammonites, and Midianites in their marauding activities. This is seen in Jdg. 3:12–14 in the account of how EGLON, the king of MOAB, collected the forces of the Amalekites and the Ammonites and defeated Israel and took the City of Palms (evidently JERICHO, cf Deut. 34:3). DEBORAH (who was from Ephraim, Jdg. 4:5) and BARAK speak of how Ephraim had shown strength in rooting out those of the Amalekites who were in its midst (Jdg. 5:14, where NRSV unnecessarily changes "in Amalek" to "into the valley"; cf. 12:15 and earlier remarks). Moreover, the Amalekites are depicted as joining forces with MIDIAN and making camel raids against the agriculture communities of Israel as far S as GAZA (Jdg. 6:3–4, 33; 7:12; the Midianites seem to have wandered in the area of Sinai, the wilderness E of Paran, and the territory E of GILEAD, Exod. 4:19; 1 Ki. 11:18; Jdg. 8:4–12). When these peoples came with considerable forces and camped in the Valley of JEZREEL (Jdg. 6:33), GIDEON and his 300 men, under the direction of the Lord, routed and killed many of them (7:19–23).

C. In the time of Saul. Although King Saul routed the Amalekites early in his reign (1 Sam. 14:48),

they must have continued to flourish. In the light of Amalek's past harassment of Israel, the Lord commanded Saul to exterminate this enemy (1 Sam. 15:1–3). The king attacked them and conquered their city (15:4–7), the exact location of which is not known. Evidently the Amalekites had some cities, as this one, in which they sometimes settled and possibly fulfilled religious obligations, as has been shown was the case of nomadic tribes in the TRANSJORDAN in connection with a 15th-cent. B.C. temple (see E. F. Campbell and G. E. Wright in *BA 32* [1969]: 104–12). Contrary to God's command, Saul kept alive the king of the Amalekites and the best of their livestock (vv. 8–9). For Saul's failure to fulfill completely the divine command, Samuel announced to the monarch the Lord's rejection of him as king (vv. 10–23). Saul then made a statement of repentance and obtained some public reconciliation with the prophet Samuel, following which the prophet killed AGAG, the Amalekite king (vv. 24–33).

D. In the time of David. The initial encounter of David with the Amalekites, according to the OT record, took place during the time of his association with Achish, king of Gath, when the young Israelite made raids in the S against the Amalekites and others (1 Sam. 27:8). Later Amalek raided the Negev and, in David's absence, completely conquered Ziklag, taking captive the inhabitants, including David's two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail (30:1–6). Then the future king, through the help of an abandoned Egyptian servant of an Amalekite (vv. 11–15), found the Amalekite camp, defeated the enemy, and recovered his wives and possessions (vv. 16–20).

Some time later, an Amalekite who claimed he had finished killing Saul (cf. 1 Sam. 31:3–5; 2 Sam. 1:4–10) was executed by David for the sin of lifting his hand "to destroy the LORD'S anointed" (2 Sam. 1:14–16). This act demonstrates again Israel's strong antipathy to Amalek. The psalmist lists Amalek with the avowed enemies of Israel (Ps. 83:7). A summary of David's conquests of the Amalekites is given in 2 Sam. 8:12 and 1 Chr. 18:11.

IV. Amalek in later history. The Amalekites seem to have been fairly well controlled under the monarchy, for the OT does not mention them again until the time of HEZEKIAH (c. 700 B.C.) and only as a remnant whom some of the Simeonites defeated at Mount SEIR (i.e., Edom; Gen. 32:3; 1 Chr. 4:41–43). There is no further biblical reference (however, see AGAGITE).

W.H. MARE

Amam ay'mahm (אֲמָם *H585,* derivation uncertain). An unidentified city in the NEGEV that the tribe of JUDAH received in the allotment of the land (Josh. 15:26).

Aman ay'muhn. KJV Apoc. form of HAMAN (Add. Esth. 10:7; cf. also Tob. 14:10 KJV, where NRSV has the variant "Nadab").

Amana uh-may'nuh (אֲמָנָה *H592,* perhaps "constant"). Also Amanah. A mountain in the ANTILEBANON range (Cant. 4:8), near the course of the river ABANA (2 Ki. 5:12, where the river too is called "Amana" in a variant reading).

amanuensis uh-man'yoo-en'sis. This Latin term, meaning "secretary," is used specifically of someone who takes dictation or copies a MS. Amanuenses were frequently used by writers in antiquity. PETER speaks of being assisted by SILAS in writing a letter (1 Pet. 5:12). When PAUL refers

to writing a greeting with his own hand (1 Cor. 16:21; 2 Thess. 3:17; cf. also Phlm. 19 and esp. Gal. 6:10–18), he implies that the rest of the letter was written by a secretary. One of them, TERTIUS, identifies himself in Rom. 16:22. The use of amanuenses may serve to account for stylistic differences between letters that have the same author, but there is debate about how much freedom these secretaries were given in the composition of documents. (Cf. E. R. Randolph, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing* [2004].) See PSEUDONYMITY.

Amariah am'uh-r*i*'uh (אֲמַרְיָה *H618* and אֲמַרְיָהוּ *H619,* "Yahweh has said"). (1) Son of Meraioth and descendant of AARON in the line of ELEAZAR; grandfather (or ancestor) of ZADOK the priest (1 Chr. 6:7, 52).

(2) Son of Hebron and descendant of LEVI in the line of KOHATH; contemporary of David (1 Chr. 23:19; 24:23).

(3) Son of Azariah and descendant of AARON in the line of ELEAZAR; ancestor of EZRA (1 Chr. 6:11; Ezra 7:3; 1 Esd. 8:2 [here listed as son of Uzzi]; 2 Esd. 1:2 [in the last two references KJV has "Amarias"]).

(4) A chief priest in the reign of JEHOSHAPHAT (2 Chr. 19:11); some identify him with #3 above.

(5) A Levite who faithfully assisted KORE in distributing the contributions made to the temple during the reign of HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 31:15).

(6) One of the descendants of Binnui who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:42 [cf. v. 38 NIV and NRSV]; 1 Esd. 9:34 RSV by conjecture [NRSV, "Zambris"]).

(7) A priest who returned to Jerusalem and sealed the covenant under NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:3). Some believe he is the same as the Amariah who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (12:2; cf. v. 13).

(8) Son of Shephatiah, descendant of JUDAH, and ancestor of Athaiah (Neh. 11:4).

(9) Ancestor of the prophet ZEPHANIAH and son of Hezekiah, possibly the king (Zeph. 1:1).

S. BARABAS

Amarias am'uh-r*i*'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of AMARIAH (1 Esd. 8:2; 2 Esd. 1:2).

Amarna Tablets. See TELL EL-AMARNA.

Amasa uh-may'suh (עֲמָשָׂא *H6690,* possibly short form of עֲמַסְיָה *H6674,* "Yahweh has carried *[i.e.,* protected]"; see AMASIAH). (1) Son of Jether (see ITHRA) and captain of the Israelite army appointed by ABSALOM when the latter attempted to overthrow DAVID'S rule in Israel (2 Sam. 17:25; 1 Chr. 2:16–17). JOAB killed Amasa during the subsequent rebellion led by Sheba. As the son of Jether/Ithra and ABIGAIL, who was apparently David's half-sister, Amasa was related to the royal family; he was also a cousin to Joab, whose mother ZERUIAH was Abigail's sister.

When Absalom rebelled, David divided his forces, assigning one third of his army to Joab, one third to ABISHAI a brother of Joab, and another third to ITTAI the Gittite. In the course of defeating the rebellion forces, Joab killed Absalom in explicit disobedience to David's command and consequently incurred the king's disfavor. This action may account for David's decision to pardon Amasa and appoint him as captain of the army in place of Joab (2 Sam. 19:13).

When Sheba led a rebellion movement, David ordered Amasa to assemble an army in three days (2 Sam. 20:4). No explanation is given in the biblical account concerning his failure to do so in the

allotted time, but Abishai was subsequently assigned the task of suppressing the rebellion. When Abishai—who was supported by Joab with the KERETHITES, the Pelethites, and all the mighty men—advanced as far as GIBEON, he was joined by Amasa and his forces. Here Joab personally killed Amasa (2 Sam. 20:8–10), and subsequently he led the combined forces in victory over Sheba. See also AMASAI #4.

(2) Son of Hadlai; he was one of the princes of EPHRAIM who supported ODED the prophet in warning the Israelites not to take captives from Judah (2 Chr. 28:9–15). During the Syro-Ephraimitic war, the Israelites under PEKAH invaded the southern kingdom of Judah and brought some of the people to SAMARIA as captives with the intention of enslaving them. Amasa and some of the other princes in Ephraim joined the prophet in his word of warning and then provided for the proper return of the captives to JERICHO.

S.J. SCHULTZ

Amasai uh-may's*i* (עֲמָשַׂי *H6691,* possibly short form of עֲמַסְיָה *H6674,* "Yahweh has carried *[i.e.,* protected]"; see AMASIAH). (1) Son of ELKANAH and descendant of LEVI in the line of KOHATH (1 Chr. 6:25 [Heb. v. 10]). Somehow he also is linked with the genealogy of the musician HEMAN and thus is listed as the father of Mahath (v. 35 [Heb. v. 20]).

(2) One of the priests appointed by DAVID to blow the trumpets before the ARK OF THE COVENANT when it was brought to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15:24).

(3) Father of Mahath, a Levite who served in the time of HEZEKIAH'S revival (2 Chr. 29:12). Since the Amasai in #1 above also had a son named Mahath, it might appear that they are the same person, but 1 Chr. 6:25 and 35 refer to someone who served much earlier, during the time of SOLOMON.

(4) The "chief of the Thirty," upon whom the Spirit came when he met DAVID at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:18). Some identify him with AMASA, captain of Absalom's army (2 Sam. 17:25), and others with ABISHAI, the brother of JOAB (1 Chr. 11:20; cf 2 Sam. 23:18; 1 Chr. 2:16; 18:12). The problem would remain, however, in that none of the three (Amasai, Amasa, or Abishai) appears in the lists of the Thirty given in 2 Sam. 23 and 1 Chr. 11.

W.C. KAISER, JR.

Amashai uh-mash'*i*. KJV form of AMASHSAI.

Amashsai uh-mash's*i* (עֲמַשְׂסַי *H6692,* possibly a scribal error for עֲמָשַׂי *H6691,* "Amasai"). KJV Amashai. Son of Azarel and descendant of IMMER; a postexilic priest (Neh. 11:13). Some identify him with MAASAI in the parallel list (1 Chr. 9:12).

Amasiah am'uh-s*i*'uh (עֲמַסְיָה *H6674,* "Yahweh has carried [for protection]"). Son of Zicri; a Judahite commander under JEHOSHAPHAT "who volunteered himself for the service of the LORD" (2 Chr. 17:16).

Amatheis am'uh-thee'uhs. KJV Apoc. variant of ATHLAI (1 Esd. 9:29).

Amathis am'uh-this. KJV Apoc. form of HAMATH (1 Macc. 12:25).

Amaw ay'maw (עַמּוֹ). Also Amau. According to some scholars, this term refers to the land near the EUPHRATES River from which BALAK, king of MOAB, summoned BALAAM to curse Israel (Num. 22:5 NRSV). If this translation is correct, Amaw (or Ama'e) may be identified with a region in the valley of the river Sajur in N Syria mentioned on a 15th-cent. B.C. statue of King Idrimi (*ANET,* 557). A few Hebrew MSS, supported by several ancient versions, read AMMON, preferred by some scholars because of this country's closer proximity to Moab. It is better, however, to read the Hebrew text not as a proper noun, but as the word for "his people" (cf. KJV), thus NIV, "his native land." See also PETHOR.

amazement. See ASTONISHMENT.

Amaziah am'uh-z*i*'uh (אֲמַצְיָה *H604* and אֲמַצְיָהוּ *H605,* "strength of Yahweh" or "Yahweh is powerful"). (1) Son of JOASH and his successor as king of Judah. His mother was a certain Jehoaddin of Jerusalem (2 Ki. 14:2; 2 Chr. 25:1). The length of his reign is given as twenty-nine years in 2 Ki. 14:2, but such a long reign is difficult to reconcile with other data, unless the figure includes a period of coregency with his son Azariah (UZZIAH); thus some scholars date his reign c. 800–783 B.C., others 796–767. It is clear that Amaziah was a good king who ascended the throne in the midst of trying circumstances, when his father was murdered by some of his courtiers (2 Ki. 14:5–6; 2 Chr. 25:3–4). He was quite successful against the Edomites in the S along the Jordan Valley but was foolish to challenge the more powerful Jehoash, king of Israel, as a result of which he lost his kingdom (2 Ki. 14:7–14; 2 Chr. 25:17–24). He then fell the victim of a court intrigue and was pursued to LACHISH, where he was murdered. His body was brought back in a funeral cortège, and he was buried in the royal tombs outside the Mount of Zion.

(2) Father of Joshah, a clan leader in the tribe of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:34; cf. v. 38).

(3) Son of Hilkiah and descendant of LEVI in the line of MERARI (1 Chr. 6:45); he is listed among those who "ministered with music before the tabernacle, the Tent of Meeting, until Solomon built the temple of the LORD in Jerusalem" (v. 32).

(4) A minor figure named Amaziah is mentioned as a priest at the shrine of BETHEL during the reign of the second JEROBOAM. He attempted to deter AMOS from prophesying there and reported the prophet's denunciations to the king (Amos 7:10–17).

W. WHITE, JR.

ambassador. An official representative of a ruler or government. Ambassadors and envoys are mentioned throughout most of the biblical period (e.g., Num. 20:14; Jdg. 11:12; 2 Chr. 32:31; Isa. 30:4). Disrespect shown to them was regarded as a serious insult to their sovereign and his people, and sometimes led to war (2 Sam. 10). In the NT the term is used only in a figurative sense. Paul called himself "an ambassador in chains" (Eph. 6:20); he also said, "We are therefore Christ's ambassadors, as though God were making his appeal through us" (2 Cor. 5:20; in both passages Paul uses the verb *presbeuō G4563).* See MESSENGER.

S. BARABAS

ambassage. A term used in the KJV with the meaning, "group of ambassadors" (for Gk. *presbeia G4561,* Lk. 14:32, NIV "delegation").

amber. A yellow translucent fossil tree resin that through loss of volatile constituents, oxidation, and polymerization has attained a stable state. Burial time needed to reach this state may be millions of years, and as "fossil" implies prehistoric life, the resin must have been exuded from a tree at least before recorded history. It occurs as irregular modules or droplike shapes in all shades of yellow with aspects of orange, brown, and, rarely, red. Deeply colored translucent to transparent varieties are prized as gem material and have been used, since prehistoric times, for ornaments. The phrase "gleaming amber" is used by NRSV in Ezek. 1:4, 27; 8:2 (Heb. ḥ*ašmal H3133;* NIV, "like glowing metal").

D.R. BOWES

ambush. A military stratagem in which an arrangement of soldiers or other persons in hiding make a surprise attack upon an enemy (Josh. 8:2–22; Jdg. 20:29–38; Acts 23:21; et al.). The concept also is used figuratively for the wiles of the wicked (Ps. 10:8; Prov. 1:11 [NIV, "let's lie in wait"]; Jer. 9:8; et al.).

amen ah-men', ay'men'. A Hebrew term (*ʾāmēn H589;* cf Gk. *amēn G297)* used to express assent.

I. Meaning. In both Greek and English (and many other languages), this term is a transliteration of a Hebrew adverb meaning "truly, verily," itself derived from a verb meaning "to be reliable, have stability" (niphal of *ʾāman H586;* see *NIDOTTE,* 1:427–33). Therefore "Amen" is far more meaningful than a stop or a signing-off word by which a prayer, song, or declaration is terminated. It carries the weight of approval, confirmation, and support of what is said or sung. Its significance is seen in MOSES' instructions to JOSHUA. When the curses were to be read by the priests at SHECHEM, "all the people shall say, 'Amen!'" (Deut. 27:15–26). Subsequently this practice became a Jewish custom in the SYNAGOGUES, and from them was passed on into Christian assemblies. After a reading or a discourse when a solemn PRAYER was offered to God, members of the audience responded with "Amen," thereby making the substance of what was uttered their own (cf. 1 Cor. 14:16).

II. In the OT. The earliest reference to "Amen" is in the court procedure Moses prescribed for the trial of a woman suspected of adultery. After the priest administered the oath, "the woman shall say, 'Amen. Amen'" (Num. 5:22 NRSV). Similarly, when NEHEMIAH, the governor, assembled the rulers in an economic crisis, he administered an oath to the priests whereby real estate was to be restored to its rightful owners and tax collecting ceased. "At this the whole assembly said, 'Amen,' and praised the LORD. And the people did as they had promised" (Neh. 5:13). Assent of the congregation to the law was to be a responsive "Amen" in unison (Deut. 27:15–26; Neh. 8:6). Another common use of "Amen" was in a DOXOLOGY (1 Chr. 16:36; Pss. 41:13; 106:48). The doxologies of the first three books of PSALMS are concluded with "Amen" (Pss. 41:13; 72:19; 89:52). The last two had the added emphasis in the unusual phraseology "Amen and Amen." It was also customary to respond to good news with "Amen" (Jer. 28:6). BENAIAH responded to DAVID'S appointment of SOLOMON as his regal successor with a hearty "Amen" (1 Ki. 1:36). The Hebrew term can also be used substantively ("truth, faithfulness") as a divine title or attribute of God: "the God of truth" (Isa. 65:16).

III. In the NT. Following the precedent set by Jesus, "Amen" came into popular use in the NT. It was always used with discretion, purpose, and meaning. It appears in benedictions, prayers, doxologies,

and other religious parlance. The LORD'S PRAYER, according to some MSS, was concluded with "Amen" (Matt. 6:13), a prevailing custom among Christian churches today. The Synoptic Gospels record fifty-four instances of Jesus' use of the word, all of which are translated "verily" in the KJV (Matt. 31 times; Mk. 14 times; Lk. 9 times). In most of these instances Jesus prefaced some important statement with the term, "Truly, I say to you" (e.g., Matt. 5:18, 26; 6:5; 10:15; 13:17; NIV, "I tell you the truth"). John's gospel alone uses the double form, "Verily, verily I say to you," and does so in every one of the twenty-five times it occurs (e.g., Jn. 1:51; 3:3; 5:19, 24, 25; 12:24; 14:12; et al.). This double use has the force of a superlative. As already seen, some double uses of "Amen" occurred in the OT (Num. 5:22; Neh. 8:6; Pss. 41:13; 72:19; 89:52).

Other writers in the NT employed "Amen" in all its customary uses. Paul favored it in his written benedictions, which sometimes appear in the body of his letters as well as at the end (Rom. 15:33; 16:27; 1 Cor. 16:24; Gal. 6:18; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim. 6:16); following doxologies (Rom. 11:36; Gal. 1:5; Eph. 3:21; Phil 4:20); and similar laudations (1 Tim. 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim. 4:18). Paul found "Amen" to hold a singularly elegant connotation with reference to God (Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor. 1:20). Other NT writers concluded their doxologies with "Amen," usually preceded by the phrase "for ever and ever" (Heb. 13:21; 1 Pet. 4:11; 5:11; 2 Pet. 3:18; Jude 25; Rev. 1:6; 7:12). The author of Hebrews concludes both the benediction and the postscript with "Amen" (Heb. 13:21, 25).

John employs "Amen" nine times in a variety of ways in Revelation, reaching its climactic application in a name for Jesus Christ: "These are the words of the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the ruler of God's creation" (Rev. 3:14). John seems to see the personification of "Amen" in Jesus Christ, who confirms, approves, and supports God in revelation and creation. John mentions three instances in his vision in which the four living creatures said, "Amen," joined in the third instance by the twenty-four elders (5:14; 7:12; 19:4). Appropriately, John concludes Revelation with a repetition of Amen: in response to the Lord's second coming, "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!" and the final benediction, "Amen" (22:20–21). (See *NIDNTT,* 97–99.)

G.B. FUNDERBURK

Amenhotep ah'muhn-hoh'tep. See AKHENATEN.

amethyst. A violet or purple transparent variety of quartz (silicon dioxide) used as an ornamental or gem stone (Heb. *)aḥlāmă H334,* Exod. 28:19; 39:12; Gk. *amethystos G287,* Rev. 21:20). The color is attributed usually to the presence of manganese, or it may be due to organic material. The ancient Egyptians used it as a gem stone and a common use in antiquity was for intaglios. Amethyst occurs either in mineral veins associated with granites or as a lining of hollow AGATE nodules.

D.R. BOWES

Am ha-arez ahm'hah-ahr'ets (עַם הָאָרֶץ *H6639 + H824,* "people of the land"). Also *Am ha-arets;* more properly, *(Am hā)āreṣ*.

I. General designation. Originally the term referred to native dwellers of the land, such as the HITTITES from whom ABRAHAM purchased the cave of MACHPELAH (Gen. 23:9). Each land had its own people (*(am):* Egyptians (Gen. 42:6), Canaanites (Num. 13:28), and Hittites (Gen. 23:7). Many think that the term refers more strictly to the responsible male citizenry who lived on their own land, served in the army, and participated in judicial proceedings and cult festivals. M. H. Pope (in *IDB,*

1:106) finds the limitation inherent in the word *ʿam* in contrast to *gôy H1580,* which refers to the entire population. But *ʿam,* by itself, does not always seem to be used in the narrower sense of landed citizens. Note, for example, its frequent use for the Israelites in Exodus at a time when they all were slaves.

II. Status of the people. Some go so far as to make the *Am ha-arez* of Israel the governing body in the nation (e.g., M. Sulzberger, *Am Ha-aretz: The Ancient Hebrew Parliament* [1909]). Others, under the influence of the later opprobrium attached to the term, consider them poor and ignorant commoners. Neither extreme is clear from the Scriptures. Only once does the OT refer to POVERTY among them. The context is generally one of influence and power, though not necessarily of high government office. It may be simply the power inherent in responsible citizenship.

They who own land have a vital concern in the government. Hebrew law was zealous to protect ownership and inheritance of land, with all the prerogatives, from generation to generation. G. von Rad (*Studies in Deuteronomy* [1953], 63–66) calls the *Am ha-arez* peasant proprietors and credits them with the achievement of partial reform under JOASH (2 Ki. 11:13–18) and fuller restoration under JOSIAH (21:24). They seem to have been the chief support of national independence with all its religious implications. They were the most able to resist treachery and aggression. According to von Rad (*Old Testament Theology* [1962], 2:75), they were the only ones capable of keeping alive and fostering the Yahwistic tradition. They were believers of the old-fashioned kind or, at least, imagined that they were. As the hard core Israel, these people who owned and defended the land were also the special target of foreign powers who levied indemnities and taxes (23:35; 25:18–21).

Various inferences seem to indicate the power and prestige of the *Am ha-arez* throughout most of the biblical times. According to S. Daiches (in *JTS* 30 [1928–29]: 245–48), the best text of Gen. 47:20–21 indicates that JOSEPH took the land from the owners and reduced them to town dwellers. The strength of the statement is in the implied power and position of free landowners. In a sense, every landowner is a lord. Together, they formed a solid block in government. In Israel, it was these responsible citizens against whom the prophets cried out. Good government, pure religion, and sound ethics depended on them in large measure. Their irresponsibility and self-indulgence could spell doom to the nation. Likewise, when NEBUCHADNEZZAR took Jerusalem, the significance of the *Am ha-arez* became apparent. Sixty of them were taken along with priests and rulers to be executed (2 Ki. 25:19). Well-known imperial policy by-passed the weak and common people to transplant or kill only the potential leaders. It appears that the *Am ha-arez* were considered powerful and dangerous.

The people of the land worked and defended the land of the promise.

III. A term of reproach. After the EXILE, the term retained its connotation of responsible citizenry, but the land had fallen to people of mixed origins. They were no longer the conservative custodians of national tradition. Animosities grew between returnees and settlers.

PHARISEES and rabbis elaborated laws and insisted on their universal application. They heaped opprobrium on the careless. The hostility was mutual. *Am ha-arez* became a term of contempt for common people who did not specialize in the law (Jn. 7:49). This use, as preserved in the MISHNAH, almost completely overshadowed the etymological and earlier connotation (a "semantic revolution," according to A. H. Gunneweg in *ZAW* 95 [1983]: 437–40). C. Montefiore (*The Religion of the Ancient Hebrew* [1892], 502) calls the *Am ha-arez* the creation of the burdensome agrarian and purity laws. Some tend to account for the success of the gospel by reference to the Christians' more friendly attitude toward the masses. (See further *ABD,* 1:168–69.)

W.T. DAYTON

Ami ay'm*i* (אֲמִי *H577,* "trustworthy"). See AMON #3.

amillennialism. The view that Christ's millennial kingdom extends from his RESURRECTION to the time of his SECOND COMING on the clouds at the end of this age, when he will judge the living and the dead in one great resurrection of the righteous and the wicked (see also MILLENNIUM; PREMIL-LENNIALISM; POSTMILLENNIALISM). According to this view, the judgment of the sheep and the goats and the great white throne judgment are identical, followed by the eternal kingdom of God. The millennial kingdom of Christ is therefore *now,* both in heaven and on earth. On earth, Christ's kingdom "is not of this world," but he reigns especially in the hearts of his people on earth, and in heaven over the hosts of the redeemed and his holy angels for a "thousand years," the perfect, complete time between the two comings of Christ. It is held that the "binding of Satan" for the thousand years (Rev. 20:2) took place either during his earthly ministry (Matt. 12:29) or at his resurrection from the dead, and that it particularly concerns the inability of SATAN to keep the nations in spiritual darkness (Rev. 20:2–3) as he did before the first coming of Christ. At the end of this present age, Satan is to be released from that restriction, and he will again be permitted to deceive the nations for a short period, until Christ

comes down and defeats him at the battle of ARMAGEDDON (Rev. 19:19; 20:8).

Meanwhile, the souls of believers who have died live and reign with Christ in heaven (Rev. 6:9; 14:13; 20:4). The judgments all take place at the time of the second coming of Christ, when the believers, dead and living, are raptured to meet Christ in the air (1 Thess. 4:17), and all appear before his judgment seat (Rom. 14:10). Perhaps the best picture of the one great judgment is found in 2 Thess. 1:9–10, which states that the wicked will be punished "on the day he comes to be glorified in his holy people." This passage clearly declares that the final judgment occurs at the time of the second coming, not 1,000 years later.

I. Jewish beliefs about the kingdom. The Jews of the time of Christ expected an earthly kingdom of the MESSIAH, much as the premillennialists expect today. Christ clearly taught, however, that after living believers die, they will neither marry (and of course not have children) nor die again, but will be like the angels in heaven (Lk. 20:27–36). That is contrary to the teaching of the premillennialists, who hold that during an earthly millennium believers will marry, have children, and die.

II. The judgment of the sheep and the goats. The premillennialists teach that the judgment of the sheep and the goats takes place at the beginning of the alleged earthly millennium, but Christ taught that the living wicked at that time will be sent to eternal punishment (Matt. 25:46), while the living believers enter at once into glory (25:46) and will not marry, nor have children, nor die after that judgment (Lk. 20:27–36). According to their teaching, the wicked dead will not be raised until after a thousand years, so there would be no source from which Satan could gather the wicked at the final battle (Rev. 20:7–9). This fact clearly shows that the battle of Rev. 20:7–9 must take place before the second coming and is, therefore, identical with the battle of Armageddon (19:19–21).

III. The binding of Satan. The binding of Satan (to prevent his deceiving the nations in the interadventual period) is described in Matt. 12:22–29. Here Jesus says that he cast out demons because he had bound the strong man (Satan). The PHARISEES had said that he cast out demons because he had the power of BEELZEBUB (v. 24), and Jesus then pointed out that if that were the case, Satan's kingdom could not stand (v. 26). Probably the consummation of the binding did not occur until the resurrection of Christ, but Christ could act during the closing period of his ministry as though it had already taken place, since God does not change his mind or his plans.

IV. The parable of the wheat and the tares. The parable of the wheat and the tares (Matt. 13:24–30) was interpreted by Jesus to his disciples (vv. 36–43). He said that his kingdom was in the world. The good seed refers to the children of the kingdom. The weeds were the children of the evil one (Satan). They were to be left together until the judgment at the end of this age, and the weeds (the children of the devil) were to be gathered *before* the wheat (the children of the kingdom) was gathered into the barn (the eternal kingdom of God). Thus Jesus taught that the rapture of believers would not occur until the children of the devil were all gathered into eternal punishment at the time of the final judgment (v. 30). Christ's kingdom is clearly to precede the rapture. The kingdom that follows is the eternal kingdom of God.

V. Interpretation of OT prophecies. One of the principal areas of difference in INTERPRETATION concerns the prophecies in the OT. The premillennialists insist that unless the language is clearly figurative (as in Isa. 55:12, "all the trees of the field will clap their hands") *all* prophecies must be

interpreted literally. They do not believe that many of the prophecies must be interpreted symbolically. They insist that the prophecies of the Messiah sitting on the throne of David demand that a time is coming when the throne of David must be reestablished in Jerusalem, with the Messiah reigning on an earthly throne over the Jews for a thousand years.

Premillennialists believe that the restoration of the temple and the whole sacrificial system, as prophesied in Ezek. 40–48, will take place at the second coming. Such an event, however, would seem to make the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ on the cross null and void. The priesthood would be restored and the duties of the priests reestablished, including the teaching of the distinctions between the clean and unclean foods. Most incongruous of all, the priests would prepare the sacrifice for the prince (who would be the Messiah), as though the sinless Son of God would need a sacrifice! In fact, the many features of the ceremonial law of Moses would be restored, including the CIRCUMCISION of all the men who enter the sanctuary (Ezek. 44:9). The epistle to the GALATIANS was written by Paul to prove that circumcision was no longer necessary for Gentile Christians. This alone should be sufficient to prove that the literal understanding of the Ezekiel prophecies is not the correct method of interpretation.

The whole problem of the interpretation of the Ezekiel temple prophecies is cleared up if we realize that these prophecies in the last eight chapters of the book are symbolical. God wanted the prophet to teach the truth that the ideal spiritual relationship between God and his people is a relationship in which everything centers on the spiritual WORSHIP of the sovereign God! Since in the OT dispensation the only way a person could approach God in worship was through the ceremonies and sacrifices of the Mosaic law, the ideal worship of God at the center of all national and personal relations had to be pictured in terms of the ceremonial law of Moses. That was the only way the people could have understood the theocentric worship God demanded of people.

Treated symbolically, these last chapters of Ezekiel have a tremendous message for Christians today. The worship of God must be at the center of human society (represented in Ezekiel by the city), human government (represented by the prince), and ecclesiastical organization (represented by the priests and Levites). The sovereignty of the triune God should be the center of all life, thought, and action, both public and private. The ideal life is discussed in Ezekiel in symbolic terms of the temple and the nation, pointing out that all the realms must be subordinated to the worship of the sovereign triune God. The sovereignty of God over all realms of life is the ideal of the earthly phase of the kingdom of God. The amillennialist believes that this is the message of these last chapters of Ezekiel, *not* the restoration of an earthly Jewish temple and nation, including the whole Mosaic ceremonial law, in a millennial kingdom in Palestine in the future.

VI. The rod of iron rule of Christ. One of the cardinal features of the premillennial system of interpretation is that when Christ comes and establishes a millennial kingdom with its capital in Jerusalem, he will rule over the nations with a rod of iron (Rev. 2:27; 12:5; 19:15; NIV, "iron scepter"). It teaches that during the millennium the nations will be composed of rebellious people who will be kept from making war on each other by the stern, forceful iron rod rule of the reigning Christ. In these passages the Greek verb is *poimainō G4477,* so the phrase may be translated "act the part of a shepherd with a rod of iron." The OT shepherd in Palestine had two rods: a shepherd's crook to guide the sheep, and an iron-studded club for the protection of the sheep from wild animals. Shepherding the sheep would thus be killing the enemies of the sheep with the rod of iron. Instead of the shepherd using the rod of iron to make the sheep obey him, he would use it to protect them from the wild animals. What these passages mean, then, is that when Christ comes again he will destroy all

our enemies "with the rod of iron." There is, therefore, no indication that any wicked people will be left on earth after the second coming. If there were a millennium after his return, there would be no wicked people for Satan to gather at the end of that age to make war on the saints (Christians).

VII. The interpretation of Rev. 20. The principal NT basis for the belief in a thousand-year millennial reign of Christ on earth after his return is Rev. 20, the only place in the Bible where the thousand-year reign on earth is mentioned. Is that chapter to be interpreted literally as teaching that there is such a reign on earth *after* Christ's return? Or is there an indication that the thousand-year reign precedes the second coming?

The most logical outline of Revelation would divide the book into seven sections that picture the present age in symbolic language. But instead of being successive, each of the seven sections seems to be describing the present age from different aspects, all seven dealing with the *same time period,* the period from the resurrection of Christ to the final judgment. The last period actually goes beyond the present age into the eternal age, though beginning at the first coming. The reason the book of the Revelation has always seemed so difficult to interpret is that Christians have failed to notice two things: (1) that the whole book is symbolic, and (2) that each section *covers the same time period,* namely from the first coming of Christ to the end of time.

According to this point of view, then, the seventh section covers the *whole present age.* It begins with a symbolic picture of the binding of Satan. Satan is a spirit and could not be bound by a literal chain of iron or brass or any other metal. It clearly must refer to the *limitation of the power of Satan* in some way. That way is described in Rev. 20:3: "to keep him from deceiving the nations anymore" until just before the end of this present age, when his power to deceive the nations is restored for a little time. It is not said that he will not be able to tempt people, and assuredly he does. He is to be prevented from continuing national deception. Before the coming of Christ the nations of the world were all in the darkness of heathenism, under the control of the deceptive powers of the devil, as nations. At the coming of Christ the nations "saw a great light." From that time onward the light of the gospel began to spread over the whole world. Most people do not realize how widespread the gospel was during the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ.

The souls of Rev. 20:4 cannot be reigning with Christ in human bodies, for they were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus and did not worship the beast. The amillennialist believes that those disembodied souls reign with Christ for the thousand years. Where? In heaven. But is their reign limited to only a literal thousand years? No. The thousand years is the symbolic period between the two comings of Christ.

As for the "first" resurrection (Rev. 20:5), it must refer to the spiritual resurrection of the souls dead in sins at the time of their new birth. In Jn. 5:24–25 this spiritual resurrection from sin is contrasted with the bodily resurrection in 5:28. It is mentioned also in Eph. 2:4–6; 5:14; Col. 2:12. The first resurrection is the spiritual resurrection of the soul that had been dead in sins, and the second resurrection is the resurrection of the body. The first DEATH is the death of the body, and the second death is spiritual—eternal punishment.

The release of Satan (Rev. 20:7) at the close of this present age refers to the national deception that besets the worldly nations of the earth just before the end of this age. Suddenly the non-Christian nations will reject all gospel missionaries and all gospel preaching at the instigation of Satan, and they will all be gathered in the final assault against the living Christians. Then Christ will come in the clouds and send fire from heaven to destroy them all, followed by the judgment of the great white throne, which is identical with the judgment of the sheep and the goats of Matt. 25, and also with the

judgment of 2 Thess. 1:9.

At about the same time the general resurrection of the bodies of all people will take place; the righteous will be raptured and their bodies will be made like the glorified body of Christ. The wicked unbelievers will all be sent into eternal punishment, while the believers in Christ and all God's elect of all history will enter eternal life in the eternal kingdom of God, which will be established in the new heavens and the new earth in which righteousness dwells. (See further F. E. Hamilton, *The Basis of Millennial Faith* [1942]; R. G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* [1977]; A. Hoekema, *The Bible and the Future* [1979]; K. Riddlebarger, A *Case for Amillennialism: Understanding the End Times* [2003].)

F. E. HAMILTON

Aminadab uh-min'uh-dab. KJV NT form of AMMINADAB.

Amittai uh-mit'*i* (אֲמִתַּי *H624,* "faithful"). Father of the prophet JONAH, from GATH HEPHER in the tribal territory of ZEBULUN (2 Ki. 14:25; Jon. 1:1).

Ammah am'uh (אַמָּה *H565,* prob. "[water] canal"; cf. METHEG AMMAH). A hill near GIAH in BENJAMIN, somewhere E of GIBEON, where JOAB and ABISHAI halted in their pursuit of ABNER and his forces (2 Sam. 2:24). The site has not been identified.

Amman ah-mahn'. The capital city of the modern country of Jordan. See RABBAH.

Ammi am'*i* (עַמִּי [from עַם *H6639*], "my people"). The new name to be applied to Israel in the time of restoration (Hos. 2:1; NIV, "My people"), in contrast to rejected Israel, called LO -AMMI, "Not my people," the name given to HOSEA'S third child by GOMER (1:9). On the use of the term Ammi to form compound names, see AMMON.

Ammidians uh-mid'ee-uhns (Αμμιδιοι). A family that returned from the Babylonian captivity under ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:20; KJV, "Ammidoi"; the name is omitted in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Neh. 7).

Ammiel am'ee-uhl (עַמִּיאֵל *H6653*, "my kinsman is God"). (1) Son of Gemalli, of the tribe of DAN; one of the twelve spies sent by MOSES into Canaan (Num. 13:12).

(2) Father of MAKIR, in whose house MEPHIBOSHETH was hidden from DAVID (2 Sam. 9:4–5). Makir later befriended David (17:27).

(3) Father of BATHSHEBA, a wife of David and the mother of SOLOMON (1 Chr. 3:5 NIV; the NRSV, following most MSS, has "Bath-shua, daughter of Ammiei"). Elsewhere he is called ELIAM (2 Sam. 11:3; note that the two names have the same meaning, but with the components reversed).

(4) Sixth son of OBED-EDOM, whose family took care of the South Gate of the TEMPLE and the storehouse in the time of David (1 Chr. 26:5, 15).

Ammihud uh-m*i*'huhd (עַמִּיהוּד *H6654*, "my kinsman is glorious" or "my people have majesty"). (1) Father of ELISHAMA; the latter was head of the tribe of EPHRAIM during the sojourn in the

wilderness (Num. 1:10; 2:18; 7:48, 53; 10:22). Ammihud is listed in the genealogy of JOSHUA (1 Chr. 7:26).

(2) Father of Shemuel, who was one of the leaders of the tribe of SIMEON appointed by MOSES to help divide the land of Canaan (Num. 34:20).

(3) Father of Pedahel, who was one of the leaders of the tribe of NAPHTALI appointed by Moses to help divide the land of Canaan (Num. 34:28).

(4) Father of TALMAI, king of GESHUR, to whom ABSALOM fled after the murder of his brother AMNON (2 Sam. 13:37, where the *Ketib* reading is Ammihur).

(5) Son of Omri and father of Uthai; listed among leaders from the tribe of JUDAH who were the first to resettle after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:4).

Amminadab uh-min'uh-dab (עַמִּינָדָב *H6657,* "my kinsman is noble" or "my people are generous"; μιναδάβ *G300*). (1) Father of NAHSHON, who was the head of a family in the tribe of JUDAH (Num. 1:7; 2:3; 7:12, 17; 10:14). Amminadab was also the father of ELISHEBA, the wife of AARON (Exod. 6:23). He descended from PEREZ, Judah's son (Gen. 38:29; 46:12), was an ancestor of DAVID (Ruth 4:19–20), and is included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:4; Lk. 3:33).

(2) The name Amminadab is listed in the MT of 1 Chr. 6:22 (= v. 7 in MT and LXX), possibly by textual corruption, as a son of KOHATH (who was a son of LEVI) and as the father of KORAH. However, according to vv. 37–38 (and in Exod. 6:18, 21; cf Num. 3:19), Kohaths son who fathered Korah was IZHAR (the reading of some MSS of the LXX in 1 Chr. 6:22).

(3) The head of the Levitical family of UZZIEL; he helped to bring the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Jerusalem in David's time (1 Chr. 15:10–12).

(4) According to the SEPTUAGINT, Amminadab was the name of ESTHER'S father, but the MT reading, ABIHAIL, is probably correct (Esth. 2:15; 9:29).

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Amminadib uh-min'uh-dib (עַמִּי־נָדִיב [from עַם *H6639* + נָדִיב *H5618]*, "my people are noble" or "my kinsman is generous willing"). A name found only in an obscure passage, "my soul made me *like* the chariots of Amminadib" (Cant. 6:12 KJV). However, the NIV interprets the term as two common nouns and renders, "my desire set me among the royal chariots of my people" (similarly NRSV, "my fancy set me in a chariot beside my prince").

Ammishaddai am-i-shad'*i* (עַמִּישַׁדַּי *H6659,* "Shaddai is my kinsman"). The father of Ahiezer, who was a leader of the tribe of DAN in the wilderness journey (Num. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66, 71; 10:25).

Ammizabad uh-miz'uh-bad (עַמִּיזָבָד *H6655*, "my kinsman has bestowed"). Son of BENAIAH; the latter was one of DAVID'S bodyguards and captain of the elite Thirty, while Ammizabad was in charge of the division led by his father (1 Chr. 27:6).

Ammon am'uhn (עַמּוֹן *H6648*, derivation uncertain; gentilic עַמּוֹנִי *H6649*, "Ammonite"). An ancient nation in TRANSJORDAN.

I. Name. According to Gen. 19:38, LOT'S younger daughter gave birth to a child by her own father

and named him BEN-AMMI; he was the ancestor of the Ammonites. It is clear that the child's name offers an explanation for the ethnic name *ʿammônî* (or *bĕnê ʿammôn)*. The proper translation of the name Ben-Ammi is not clear. Some render it "son of my people," others "son of my paternal uncle [or paternal clan]." Also possible would be the interpretation of Ammi as a divine name or epithet.

Given the narrative context of Gen. 19, however, the name could mean only "son of my own father." The uncompounded name Ammi does not occur elsewhere in the OT, although its compounds can be cited. LO-AMMI is the symbolic name given by the prophet HOSEA to his son (Hos. 1:9). Among other compounds one can cite AMMIEL, AMMIHUD, AMMINADAB, AMMISHADDAI, and AMMIZABAD. Of these, all but the second example can quite convincingly demonstrate the primary reference of Ammi to God (or a god). The bare element (or its extension Ammiyan, hence Ammon) represents merely an abbreviated or hypocoristic form of the longer compounds. In such compound names the first element probably means "[divine] kinsman/ protector." In the context of Gen. 19 the daughter regarded her widowed father as her only protector; hence, the name Ben-Ammi. The compounded form *bnʿmy*, with the variant *bnʿmyn*, is found in the texts from UGARIT as a personal name.

In the MARI texts (c. 1780 B.C.), where the W Semitic *ʿayin* was spelled with the cuneiform  , one finds compounded names such as Hamma-El (cf. OT Ammiel), Hammi-Andulli, Hammi-Shagish, Hammi-Ishtamar (cf. the Ugaritic royal name ʿAmmishtamru), Hammi-Tilu, Hammu-Rāpiʾ, and Hammu-Tar, along with the hypocoristic Hammānu (= Heb. Ammon!). In the TELL EL-AMARNA tablets (c. 1400–1300 B.C.) the following example occurs: ʿAmmu-nīra, Prince of Beirut. In the ALALAKH tablets a mayor bears the name ʿAmmīya, and other Ammi names are: ʿAmmī-tābā, ʿAmmīya-Haddu, ʿAmmī-taqum, ʿAmmu-Hadda (OT Ammihud?), and ʿAmmu-Rāpiʾ. Both the forms ʿAmmān and ʿAmmīyān occur as personal names. Although the long *a* in the final syllable of the name ʿAmmān had shifted to long *o* in the Hebrew speech, it remained *a* in Ammonite speech, as heard by the Assyrians in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. They called the land *Bīt-Ammānay* ("house of *Ammānay")* or *māt ban Ammānay* ("land of the *ban-Ammanay*").

II. Origin and ethnic affiliation. As noted above, the OT account in Gen. 19 places the origin of the Ammonites and Moabites (see MOAB) in southern Transjordan at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. Both groups spoke languages closely related to Hebrew, and intermarriage between Hebrews and Moabites (RUTH'S sons) and Hebrews and Ammonites (2 Chr. 12:13; 24:26) indicates that communication between these groups and the Israelites to the W was never any problem. Many Ammonite and Moabite personal names have striking parallels in early Arabic, suggesting that strong influence was brought to bear upon them from the oasis towns to the SE. Since Transjordan was settled by groups that recently had adopted sedentary ways, it is likely that a large proportion of the population was related to nomadic groups such as the Midianites (see MIDIAN).

At the time of the Israelite entrance into Canaan under MOSES, three primary groups occupied Transjordan: the Ammonites in the area surrounding the later capital Rabbath-Ammon (see RABBAH), probably extending no further W than the settlement of JAZER, the AMORITE kingdom of HESHBON located between Ammon and Moab, and the Moabites whose northern border must at that time have been the ARNON River. In addition, to the N of Ammon was the kingdom of BASHAN, ruled by King OG. The territories of Ammon and Moab were left untouched by the Israelites; but the kingdoms of Bashan and Heshbon were conquered. Ammon was left as a peninsula of land, jutting out into the

"sea" of former Amorite territory to the N, W and S, recently conquered by Moses and the Israelites. These three groups (Amorites, Ammonites, and Moabites) were doubtless related in some manner, but precisely how is unknown.

Little is known about the religion of Ammon other than the name of its national god, MILCOM. The forms *milkōm, malkam*, and *mōlek* appear to be three alternate variants of his name. All contain the common Semitic noun *mlk*, "king." It has been suggested that the final *m* in the name is the possessive pronoun "their," and that the name means "their king." If so, the name finds a near parallel in that of the god of the city of Nesha in central Asia Minor c. 1800 B.C., *Siu-summi* ("their god"). (See further D.I. Block in AUSS 22 [1984]: 197–212.)

III. History of Ammon

A. Earliest history attested in OT (c. 1250–1100 B.C.). In the middle decades of the 13th cent. B.C., while the Israelites under Moses and Joshua were passing through Transjordan on their way to Canaan, the OT attests the presence of an organized political kingdom of the Ammonites (Num. 21:24; Deut. 2:19–21, 37; 3:16), whose land Yahweh refused to give to the tribes of Israel. This land is said to have belonged long before to a group named the Zamzummites (Deut. 2:20), whom the Ammonites dispossessed. That Ammon should not have been mentioned in the Song of Moses (Exod. 15) or the Oracles of Balaam (Num. 23; 24) does not mean that it did not yet exist. In the former poem only Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Canaan are numbered among the trembling foes. Powers to the N of Moab are simply ignored. No mention is made of Bashan or Heshbon either, yet one may not discount their organized existence at this time. Likewise, in the Oracles of Balaam the countries mentioned are not intended to exhaust the known powers of the area; Canaan, Philistia, the Amorite kingdoms, nor Ammon are included. Not long after the initial settlement of the tribes in Israel, Ammon appears as a military ally of Eglon, king of Moab. The Ammonite troops assisted the Moabites in their attempt to regain former Moabite territory at the northern end of the Dead Sea, including Jericho ("the City of Palms," Jdg. 3:13).

B. The Ammonite War with Jephthah the Gileadite (c. 1100–1020 B.C.). Excavation reveals that during the 11th cent. the Ammonites had fortified their borders with structures in the megalithic style. Judges records: "For eighteen years they oppressed all the Israelites on the east side of the Jordan in Gilead, the land of the Amorites. The Ammonites also crossed the Jordan to fight against Judah, Benjamin and the house of Ephraim; and

Ammon.

Israel was in great distress" (Jdg. 10:8–9). The inhabitants of GILEAD sought and found an able leader in JEPHTHAH, the bastard son of Gilead and a harlot (11:1). After making a compact with the elders of Gilead, Jephthah gathered his army and defeated the Ammonites (11:32–33). Since the victory was a decisive one, it was not necessary for Jephthah to conduct any campaign W of the Jordan against Ammonite settlements. It is of interest that the unnamed king of the Ammonites claimed Israel had taken away Ammonite land when it conquered the territory between the Arnon and JABBOK Rivers (11:13).

C. Ammonites in the period of Saul (c. 1020–1000 B.C.). A new Ammonite king, named NAHASH, came to power c. 1020 B.C., determined to reassert Ammonite power over the Israelite settlements to the E of the Jordan. He chose as the target of his campaign the town of JABESH GILEAD, whose citizens offered to make a treaty with him, something he refused except on the cruelest of terms—the gouging out of the right eye of every citizen (1 Sam. 11:1–2). Given seven days in which to make their decision, the citizens of Jabesh sent an embassy to GIBEAH of SAUL, seeking military aid from the Benjamites there (v. 4). Saul heeded their plea and sent messengers throughout the tribes demanding "volunteers" for his muster (v. 7). The volunteers came to a rendezvous at BEZEK, N of SHECHEM in the hills of MANASSEH. Leading 330,000 men (v. 8), Saul assaulted the camp of the Ammonites with three separate attack columns and took no prisoners from his victory. All who were not killed were scattered (v. 11) according to the principles of holy war. Later in his reign (14:47–48) Saul fought further battles with the Transjordanian peoples who raided the Israelite settlements (Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites).

D. Ammon as a vassal state under David and Solomon (c. 1000–922 B.C.). During the years of Saul's pursuit of DAVID, at least one Ammonite soldier threw in his lot with the young Judean (ZELEK the Ammonite, 2 Sam. 23:37). King Nahash, who had fought with Saul, was inclined to be friendly with his successor David both before and after his accession to the Israelite throne. When Nahash

died and his son HANUN succeeded to the throne, David sent an embassy to express both his sadness at the passing of Nahash and his joy at the accession of his son Hanun. The intentions of this embassy, however, were questioned by Hanun's advisers, who maintained it had been sent to spy and plan the conquest of Ammon (2 Sam. 10:1–3; 1 Chr. 19:1–3). Hanun ordered them to be shorn of half their beards and the lower half of their garments, exposing them to shame and ridicule (2 Sam. 10:4–5; 1 Chr. 19:4–5). This was an affront calculated to bring on a war. The Ammonites sent for military aid from the Aramean states of SYRIA (see ARAM): BETH REHOB, MAACAH, TOB, ZOBAH. With a payment of 1,000 talents of silver, Hanun was able to recruit 33,000 foot soldiers (2 Sam. 10:6) and 32,000 chariots (1 Chr. 19:7).

The native troops of Ammon deployed about the gate of the capital city (2 Sam. 10:8; 1 Chr. 19:9), while their Aramean mercenaries deployed themselves in the vicinity of the Reubenite town of MEDEBA to the S of the capital. David's generalissimo, JOAB, decided upon a plan of attack. He would personally command the crack troops of his army and attack the Aramean companies to the S in Medeba, while sending his brother ABISHAI at the head of the rest of the Israelite army to fight the Ammonites at Rabbah (2 Sam. 10:9–12; 1 Chr. 19:10–13). The strategy succeeded. Joab and the elite corps soon put the Arameans to rout, thus thoroughly demoralizing the Ammonite army, which quickly retired from the battlefield to the safety of the walled capital city. The fleeing Arameans sought further assistance from SHOBACH and HADAREZER, Aramean leaders from beyond the EUPHRATES River (2 Sam. 10:15–16; 1 Chr. 19:16). But David launched an over-powering expeditionary force against the Arameans, forcing Hadadezer and his vassal kings to submit and become the vassals of David (2 Sam. 10:19).

The following year David sent Joab again at the head of a massive army to ravage the Ammonite countryside and put the capital under siege (2 Sam. 11:1; 1 Chr. 20:1). When Joab had besieged the capital for many months and had finally captured its water supply ("the city of waters," 2 Sam. 12:27 KJV), he sent word to David, notifying him that the capitulation of the city was imminent and that the king should come at once to assume command of the besieging forces, in order to preside over the capture of the Ammonite capital (12:28). David arrived and was in command at the fall of Rabbah.

With the fall of its capital and the transfer of the golden crown of its king to the head of David (2 Sam. 12:29–31), Ammon became another Israelite vassal state. During the remainder of the reign of David and that of SOLOMON, the Ammonites were governed through a viceroy from among the old royal family. When David took refuge from ABSALOM in MAHANAIM in Transjordan (2 Sam. 17), he was supported by SHOBI, the son of Nahash from Rabbah of the Ammonites (17:27). Probably it was from this same Nahashite line that Solomon's Ammonitess wife, NAAMAH, was chosen. She became the mother of REHOBOAM, the next king (1 Ki. 14:21, 31; 2 Chr. 12:13). Thus Ammonite blood was introduced into the Israelite royal family, as the blood of Ruth the Moabitess had already entered the line before the birth of King David (Ruth 4:13–22).

E. Ammon during the period of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (c. 900–580 B.C.). Shortly after the division of the kingdom of Solomon in 925 B.C. and the devastating campaigns through Palestine c. 924 by SHISHAK, king of Egypt, who passed through Ammonite terrain when he touched at SUCCOTH and ZAPHON on his way N to BETH SHAN, the Ammonites declared their independence from Israel and Judah. Some time later a king arose in Ammon bearing the same name as the third king of the northern kingdom, BAASHA. He hailed from Beth Rehob and was a member of the twelve-king alliance headed up by AHAB of Israel and HADADEZER of DAMASCUS to oppose the westward march of the Assyrian king SHALMANESER III in 853 B.C. His contribution to the alliance consisted of

several thousand foot soldiers. The league succeeded in halting Shalmaneser, whereupon its members dispersed and resumed their jockeying among themselves for local power.

Shortly thereafter the Ammonites allied themselves with other Transjordanian powers (Moab and perhaps the MEUNITES, although the text, 2 Chr. 20:1, reads "Ammonites" instead of "Meunites") against JEHOSHAPHAT of Judah. The reason for their attack is not stated in the biblical account (20:1–30). Jehoshaphat had fought beside Ahab against Transjordanians in the battle of RAMOTH GILEAD (1 Ki. 20:1–34; 22:1–40; 2 Chr. 18:1–34), which did not earn for him the love of the Ammonites and Moabites. He had reinstated Judah's rule over Edom in the S and attempted to restore maritime trade at EZION GEBER (1 Ki. 22:48–50;

The Citadel in Amman is considered the most ancient part of the city. Ruins of the temple of Hercules built in honor of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (reigned A.D. 161–80) stand where David once sent Joab to besiege the city.

2 Chr. 20:35–37); both actions perhaps threatened Moabite and Ammonite control over trade routes to the E of the Jordan. All of this doubtless contributed to the animosity of the Transjordanian powers against the king of Judah. At some time during the short reign of AHAZIAH of Israel (c. 850–849 B.C.) the Ammonites, Moabites, and Meunites attacked Judah. The attack was not a concerted drive to conquer, but was rather in the nature of a raid. In a daring move the invaders crossed the Dead Sea at the ford opposite MASADA, climbed one of the difficult but short ascents into the heart of the Judean hills, and camped in the vicinity of EN GEDI, also called HAZAZON TAMAR (2 Chr. 20:1–2).

When word reached Jehoshaphat, he turned to God for help in his consternation (2 Chr. 20:3–12). Assured by the Lord's promise of victory through the prophet JAHAZIEL (20:13–19), the Judean force marched S from Jerusalem through BETHLEHEM and TEKOA to the Wilderness of Tekoa. The enemy armies were making their way up the Ascent of ZIZ to the Wilderness of JERUEL. When they were suddenly set upon by Judean ambushers, the Moabite and Ammonite columns panicked and fought mistakenly against their allies, the Meunites from Mount SEIR (20:20–23). Their demise was total.

When Ahaziah of Israel died and was succeeded by JEHORAM, Jehoshaphat of Judah joined him in an expedition against Moab (2 Ki. 3:4–27). Because MESHA of Moab had so heavily fortified the approach to his kingdom from the N with fortresses at BEZER, NEBO, KIRIATHAIM, BETH BAAL MEON,

MEDEBA, and ATAROTH, the kings of Israel and Judah chose to circumvent the southern tip of the Dead Sea, attack the "soft underbelly" of Moab at HORONAIM, and drive on from there to KIR HARESETH. They were able to secure the services of the prophet ELISHA on the expedition. After seven days of traveling, the caravan found no water holes and were faced with a critical situation. According to a promise from God through Elisha, a sudden flood of water came down a dry WADI from the direction of Edom and saved them (3:20). The march resumed and the battle was joined in Horonaim, where the Moabites were put to flight. Cutting off all the water supply of the enemy in the vicinity, the Israelite army laid siege to the walled city of Kir Hareseth. The king of Moab in the direst emergency offered his eldest son as a human sacrifice to his god CHEMOSH on the city wall in full view of the enemy. Demoralized by the sight, the Israelites withdrew to their land.

After the humbling of Moab, their northern neighbors the Arameans pushed southward to the Arnon River (2 Ki. 10:32–33). The Ammonites doubtless helped these Arameans in the effort to fill the vacuum left by a failing Moab and to keep out Israel and Judah's influence in the E. When the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.) imposed tribute on some of Aram's dependencies, Ammon seems to have been left alone and continued to control Gilead until c. 750 B.C.

The accessions of JEROBOAM II of Israel and UZZIAH (Azariah) of Judah c. 785 B.C. ushered in an era of prosperity and expansion for both kingdoms. The Assyrians had first broken the power of the Arameans of Damascus and then retired to the E themselves, leaving Transjordan to fend for itself against its former masters on the W bank of the river. Uzziah, for his part, was able to regain control over "the Arabs who lived in Gur Baal," as well as over the Meunites and Ammonites (2 Chr. 26:7–8). This must have seemed to Amos, who prophesied during the reign of Uzziah, the beginning of the fulfillment of God's word through him against Ammon for its cruelties against the people of Gilead (Amos 1:13–15).

After Uzziah died (c. 741 B.C.), his son and successor JOTHAM had to put down an attempted rebellion by a king of the Ammonites (2 Chr. 27:5–6). Jotham received from Ammon an annual tribute after that of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 cor of wheat, and 10,000 cor of barley. In 732 the Assyrian king TIGLATH-PILESER III deposed PEKAH, king of Israel, and made HOSHEA of Israel an Assyrian vassal. In the same year the Assyrians crushed Damascus and her king REZIN. All of the Syro-Palestinian states fell into line and rendered tribute, including AHAZ of Judah (2 Ki. 16:7–8; 2 Chr. 28:16, 21).

This statue of the Ammonite king Yerah ʿAzar, discovered at the Amman Citadel, dates to the end of the 8th cent. B.C.

All of the Transjordanian states and their native dynasts (Shanip of Ammon, Shalaman of Moab, Kaʾus-malak of Edom) paid tribute.

Shortly after SARGON II of Assyria died (c. 705 B.C.), rebellions in the W brought his successor SENNACHERIB (c. 704–681) to quell the potentially dangerous situation (c. 701). During this campaign Sennacherib received tribute and submission from the Transjordanian states and their dynasts: Buduili (Bodʾel?) of Ammon, Ayarammu of Edom, and Kammushu-nadbi (Chemosh-nadab) of Moab. The same king Buduili is mentioned in the annals of the Assyrian kings ESARHADDON (681–669) and ASHURBANIPAL (668–633, but not mentioned after 667). A building inscription of Esarhaddon's mentions Buduili of Ammon as supplying materials for the royal palace at NINEVEH. A letter written to Esarhaddon himself informs us that the Ammonites paid a larger amount of tribute (two minas of gold) than either Moab or Judah, which suggests that renewed Ammonite control over the Transjordanian trade routes had raised her level of prosperity above that of her neighbors. About the year 667, Buduili died and was succeeded by ʿAmmi-nadab, whose name appears in a cylinder of Ashurbanipal among those twenty-two kings of the seacoast who paid tribute to the Assyrian in the course of his campaign against Egypt in 667. Archaeological findings in Ammon from the period of the 7th cent. suggest that Ammonite officials of this period enjoyed a higher standard of living than Judah under MANASSEH, AMON, and the first years of JOSIAH.

As the power of Assyria began to wane at the end of the 7th cent. (c. 630–615 B.C.), rebellious Arab tribes of the Syrian Desert began to harass Ammonite borders. After the fall of Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, in 612, it would seem that the Ammonites moved into territory formerly held by the

kingdom of Israel (cf. Jer. 49:1–6; Zeph. 2:8–11), in particular cities that had once belonged to the tribe of Gad—probably MEPHAATH, HESHBON, BETH PEOR, BETH JESHIMOTH, KIRIATHAIM, and MEDEBA, and possibly all the cities as far S as the Arnon River. It is not likely that the Ammonites at this time controlled Gilead or that stretch of land between Jazer and the Jordan River. Rather, Josiah of Judah seems to have gained control of this former Assyrian province. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, in 599 NEBUCHADNEZZAR II (c. 605–562) led troops into Syria and from there sent raiding parties into the desert to attack the Arabs. During the reign of JEHOIAKIM of Judah (609–598), Nebuchadnezzar sent raiding parties of Arameans, Moabites, and Ammonites against Judean territory (2 Ki. 24:2), particularly Transjordanian Judean territory. Thus the Ammonites, in return for Babylonian defense against the Arabs, helped to harass Judah.

In 593, however, during the reign of ZEDEKIAH of Judah, Ammon joined with Edom, Moab, TYRE, and SIDON in a conspiracy meeting at Jerusalem to rebel against BABYLON (Jer. 27:3). Jeremiah warned the assembled envoys that God would bring their plan to naught (vv.4–11). The rebels were encouraged by an Egyptian promise of support, but it never materialized and the attempt failed. Nebuchadnezzar sacked Jerusalem and deported thousands of its leading citizens. Ammon did not receive the same crushing blow from Babylon yet. In fact, some Judeans took refuge in Ammon, including ISHMAEL son of Nethaniah (41:1), who fell under the influence of BAALIS, king of Ammon, and plotted with him to assassinate the Judean collaborationist governor Gedaliah (40:14). The assassination succeeded (41:2–3, 15), but whatever hopes Baalis might have had of reviving Judah under Ammonite domination were dashed by another punitive expedition by Nebuchadnezzar, during which he sacked Rabbah and deported many Ammonites. (A seal discovered at Tell Umeiri refers to Baalis as Baal-Yasha. Cf. the articles by L. G. Herr and R. W. Younker in *BA* 48 [1985]: 169–80.) Into the vacuum that remained poured the Arab invaders who were called "sons of the east" (*bĕnêqedem;* see EAST, CHILDREN OF THE). This marked the end of the autonomous Ammonite state. Ammon remained a camping ground for Arabs until c. 530 B.C., when the Persians assumed control over the former Babylonian provinces in the W.

During the time of NEHEMIAH (c. 445–433 B.C.) there lived a certain TOBIAH, the head of a Jewish enclave in Ammon, who is called an Ammonite official (*ʿebed H6269*, Neh. 2:10, 19; 4:3, 7; et al.). Since a Libyanite inscription mentions a certain "ʿAbd, the governor," who seems to have been the Persian governor of Ammon and DEDAN, the above mentioned formula mentioning Tobiah *may* be a spelling error for "Tobiah *and ʿAbd* the Ammonite." Tobiah would have been the Jewish assistant to the governor ʿAbd. This Tobiah may have been the first in a long line of Tobiahs whose home was ʿAraq el-Emir, where the family tombs have been found (however, see H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, WBC 16 [1985], 183.

(See further H. L. Ginsberg in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* [1950], 347–68; N. Glueck, *The Other Side of Jordan*, rev. ed. [1970]; R. H. Dornemann, *The Archaeology of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages* [1983]; A. Hadidi, ed., *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 3 vols. [1982–87]; R. G. Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan* [1988]; R. W. Younker in *Peoples of the Old Testament World*, ed. A.J. Hoerth et al. [1994], 293–316; B. MacDonald and R. W. Younker, eds., *Ancient Ammon* [1999]; R. W. Younker in *The Near East in the Southwest: Essays in Honor of William G. Dever*, ed. B. A. Nakhai, AASOR 58 [2003], 153–76.)

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Amnon am'non (אַמְנוֹן *H596*, "faithful"). (1) Firstborn son of DAVID by AHINOAM (2 Sam. 3:2; 1 Chr. 3:1). He dishonored his half sister TAMAR and was subsequently slain (2 Sam. 13). See discussion under ABSALOM.

(2) Son of Shimon and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:20).

Amok ay'mok (עֵמוֹק *H6651*, "deep" or "wise"). A leader among the priests who returned from EXILE with ZERUBBABEL and JESHUA; Amok's son or descendant Eber was head of his family in the time of JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:7, 20; cf. v. 12).

Amon am'uhn (אָמוֹן *H571* [אָמֹן in 1 Ki. 22:26], "faithful"; Ἀμών *G321)*. (1) Son of MANASSEH and fifteenth king of Judah; the brief accounts of this monarch's two-year reign are in 2 Ki. 21:18–26 and 2 Chr. 33:20–25. His father Manasseh had been an exceptionally wicked king before he "knew that the LORD is God" and repented (2 Chr. 33:12–13; the account in 2 Kings does not contain a record of Manasseh's conversion). The biblical description of Amon is: "He did evil in the eyes of the LORD, as his father Manasseh had done" (2 Ki. 21:20; 2 Chr. 33:22). The text, without giving a reason, tells us that his officials "conspired against him and assassinated the king in his palace" (v. 24). This dastardly deed did not have popular support, for one reads next that "the people of the land killed all who had plotted against King Amon, and they made Josiah his son king in his place" (v. 25). JOSIAH was both a good king and one who lived long. Many speculate that Manasseh converted too late in life to have any effect on the evil Amon, but Josiah, the grandson, was influenced for the good. Josiah would have been six years old when Manasseh died, and eight when his father Amon died. Amon is included in Matthew's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:10, where the NRSV reads "Amos" *[Amōs]*, the form found in the earliest Gk. MSS and other important witnesses; because this form is also a variant reading in the SEPTUAGINT, Matthew may have used it deliberately).

(2) Governor of the city of SAMARIA who was ordered by AHAB king of Israel to put MICAIAH the prophet in prison (1 Ki. 22:26; 2 Chr. 18:25; the LXX gives his name as *Emēr*).

(3) One of SOLOMON'S servants whose descendants returned from EXILE under ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 7:59); called Ami in one parallel passage (Ezra 2:57) and possibly Allon in another (1 Esd. 5:34, where CODEX VATICANUS has *Allōn*, but Rahlfs and others emend to *Amōn*).

(4) The name of an Egyptian deity (*)āmôn H572*) who resided at No (meaning "the city," i.e., THEBES, Jer. 46:25; KJV renders this as "the multitude of No"). Often spelled Amun or Amen. In Nah. 3:8, "Thebes" is a translation of *nō))āmôn H5531* (lit., "the city of Amon"; KJV, "populous No"). Since Amon, the king of Judah, bore this name—which is one of relatively few Hebrew names with no Semitic divine element incorporated into it—some scholars have connected him with this Egyptian deity. This supposition is strengthened in the light of the unorthodoxy of Amon's father, Manasseh. The Thebian god Amon, a fertility deity, was often pictured having elements of sacred animals (the ram and the goose). When Thebes became the capital of Egypt, Amon was connected with RE, the sun god. Amon-Re(thus came to be worshiped as the supreme god. (Cf. *DDD*, 28–32). See EGYPT VII.

R. L. ALDEN

Amoraim (pl. of אֲמוֹרָה [from אָמַר *H609*, "to say"], "speaker, interpreter"). Title given to the rabbinic authorities that lived during the 3rd–6th centuries (contrast TANNAIM). It thus refers to the scholars primarily responsible for the interpretation of the MISHNAH and the formation of the TALMUD.

Amorite am'uh-rit (אֱמֹרִי *H616*, prob. "westerner"). In the biblical narrative, this term refers to one of the ethnic groups that inhabited CANAAN prior to the Israelite conquest.

I. Name. The Akkadian term *amurrû* served to render the Sumerian *mar-tu.* Both are often translated as "westerner(s)." While this seems adequate as an explanation of the name from the viewpoint of Babylonia, it fails to explain either the use of the name by the Amorites themselves (why would they call themselves "westerners"?) or its application to them by other western peoples such as the Hebrews. It seems preferable to admit that we do not know the original "meaning" of the designation *amurrû.* Certain groups that moved about on the fringes of the Syrian desert in the early 2nd millennium B.C. called themselves by this name. It was heard by the settled peoples to the E, who then employed it as a general designation for western nomads and westerners in general.

II. The Amorites in extrabiblical sources. According to a chronicle dated c. 2360 B.C., Sargon the Great of AKKAD sent an expedition far to the NW

The land of the Amorites.

to the land of Amurru in order to procure materials for his building projects. The chronicle that records this act of the eleventh (some think third) year of his reign says that he "conquered the country of the West, in its full extent…He established there a central government (lit.: he made its mouth be one). He erected his stelae in the West. Their booty…he ferried over on rafts" (*ANET*, 266). Various omen texts confirm this chronicle: "he went to the land of Amurru, defeated it, and his hand reached over the four regions (of the world)"; and again: "he went to the land of Amurru…smote it for the second time (and) his warriors…brought him forth from the midst." If Sargon made two expeditions to the W, one may have been in his third year and the other in his eleventh. Just where this land of Amurru was can be determined by the spots the king visited: the cedar forest in the Amanus Mountains, the "silver mountains" of the Taurus range. In other words, the land of Amurru was in SYRIA, stretching eastward as far as the ancient city of MARI on the EUPHRATES.

Gudea, king of LAGASH (c. 2125 B.C.), on one of his statue inscriptions, tells of his expedition to the far NW to procure materials for the building of the temple of Ningirsu, his city-god: "In Umanum, in the mountains of Menua, he quarried great blocks of stone, as well as in Basalla in the mountains of Amurru. From them he carved stelae and set them up in the courtyard of the Ninnu temple. From

Tidanum in the mountains of Amurru he brought alabaster in great blocks and fashioned it into slabs and erected them in the temple as barriers" (cf. *ANET*, 269). The existence of an extensive area that could be called the "land of (the) Amurru" does not necessarily presuppose an organized kingdom of Amurru. In fact no such organized kingdom becomes known until the TELL EL-AMARNA Age (c. 1500 B.C.). It is quite in order to speak of the Amorite kingdoms of Syria and Mesopotamia, by which we mean Yamkhad-Aleppo and the Kingdom of Mari. Even the great HAMMURABI of Babylon (c. 1792–1750) can be called an Amorite.

Shortly after 2000 B.C., Semitic peoples whose name types distinguish them from earlier waves of Semites such as the Akkadians (c. 2300) begin to appear in concentration in Babylonia. Mounting concern on the part of the Sumerian rulers shows itself in the construction during the reign of Amar-Suen of Ur (c. 2040) of a fortress along the lower course of the Euphrates River. The function of the fortress is betrayed by its name: "That Which Keeps Away Tidnum (= Amurru)." The measure succeeded temporarily. But in the fifth year of Ibbi-Sin of Ur (2025) Amorites penetrated deeply into SUMER, cutting off NIPPUR and Isin in the N from the southern capital of UR. Further deterioration in the power of the rulers of Ur led to the assumption of royal power in the towns of Isin and Larsa by two Amorites named Ishbi-Erra and Nablanum.

About 1895 B.C. an Amorite sheik named Sumuabum began to reign as king of Babylon. His fifth successor on the throne of Babylon was Hammurabi (c. 1792). About the year 1814 a resourceful Amorite by the name of Shamshi-Adad I began a rule

Iron Age cistern at the Amorite city of Heshbon. (View to the SE.)

in Assyria that was destined to have great influence. His reign lasted for thirty-three years (until 1782). During that time he was able to control a realm that stretched from E of the Tigris River to well into Syria in the W. His son, Yasmakh-Adad, ruled the important city of Mari for seventeen years (1796–1780). This was the golden age of the Amorites, for their rulers governed Assyria in the NE, Babylonia in the SE, and Mari and Yamkhad-Aleppo in the W. In addition, tribes of Amorites who had not yet decided to become fully sedentary roamed about in the vicinity of Mari. The names of the tribes have a strangely biblical ring to them: Banū-Yamīna, Ḫanū, Sutū.

The first king of the organized "Kingdom of Amurru" is Abdi-Ashirta, who ruled c. 1390–1360

B.C., including the first eighteen years of the reign of Suppiluliuma I of Hatti (see HITTITE). He was succeeded by his son Aziru (c. 1380–1345), who allied himself with Suppiluliuma I of Hatti by treaty and became the latter's vassal. The two kings of Amurru who followed Aziru, DU-Teshub and Tuppi-Teshub, ruled from c. 1345 to c. 1315 and were vassals of Mursili II of Hatti. In the archives of the Hittites were found both Akkadian and Hittite versions of a treaty between Mursili and Tuppi-Teshub. After the battle of Kadesh (c. 1300), when King Muwattalli of Hatti had fended off an Egyptian attempt to control the land of Amurru, he installed a new king, Shapili (c. 1300–1286?).

Shortly after Muwattalli died and Hattusili III had banished the former's son by a concubine from the throne of Hatti (c. 1286), Hattusili removed Shapili of Amurru from his throne and replaced him with Benteshina, who reigned until the end of Hattusili's life (c. 1265). Benteshina was succeeded by Shaushgamuwa (c. 1265–1230?). During the reign of Benteshina, the Hittite emperor had allowed Ini-Teshub of CARCHEMISH to supervise affairs in Amurru. The new Hittite emperor, Tudhalia (Tudkhaliyas) IV, granted to Shaushgamuwa a greater degree of freedom and dignified him by dealing directly with him. In fact, Tudhalia IV contracted a treaty with Shaushgamuwa, copies of which were kept at the Hittite capital.

During the twilight years of the Hittite empire (c. 1260–1200), the rulers of Amurru showed more loyalty to their Hittite overlords than did other Syrian vassal kingdoms. During the centuries of the Neo-Assyrian

RULERS OF THE KINGDOM OF AMURRU		
Ruler of Amurru	**Approx. Dates of Reign**	**Contemporary Rulers of other ANE States**
Abdi-Asirta	c. 1390–1360	Amenophis III of Egypt Suppiluliuma I of Hatti
Aziru	c. 1380–1345	Amenophis IV, Tutankhamon and Ai of Egypt; Suppiluliuma I of Hatti
IR/DU-Teshub	c. 1345–1330	Horemhab of Egypt Mursili II of Hatti
Tuppi-Teshub	c. 1330–1315	Horemhab and Ramses I of Egypt Mursili II of Hatti
Benteshina	c. 1315–1300	Ramses I and Seti I of Egypt Muwatalli of Hatti
Shapili	c. 1300–1286	Ramses II of Egypt Muwatalli and Urhi-Teshub of Hatti
Benteshina	c. 1286–1265	Ramses II of Egypt Hattusili III
Shaushgamuwa	c. 1265–1230	Ramses II and Merneptah of Egypt Tudhaliya IV of Hatti

empire (c. 900–600), the land of Amurru is often mentioned, but it seems to conform to the usage of the term in the centuries prior to the Amarna Age (c. 2500–1500), that is, it refers to the general area of Syro-Palestine rather than to a specific kingdom tightly localized in the mountains of Lebanon.

III. The god Amurru. Although it would seem that the principal deity venerated by Amorites in the 18th cent. B.C. was Dagan (see DAGON), and the HURRIAN god Teshub was chief in the Amarna Age kingdom of Amurru (c. 1400–1200), it is of some interest that a god who bears the name Amurru

(Sumer. *Mar-tu*) appears in cuneiform documents from Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia. This god is first attested in personal names from the third dynasty of Ur (c. 2100–2000). Amurru-Martu was the son of the sky-god An. His consorts (wives) were Bēlet-sēri ("Lady of the Steppe") and Ashratu (see ASHERAH). Amurru shows the typical aspect of a storm god, storming over the land and wrecking cities. A Sumerian myth tells of how Amurru sought in marriage the daughter of the city god of Kazallu (a city in Middle Babylonia). The daughter, Numushda, consented to the marriage despite warnings of well-wishers, who told her of the rude customs of the NOMAD: he eats raw meat, often goes without a house, and is not buried properly.

IV. Language. The principal source of our knowledge of the Amorite language is the corpus of Amorite personal names, most of them from the Mari texts. This language is a member of the western branch of the Semitic family, closely related to Ugaritic, Canaanite, Hebrew, and Arabic. In fact, if Amurru is extended to both Syria and Palestine, then Canaanite, Moabite, Ugaritic, and Phoenician would have to be considered as branches of the broader "Amorite" family. Amorite was also the ancestor of the Aramaic language. Its importance for the understanding of certain aspects of biblical Hebrew can be illustrated by the occurrence in Amorite of a number of words that so far occur only in the Mari texts and in the OT. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE.

V. Amorites in the OT. The term "Amorite" is used in several distinct ways in the OT. Occasionally (Gen. 15:16) it denotes the pre-Israelite population in general. In other places, when it is paired and contrasted with the name "Hittite" (Ezek. 16:3), the former may represent only the southern part of Syro-Palestine. Amorites are rarely localized. One group dwelt in the area later occupied by the tribe of Judah (Deut. 1:19–20; Josh. 10:5–6), while another, represented by the two kingdoms of HESHBON and BASHAN, settled to the E of the Jordan River (Num. 21:13; Josh. 2:10; 9:10; 24:8; Jdg. 10:8; 11:19, 23). SIHON, OG, and MAMRE are three Amorite leaders mentioned by name in the OT (Gen. 14:13; Num. 21:21; Deut. 31:4). In keeping with the picture given elsewhere in the OT of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land displaced by them (Num. 13:33 et al.), the Amorites are portrayed as towering figures, "tall as the cedars and strong as the oaks" (Amos 2:9). The ways of the pagan population of the land of Israel are the iniquitous ways of the Amorites (Gen. 15:16). The Baals and Ashtartes and other "gods" whose worship seemed always to threaten to infiltrate the true worship of Yahweh are the "gods of the Amorites" (Josh. 24:15; Jdg. 6:10). Chronologically the last mention in the OT of an Amorite group continuing to exist as a unit in the land consists of the Gibeonites (see GIBEON), on whom King SAUL inflicted a great slaughter and for which David later made atonement (2 Sam. 21).

(See further A. Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites* [1919]; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1 [1928], 99–103; E. Dhorme in *RB* 37 [1928]: 161–80; 39 [1930]: 161–78; 40 [1931]: 161–84; J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mesopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* [1957]; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* [1957] 109ff.; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* [1964], 164ff; A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* [1964], 57ff.; G. Bucellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* [1966]; K. M. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* [1966]; A. O. Haldar, *Who Were the Amorites?* [1971]; *CAH*, 3rd ed., passim, esp. 1/2 [1971], 625–28, as well as 2/1 [1973], 21–25, and 2/2 [1975], 141–48; M. Anbar, *Les tribus amurrites de Mari* [1991]; D. Charpin and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient a l'époque amorrite: Essai d'histoire politique* [2003]; G. E. Mendenhall in *ABD*, 1:199–202.)

H.A. HOFFNER, JR.

Amos ay'muhs (עָמוֹס *H6650*, "burden-bearer" or "supported [by Yahweh]" [cf. AMASAH]; Ἀμώς *G322*). (1) An 8th-cent. B.C. literary prophet. See AMOS, BOOK OF.

(2) According to some MSS of Matt. 1:10, the son of King MANASSEH. See AMON #1.

(3) Son of Nahum, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:25).

Amos, Book of. The third book among the twelve Minor Prophets.

1. Background
2. Authorship and unity
3. Date
4. Place of origin and destination
5. Occasion and purpose
6. Canonicity and text
7. Content
8. Theology

I. Background. The concurrent reigns of UZZIAH of Judah and JEROBOAM II of Israel were marked by a period of peace and prosperity in the N and S that approached in character the "golden age" of

DAVID and SOLOMON. This situation resulted from a number of factors, one of the most important being the removal of BEN-HADAD III of ARAM (c. 796–776 B.C.) as a military threat to the northern kingdom. This ruler, son of HAZAEL (2 Ki. 13:3), had brought pressure to bear on Jehoash (JOASH) and, according to the Zakir stela, had led a powerful coalition against Zakir of HAMATH, a usurper from Luʿash who had seized control of the entire kingdom of Hamath-Luʿash. The stela narrated the way in which Zakir and his allies defeated the coalition of Ben-Hadad, thus ending the Aramean dominance of Syria.

Shortly afterward, DAMASCUS came under the sovereignty of Jeroboam II (2 Ki. 14:28), and the territory of the northern kingdom was ultimately extended to Hamath. The extent of Israel and Judah to the S and E approximated the limits of the kingdom in the days of David and Solomon. While Assyria was becoming an increasing political threat, its military might under TIGLATH-PILESER III (745–727 B.C.) was still a distant prospect when Jeroboam II succeeded to sole rule in Israel.

Once the menace of war had been removed, a remarkable cultural, social, and economic revival took place in Israel and was reflected to a lesser extent in Judah. The northern kingdom was now free to control the trading caravan routes of the E that passed through its newly acquired territory. One consequence of this development was the rise of a rich mercantile class that shared with the nobility the wealth of the nation and created new demands for an increasingly wide variety of luxury items. The expansion of trade and commerce fostered a steady drift of the populace from the country to the city, and for the first time in their history the small towns in the northern kingdom gradually became overcrowded.

Prosperity was accompanied by an almost unprecedented degree of social corruption (Amos 2:6–8; 5:11–12), caused mainly by the demoralizing influence of Canaanite BAAL worship, which had been taken over from the Phoenicians and developed at the local shrines from the time when the northern kingdom had assumed a separate existence under Jeroboam I (930–909 B.C.). Archaeological discoveries have provided a dramatic picture of the nature of contemporary Canaanite religion, showing without question that it was the most corrupt of any in the ANE in its descent to the lowest depths of moral depravity.

Ritual prostitution was a perennial feature of Canaanite religion, and characterizations of ANAT, an eminent female member of the pantheon, depicted her as a divine courtesan. One cuneiform text from UGARIT portrayed her as a butcher, brutally slaying both young and old in a fiendish orgy. The lily and the serpent, commonly found in association with this FERTILITY CULT goddess, were venerated as symbols of fecundity. Canaanite religion recognized four principal annual feasts, and for the most part the worship was carried on at outdoor altars or near the tops of hills. Certain types of sacrifice were indulged in, and from cuneiform sources appear to have been more diversified than Israelite sacrifices. Drunkenness, violence, idolatrous worship, and gross sensuality were inevitable concomitants of Canaanite festal observances, and were extremely common in Israelite religion also. On every side in the northern kingdom there was an avowed interest in cultic worship at the shrines (Amos 4:4–5; 5:5), but the perverted character of the observances had nothing in common with the traditions of the Mosaic Torah.

The effect of this degenerating influence upon Hebrew society began to be felt in the corruption of justice, in willful and luxurious living of the upper classes, and in the general decay of social unity. The rich manifested no sense of responsibility toward the poor, and instead of relieving their economic distress, they seemed bent upon depriving them of all their property. Small farmers were dispossessed by the rapacious wealthy class in order to make possible the accumulation of vast estates, and where this could not be done legally, it was achieved by means of bribing the judiciary to

render judgment in favor of the rich contestant. In a very short time the nation, whose strength had subsisted in the mass of its independent citizens, was divided into the dissolute rich and the oppressed poor. Within a few short years the latter had been reduced to the level of serfs, and when circumstances made it necessary, they were sold into bondage by their masters, frequently for trivial considerations (Amos 2:6). The virtual disappearance of the middle class marked a turning point in the stability of Israelite life and portended an ominous future for the nation.

This situation has been amply illustrated archaeologically by the famous Samaritan OSTRACA, which have been assigned to the reign of

The ministry of Amos.

Jeroboam II. Some sixty-three potsherds inscribed in ink were recovered in 1910 by the Harvard expedition to SAMARIA in some ruins just W of the site of the royal palace. When the fragments were deciphered, they were found to comprise administrative documents recording shipments of wine and oil to Samaria. One potsherd contained the name of the treasury official in receipt of the wine, the district from which it had been sent, and the names of the peasants who had paid their taxes in this manner. Of the twenty or more place names in the ostraca, six appear as clan-designations in the OT. The references in the sherds to “pure clarified wine” and “refined oil” typified the exaggerated demands of the luxury-loving Samaritan elite, and demonstrated the extent to which the northern kingdom had moved away from the ancient Hebrew ideal of the small independent landowner.

Some idea of the way in which cultural interests were coming to the forefront can be obtained

from the jasper seal of "Shema, servant of Jeroboam," discovered by G. Schumacher at MEGIDDO in 1904. On epigraphic grounds it probably should be assigned to the period of Jeroboam II, and the magnificently executed lion it depicted is a striking testimony to the artistic standards of the 8th cent. B.C. A great many ivory inlays, the earliest of which belonged to the time of AHAB (c. 874–853), have been recovered from the hill of Samaria (modern Sebastiyeh), mostly in the form of small panels in relief depicting such things as palmettos, lilies, lions, deer, sphinxes, and winged human figures. The remains of a bed decorated with ivory inlays were also recovered (cf Amos 6:4). The workmanship of the ivories is distinctly Phoenician, although by contrast many of the subjects executed are Egyptian in nature. In any event they amply justify the prophetic censures (Amos 3:15; 1 Ki. 22:39; et al.) of wanton luxury on the part of the Israelite upper classes.

II. Authorship and unity. Questions relating to the authorship and composition of the prophecy have been widely discussed in modern times. While the Hebrew text furnishes no indication as to whether or not Amos actually put his oracles into written form during his lifetime, or at his death left behind written sources containing some or all of his utterances, the freshness and vitality of much of the material would suggest the direct authorship of Amos himself. Adherents of the Scandinavian tradition-historical theories have maintained that the oracles of Amos, like those of all other prophets, were transmitted orally over a long period of time before being put into their extant form. However, the remarkably sound condition of the Hebrew text seems to favor the view that either Amos or an AMANUENSIS set down the utterances in writing within a short time of their promulgation.

Certain scholars have suggested that the visions (Amos 7:1–9; 8:1–3; 9:1–4) belonged to a period preceding the mission to Israel and that they were compiled as a separate document at the time of the earthquake (which served coincidentally to stress their message of doom), and that 8:4–14 was added later to this document. By contrast, the oracles in chs. 1–6 were collected at the end of the ministry in Israel and may have concluded originally with the biographical section. According to this theory, both documents were subsequently united in exilic or postexilic days to form the extant work along with a few editorial additions. This theory was based in part upon the supposed presence in the superscription (1:1, "The words of Amos…what he saw") of parallel verses held to imply the presence of two collections of material, namely, "The words of Amos" and "The visions of Amos, which he saw." According to certain scholars, these two had been combined in the extant title by a redactor in order to furnish a proper sense of unity for the final composition.

A modification of this view suggested that apart from certain minor additions, the prophecy was in fact the accredited work of Amos, but entertained the idea of a twofold division, the first part of which comprised Amos 1:2–7:9, recording the speeches and events occurring prior to the summary ejection of Amos from BETHEL, while the second section, 8:1–9:15, contained the speeches and visions of the prophet that had taken place subsequent to that time. Another passage, 7:10–17, was thought to have been added to the first of these divisions just prior to the unification of the prophecy.

Great caution must be urged in advancing any theory that would make for a hard and fast division between oracles and visions in the extant prophecy. When the book of Amos is compared with other clearly attestable prophecies compiled in bipartite form, such as ISAIAH, EZEKIEL, and DANIEL, it is evident that the grouping of the Amos material into oracles and visions is incidental to the process of compilation and was never meant to depict a true bipartite structure. That the visions ought to be integrated with the oracular utterances in the ministry of the prophet is apparent in the first vision (Amos 7:1–3). Amos was already functioning in a characteristic intercessory capacity, begging God to be merciful toward delinquent Israel. To insist on anything approaching a rigid distinction between

the visions and the oracles, as some critics have done, is an extremely precarious procedure, for when the contents of both sections are compared, it is readily apparent that there is no fundamental difference between them in either content or nature. Again, it seems improbable that the visions themselves can be dated in a period occurring much before the oracular utterances, since there is a close connection between them in certain significant areas. This can be illustrated by the relationship of the vision recorded in 7:7–9, in which the prophet foresaw the overthrow of the Israelite royal house, and the consecutive narrative passage, which recounted his summary dismissal from the northern kingdom for treasonable utterances against the regime of Jeroboam II.

A careful reading of the text leaves little doubt that the visions comprise a literary as well as a spiritual homogeneous unit. This is apparent from the construction of the material as a whole, which rises rhetorically to a climax, and also by the general consonance of the form and subject matter. There seems little reason for doubting that they comprised a unified group from the time of oral proclamation, and the fact that the first person singular was used for the visions suggests that Amos himself was the author. While it is possible that the material in Amos 8:4–14 may have been placed in its present position in order to supplement the account of the visions, it obviously belongs in nature to earlier oracular utterances of the prophet.

The collection of oracles in Amos 1–6 exhibits certain stereotyped features, including the climactic use of numbers in the phrase "for three sins…even for four." Quite possibly the way in which the denunciation of the nations was arranged—beginning with pagan peoples, then the blood relatives of Israel, followed by oracles against the southern and northern kingdoms—is a device original with Amos, though somewhat similar examples have been noted in Egyptian literature. Against the view that this section of material was concluded with the biographical statement, one need only observe that its presence in the visionary passages was necessary in order to demonstrate that they constituted an essential part of the northern ministry of Amos.

Some scholars have detected what are thought to have been annotations to the original prophecy, such as the placing of the king of Judah before the king of Israel in the superscription. While this could have been the work of a Judean scribe, the juxtaposition of the two names need imply nothing more than that, in the mind of Amos, only the Davidic line, represented by Uzziah, was legitimate, a situation that may also be in evidence in Hos. 1:1. Some questions have been directed at the originality of Amos 2:4–5, which involved a pronouncement of doom upon Judah. It has been argued accordingly that whereas other oracles condemned the inhumanity of the nations concerned, this particular utterance related only to moral and spiritual transgressions in Judah and was thus out of character with previous statements. On the other hand, it would have been strange had Amos mentioned all the neighbors of Israel except Judah, since she too was apostate, and as such equally deserving of decisive punishment. In any event, acts of inhumanity were by no means as common a feature of life in the southern kingdom as was the case in the N.

The authenticity of the doxologies in the book (Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) has been questioned by some scholars, on the assumption that they were inserted at a much later date in connection with the public reading of the prophecy. However, it should be noted that there is no single element in these ascriptions which is in any way inconsistent with the thought of Amos or of any other 8th-cent. B.C. prophet, dealing as they did with the functions of the all-powerful Creator, and, therefore, there can be no valid reason for not allowing them to Amos. Similarly, the hopeful conclusion of the book (9:8–15) has been denied to the prophet because of its fundamental contrast to all preceding material. Furthermore, it has been argued, the references to ruined Palestinian cities (9:11, 14), the dispersion of the nation (9:9, 15), the end of the Davidic dynasty (9:11), and the anticipation of its restoration

could hardly be dated earlier than the exilic period. This hypothesis overlooks the fact that, from early times, there was a consistent pattern evident in Israelite prophecy that combined promises of blessing conditional upon repentance and spiritual fidelity with oracles of doom if the nation persisted in apostasy. While Amos did not elaborate upon a glorious future for the covenant people, he did at least extend the prospect of hope for the faithful remnant in Israel, as did other 8th-cent. B.C. prophets.

The great majority of scholars are prepared to accept the prophecy as being the authentic product of Amos, although the work of editorial hands is frequently posited. Attempts to distinguish between individual editors seem pointless in view of a complete lack of supporting evidence. Some minor insertions have been alleged, mostly in connection with material relating to Judah, along with the concluding verses of the prophecy dealing with the future prospects of the nation.

The extent to which the prophet may have attracted disciples depends largely upon whether or not he exercised a later ministry in the southern kingdom, as the priest AMAZIAH had advised (Amos 7:12). There are, however, no indications that anyone other than Isaiah had a following of disciples, and if the ministry of Amos was of short duration, it seems unlikely that anyone would perpetuate his particular message in Israel in view of the prevailing national temper. Quite possibly his prophecy may have undergone slight redactional procedures in Judah, since in antiquity the SCRIBES regularly revised material in different generations. However, it is extremely difficult to pronounce either on the nature or on the scope of such activities in the extant work because of the remarkable uniformity of standpoint it demonstrates. On the basis of the available evidence there is little doubt that Amos, with or without scribal help, was responsible for the written form of the oracles and visions attributed to him in the superscription.

The literary style of the prophecy exhibits freshness, simplicity, and originality, all of which must have made an immediate claim upon the attention of his hearers. His poetic utterances are among the finest in Hebrew literature, and the dirge-like rhythms he utilized are powerful agents in the task of building up an ominous sense of expectation of calamity. Yet his diction is never so compounded with figures of speech that its meaning is not immediately apparent, nor his lyricism so exalted as to obscure his theological teachings.

Some scholars have suggested that Amos included fragments of a cultic hymn in his prophecy (Amos 4:13; 5:8; 9:5–6), on the ground that the doctrines contained therein were too advanced for the prophet's thought. It is questionable whether the cultic prophets of the northern kingdom were more than casually interested in true morality and religion, and if so, it would be improbable that the material originated in such circles. That they appear to be genuine words of Amos seems borne out by the fact that their teachings were already firmly rooted in Mosaic law and were merely being recapitulated by the prophet in a way that would meet contemporary needs. The "fragments" in question are so closely integrated into the surrounding material as to make their removal impossible without causing a basic disruption of the text, which would again appear to indicate that they are genuine utterances of Amos.

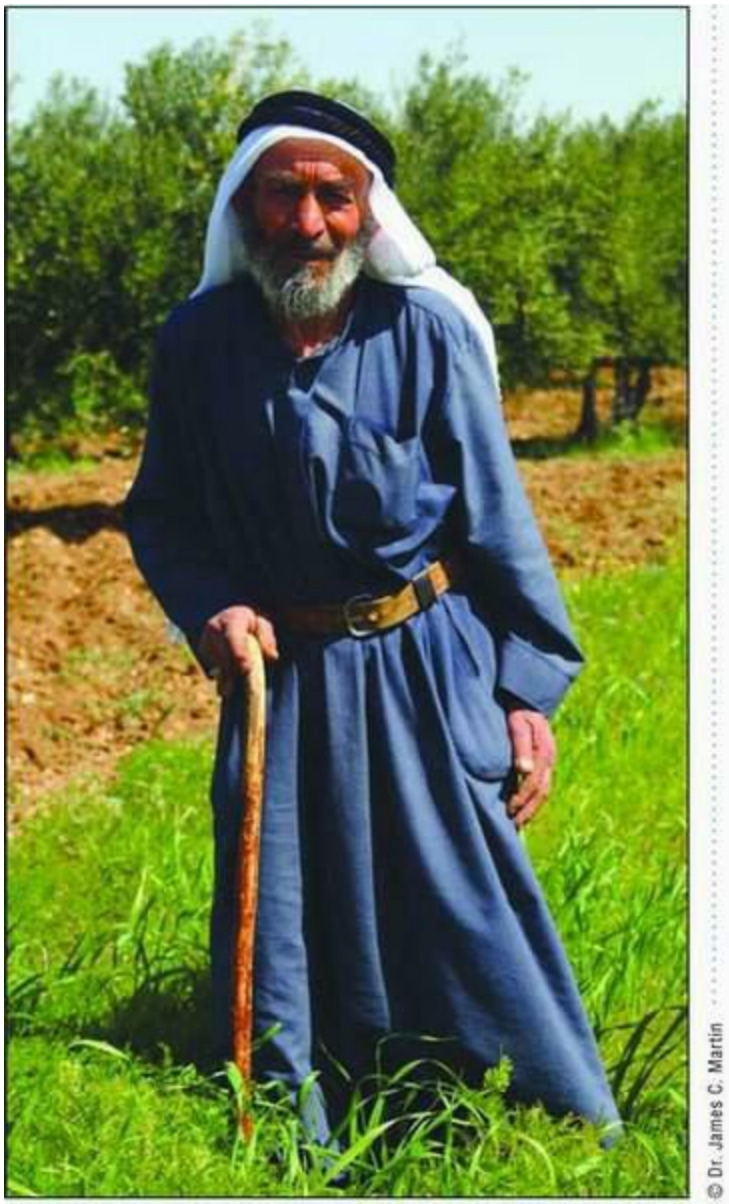
III. Date. From the superscription to the prophecy (Amos 1:1), it is known that Amos lived during the reigns of UZZIAH of Judah (767–39 B.C.) and JEROBOAM II of Israel (782–753 B.C.). Uzziah had been coregent with AMAZIAH of Judah from the year 790, while Jeroboam II was coregent with Jehoash (JOASH) of Israel from 793. The date at which Amos began his ministry has been a matter of dispute. Some scholars have thought that the confident mood of the nation reflected in the prophecy points to a date c. 760 or shortly afterward, while others have suggested that Amos was aware of the westward

advance of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria and predicted destruction accordingly. It seems evident that the prophetic denunciations were based on the conviction that Israelite apostasy and idolatry could not fail to be punished by God and that political developments in Assyria had no place in the thought of Amos. Significantly enough, he never once mentioned the quarter from which the doom might be expected to come, though he spoke of captivity "beyond Damascus" (5:27).

The mention in the superscription of an earthquake that occurred two years after the appearance of the prophet is unfortunately of no help in dating his ministry, even though the phenomenon was still remembered in the days of Zechariah (Zech. 14:5) as having occurred in the reign of Uzziah. Since the leprosy of the latter occasioned a coregency during the latter years of his reign (2 Ki. 16:1–7), the ministry of Amos could perhaps be placed about halfway through the concurrent reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II, possibly about 760.

It is difficult to say precisely how long the ministry of the prophet continued, and it may have lasted only a few months at the most. It appears to have terminated in Bethel (Amos 7:10–17), where his announcement of the coming invasion of the land and the fall of the house of Jeroboam II was, not unnaturally, taken as treason. There is no need to suppose that Amos did all his preaching at either Samaria or Bethel, and although Amos could be interpreted as speaking to an audience in Samaria itself (2:9; 4:1; 6:1), it may well be that his hearers were the people of Samaria worshiping at Bethel, the site of the Israelite royal sanctuary from the days of Jeroboam I. From the discussion of the authorship above it will be evident that his prophecy was almost certainly complete during his lifetime.

IV. Place of origin and destination. Although Amos was one of the more colorful personalities in an era of several towering prophetic figures, comparatively little is known about his origin. He was a native of TEKOA (Amos 1:1), a town in the southern kingdom about 10 mi. S of Jerusalem, now represented by the ruined five-acre site of Khirbet Tequ(. The extensive upland countryside of Judah provided pasture for the flocks he tended in addition to his work as a dresser of sycamore trees. The latter involved incising of the fruit of the sycamore fig some four days before it was due to be harvested, so as to hasten the ripening process. The importance of this information about the background of Amos lies in its proof that he was not brought up in the class from which prophets usually came and that he had not been trained for his mission in life in the prophetic schools or guilds (7:14–15). He was a man of agricultural pursuits, and until his call was a layman with no professional preparation



This Palestinian farmer, like Amos, was from Tekoa.

for religious office. The life of the Judean shepherd was reflected in the imagery of his prophetic oracles, illustrated by the reference to the Pleiades and Orion (5:8) as witnesses to the creative power of God, to the devastating plague of locusts that denuded the pasture lands, and to the nocturnal sounds of the lion roaring over its prey.

Upon receiving his call, Amos proceeded resolutely to the center of pagan worship in the northern kingdom and protested vigorously against the luxurious and careless living so typical of Samaria. He pointed to the unmistakable symptoms of a morally sick society and castigated the perversion of religion that was being allowed at the cultic shrines of GILGAL and BEERSHEBA, stating flatly that ritual could never constitute an acceptable substitute for righteousness. His denunciation of IDOLATRY included the firm assertion that God exercised a moral jurisdiction over all nations (Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11; 2:1, 4, 6) and that Israel would be severely punished if it failed to repent and renew covenantal fellowship with God.

V. Occasion and purpose. Amos had been greatly exercised by the license, apostasy, and corruption of life in the northern kingdom, a situation that furnished the occasion and reason for the prophecy. To these circumstances Amos came with a message of stern denunciation. Although he was not an

inhabitant of the northern kingdom, he was well aware of its moral, social, and religious shortcomings. The fact that Amos forsook Judah to deliver his oracles at Bethel and perhaps Samaria has led some scholars to make him a northerner by origin, on the supposition that he moved to Tekoa only when expelled by the authorities of the northern kingdom because of his prophecies of doom. While the absence of sycamores near Tekoa in modern times might seem to support such a view, it is refuted by the fact that Amaziah clearly regarded Amos as a native Judean and bade him return home with all speed (Amos 7:12).

VI. Canonicity and text. This prophecy stood third in the list of the canonical twelve Minor Prophets, but Amos was one of the first of the so-called "writing prophets," and as such initiated a new period in the growth of the prophetic office in Israel. The Hebrew text of Amos is in good condition, although some scholars have seen fit to suggest emendations for certain passages (e.g., Amos 2:7; 3:12; 5:6, 26; 7:2; 8:1). The SEPTUAGINT and other ancient versions appear to have been made from a text related to that of the Masoretes; as for the Qumran fragments of Amos, they too present no important variations from the traditional text.

VII. Content

(1) Amos 1:1–2:16. Superscription and the announcing of judgment upon neighboring peoples (1:3–2:3) and upon Judah and Samaria (2:4–16) for their repeated transgression of the moral law.

(2) Amos 3:1–6:14. A series of addresses introduced by a formula (3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1) in which the moral responsibility of Samaria was enunciated and the "day of the Lord" proclaimed.

(3) Amos 7:1–9:7. Five visions of judgment, depicted by the symbols of locusts (7:1–3), fire (7:4–6), a plumb line (7:7–9), summer fruit (8:1–14), and a devastated sanctuary (9:1–7). This section includes an extended autobiographical note (7:10–17).

(4) Amos 9:8–15. An epilogue describing the restoration of the Davidic kingdom.

VIII. Theology. Any interpretation of the prophetic message that sees the Judean shepherd as the harbinger of unrelieved doom is incorrect, particularly since it requires the rejection of Amos 9:8–15 as authentic prophetic material. In proclaiming blessing, Amos was in fact demonstrating the fidelity of God to his covenant, a faithfulness that would be exhibited in the faithful remnant's return from captivity (9:14). Not unnaturally, an understanding of his concept of God is a prerequisite to a proper interpretation of his teachings. In common with other prophets of his century, such as Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah, Amos believed that the Lord was the creator and sustainer of the world (4:13) and as such could dictate the occurrence of plenty (9:13) or famine and pestilence (4:6–10). This kind of sovereignty was also extended to created humanity, where God exercised control over the fortunes of nations, exalting one and deposing another (6:14; 2:9). God's restraining influence was supplemented by the functions of a judge (1:3–2:3) when various peoples offended against his moral precepts as expressed in the law.

In this latter connection it is important to notice the number of references in the prophecy to material occurring in the TORAH. As far as the ritual and moral aspects of the Mosaic law were concerned, the allusions of Amos to ritual (Amos 5:21), to the New Moon and Sabbath (8:5), and to the statutory sacrifices and tithes (4:4–5; 5:22) indicated that he was familiar with those areas of the Torah where such religious institutions were regulated. As was the case with the other prophets, Amos based his teachings firmly upon the ancient Mosaic law, and there was no single element in his utterances that had not found prior enunciation in the Torah. Indications of his knowledge of ancient

Hebrew historical traditions preserved in the PENTATEUCH can be seen in the references to the destruction of SODOM and GOMORRAH (4:11), the deliverance of the exodus (3:1), the wilderness wanderings (5:25), and the ultimate conquest of Canaan (2:9–10). These were supplemented by the mention of patriarchal figures (3:13; 5:6; 7:16) and an allusion to the traditional enmity with EDOM (1:11), all of which would be familiar to the hearers of the prophetic message.

While Amos did not mention the COVENANT directly, it was clearly fundamental to his estimate of the relationship between God and Israel. The creator of the cosmos had entered into a special association with Israel (Amos 3:2), which, although privileged in nature, involved high moral and spiritual responsibilities. Failure to recognize the latter factor, and to be governed accordingly, could only bring judgment upon the nation. In adopting this position, Amos rejected the popular idea that the covenant relationship automatically placed Israel in a privileged position that could not be violated or repudiated even by God himself. In Amos 9:7 the nation was told bluntly that it had no more claim upon God than the Ethiopians, the Philistines, or the Syrians, a statement that showed how greatly Amos was concerned to rescue the covenant concept from a perverted interpretation. The fact that God had entered into such an association with Israel demanded that the nation should reciprocate by exhibiting in her national character those high moral and ethical qualities typical of the God of Sinai. That such attributes were patently lacking in the life of the people was proof that the bond with God had been repudiated, and for this apostasy the nation could expect only to incur due retribution from him who was the Lord of history.

The animosity Amos manifested toward the cultic religion of the northern kingdom was directed at the abuses of traditional Hebrew morality which the rituals enshrined, rather than at the fact of a ritualistic kind of worship. Canaanite religion, with which the cultic procedures of the Israelites was heavily overlaid, was of the most depraved moral character, degrading and debasing its enthusiastic participants rather than uplifting and enriching them. The prophecy shows that, rather than exemplifying the stern morality of the Sinai covenant, the Israelite priests had been condoning the most flagrant violations of the ethical principles revealed in the Torah. By encouraging the nation in the belief that proper payment of dues at the sanctuaries and an appropriate degree of participation in the rituals of the cultus was all that was required by God, the priests had contributed materially to the state of apostasy that had overtaken the nation.

Like other Hebrew prophets, Amos made it a matter of prime importance to stress that no form of rite, ceremony, liturgical procedure, or festal celebration could form an acceptable substitute for sustained and deliberate violation of the revealed moral law. The elaborate rituals that had been devised were an abomination to a Deity who demanded first and foremost that his people should manifest holiness of life. If the nation persisted in showing that it had no serious intentions of measuring up to the ethical standards laid down in the law, its implicit divorce of religion from morality could only result in drastic punishment (Amos 5:27). God was already standing beside the altar (9:1), poised and prepared to shatter it into pieces as an expression of his anger against a false and apostate religion. This general attitude should be sufficient to refute the view held by some scholars that, since Amos nowhere directly condemned calf worship in Israel, he was favorable to the cultus to some extent. In addition, it should be noted that the mention of cultic procedures at Gilgal, Carmel, and elsewhere was invariably in terms of condemnation, since Amos was well aware of the abuses that characterized worship at these locations.

The primary call of the prophet was for national repentance and a return to God, but this was not just a matter of reforming cultic practices and observing traditional forms of Hebrew worship. The corruptions of Canaanite religion had spread to all levels of society, and the appalling violations of

justice and equity in Israel demanded immediate redress in the spirit of the Torah, which exhibited an advanced doctrine of social responsibility among the covenant people. Judgment and righteousness (Amos 5:24) must henceforward replace the oppression of the poor (5:11), bribery, injustice (5:15), apostasy, and immorality if the nation was to have any relief from the threat of destruction. For Amos, a nation in covenant relationship with God was under obligation to pursue equitable social as well as spiritual behavior, and if Israel persisted in divorcing herself from God by failing to remove the many serious blemishes upon national life, she would quickly go into oblivion.

So convinced was Amos of impending doom that he never wavered in his pronouncements of future destruction. While God naturally desired the nation to choose repentance and life rather than continued sin and consequent destruction, it was clear to Amos that the covenant of grace existing between Israel and God demanded that Deity should be more severe in his dealings with delinquent Israel than with any of the pagan nations. While Amos did not present the doctrine of the REMNANT in as developed a form as did his younger contemporary Isaiah, there is no doubt that it was present in essence in his prophecy (Amos 5:4, 15).

The message of judgment for the nation, based upon the concept of a divine RIGHTEOUSNESS, involved a repudiation of the widely held notion of the DAY OF THE LORD as an occasion of prosperity and material blessing for Israel (Amos 5:18–20). Precisely how this ESCHATOLOGY gained currency is difficult to say, but it may have resulted in part from the contemporary prosperity of the nation and perhaps also from a form of cultic celebration at the shrines, though the latter is by no means certain. Without question it was radically different from comparable notions enshrined in the Torah, where future blessings for the nation were always contingent upon the honoring of covenant obligations and general obedience to the divine will.

Much scholarly discussion has taken place regarding the possibility that such eschatological ideas were in existence in the 8th cent. B.C. Precisely what form the "day of the Lord" was supposed to have taken has also been debated, with a resultant wide diversity of opinion. The popular expectation appears to have envisioned a time when Israel would triumph gloriously over all her foes and exact tribute from them while living in luxury herself. Abetting this view was the fact that the contemporary state of material prosperity was taken as a sign of divine blessing and a token of the greater riches to follow when the successes of the nation occurred.

The prophetic belief, however, was of a different order, involving disaster and judgment for Israel, in which the symbol of fire as a cleansing and purifying agent (Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2; 5:6, 18–20) was prominent. The "day of the Lord" would indeed come, but it would serve to vindicate the moral character of God against those who had denied it while at the same time claiming the privileges of the covenant relationship. From the nature of the rival systems depicted in the prophecy, it seems evident that both were distinct realities in the 8th cent. B.C., coexisting and employing the same title, but being different in essence. In this regard the task of Amos was to demonstrate which of the two was valid.

(Significant commentaries include W. R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, ICC [1905]; R. S. Cripps, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos,* 2nd ed. [1955]; J. L. Mays, *Amos*, OTL [1969]; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia [1977]; D. K. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 [1987]; F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, Amos, AB 24A [1988]; G V. Smith, *Amos* [1989]; T.J. Finley, *Joel, Amos, Obadiah* [1990]; S. M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia [1991]; J. Niehaus in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, ed. T. McComiskey [1992–98], 1:315–494; B. K. Smith and F. S. Page, *Amos, Obadiah, Jonah*, NAC 19B [1995]; J. Jeremias, *The Book of Amos*, OTL [1998]; R.J. Coggins, *Joel and Amos*, NCBC

[2000].

(See also H. M. Bastad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos* [1984]; J. H. Hayes, *Amos, the Eighth-Century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching* [1988]; M. E. Polley, *Amos and the Davidic Empire: A Socio-Historical Approach* [1989]; G. F. Hasel, *Understanding Amos: Basic Issues in Current Interpretations* [1991]; J. D. W. Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in Amos*, expanded ed. [1997]; A. W. Park, *The Book of Amos As Composed and Read in Antiquity* [2001]; M. D. Carroll R., *The Prophet and His Oracles* [2002]; K. Möller, *A Prophet in Debate: The Rhetoric of Persuasion in the Book of Amos* [2003]. For additional bibliographic data, see A. van der Wal, *Amos: A Classified Bibliography* [1986], and W. E. Mills, *Amos-Obadiah* [2002].)

R.K. HARRISON

Amoz ay'muhz (אָמוֹץ *H576*, prob. short form of אֲמַצְיָהוּ *H605*, "strength of Yahweh"; see AMAZIAH). The father of the prophet ISAIAH (2 Ki. 19:2; Isa. 1:1).

amphictyony am-fik'tee-uh-nee. This term refers primarily to a league of Greek states united by

Excavated area of Amphipolis. (View to the S.)

common religious ideas and a central sanctuary. In biblical scholarship the term has been used by some (esp. M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* [1930]) to describe the structure of premonarchic Israel. While this approach was popular for a time, many recent scholars tend to regard it as inappropriate. See TRIBE III.

Amphipolis am-fip'uh-lis (Ἀμφίπολις *G315*, "city on both sides"). A city and trading center of Thrace (see THRACIA). Originally it was a Thracian town known as *Ennea hodoi* ("nine roads") located on the E bank of the Strymon River (modern Struma or Karasu), where it emerged from Lake Cercinitis about 3 mi. from the sea. Its seaport, Eion, was located at the mouth of the river. According to some it was called Amphipolis ("both-side or encompassing city") because it was almost completely surrounded by a bend in the river. The site was a terraced hill protected on the NW and S by the river and elsewhere by a wall. The name may be derived from the fact that it was conspicuous on all sides (see Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.100).

It was settled in 436 B.C. by Athenian colonists under Hagnon after previous attempts in 497, 476, and 465 had failed. In 424 it surrendered to the Spartan general Brasidas because of the

negligence of Thucydides, who was with a fleet at the island of Thasos nearby. It was to be restored to ATHENS by the peace of Nicias in 421, but remained independent until it was occupied by Philip of Macedon in 357.

The region was economically important for two reasons. The fertile land nearby yielded excellent wine, oil, and wood. Fine wool was also produced. Silver and gold were mined in the area. The town was strategically important to the Romans because of its situation. It commanded a bridge over the Strymon and the main road, the VIA EGNATIA, across MACEDONIA from Dyrrachium, the seaport in Epirus connecting Italy and Greece to the Hellespont in ancient times. It was 33 mi. S of PHILIPPI. Under the Romans it was recognized as a free town, though it was the residence of the Roman governor of Macedonia.

PAUL traveled through it on the way from Philippi to THESSALONICA, evidently without preaching there (Acts 17:1). It was known as Popolia in the Middle Ages. The village of Neochori (Yeni Keui) now occupies the site. Numerous inscriptions and coins have been found. Portions of the ancient fortification walls and of a Roman aqueduct still survive.

A. RUPPRECHT

Amplias am'plee-uhs. KJV form of AMPLIATUS.

Ampliatus am'pli-ay'tuhs (Ἀμπλιᾶτος *G309;* the shortened form Ἀμπλιᾶς is a textual variant, thus KJV, "Amplias"). A Christian living in ROME to whom PAUL sends greetings and to whom he refers as one "whom I love in the Lord" (Rom. 16:8). His name was common in ancient Rome, especially among slaves and freedmen. It is found twice in the cemetery of Domitilla at Rome, the older of two inscriptions dating from about the end of the 1st cent. A.D.

Amram am'ram (עַמְרָם *H6688*, "exalted people" or "the kinsman [referring to a deity] is eminent"; gentilic עַמְרָמִי *H6689*, "Amramite"). (1) A Levite, son or descendant of KOHATH; he was the husband of JOCHEBED (his aunt) and the father of MOSES, AARON, and MIRIAM (Exod. 6:18, 20; Num. 3:19; 26:59; 1 Chr. 6:3). The Amramites, descended from him, had special duties in the wilderness tabernacle and in the temple (Num. 3:27; 1 Chr. 26:23).

(2) One of the descendants of Bani who agreed to put away their wives during EZRA'S reforms (Ezra 10:34; 1 Esd. 9:34 RSV [KJV, "Omaerus"; NRSV, "Maerus"]).

(3) KJV form of Hamran (1 Chr. 1:41; see HEMDAN).

Amraphel am'ruh-fel (אַמְרָפֶל *H620*, meaning disputed [cf. *HALOT*, 1:68]). A member of a league of four kings (Amraphel of Shinar, ARIOCH of Ellasar, KEDORLAOMER of Elam, and TIDAL of Goiim) that fought an opposing league of Palestinian kings (of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela) and defeated them (Gen. 14). The head of the eastern league was Kedorlaomer, king of Elam. Although identifications of several of these kings have been suggested (e.g., Amraphel = HAMMURABI of Babylon, Tidal = Tudhalia I of Hatti), few have accepted them. Difficulties are of two types. (1) *Phonological:* the Hebrew consonants *)mrpl* need to be distorted or altered in order to fit the most likely pronunciation of the name Hammurabi (*)mrp).* (2) *Chronological:* all rulers identified with the biblical names should be contemporaries of each other and of ABRAHAM the Hebrew.

H.A. HOFFNER, JR.

amulet. An amulet is anything worn as a charm or protection against evil, disease, witchcraft, snakebite, poison, and other perils, bodily or spiritual. In fact, the wearing of jewelry and all manner of facial and bodily ornaments had its deepest origin in this superstition. The English word *amulets* occurs once in KJV and NRSV at Isa. 3:20 (NIV, "charms"), in a list of condemned feminine trinkets. The Hebrew noun, *laḥaš H4318*, means literally "whispering, charming," the hissing of the snake charmer lying behind the metaphor (Ps. 58:5; Eccl. 10:11; Jer. 8:17).

Amulets had many forms, and archaeology has abundantly illustrated them. They were gems, cut, carved, or inscribed with magical formulae; stones; lunar discs associated with the worship of Astarte (i.e., ASHTORETH or ISHTAR); pierced shells, the origin of the cameo; pearls; teeth; inscribed rolls of papyrus; earrings; signet rings, worn on the body or hung from door and wall for the protection of a dwelling place or town. The ancient world was addicted to the superstition, and it has not yet died out even in Christian and cultured communities. In Rome, Greece, Egypt, and all through Asia Minor and the Middle E the practice is found interwoven with every form of sympathetic magic. A divine hero in some threatening pose was an amulet of victory; a nude goddess, sometimes heavily emphasized, was a charm for childbirth or fertility. The HITTITES colored their amulets red, the hue of blood, life's vital fluid, or blue, a propitious color for protection against the evil eye.

The Hebrews seem not to have resisted the temptation to wear amulets in spite of sporadic efforts to combat the practice (e.g., HEZEKIAH'S destruction of the brazen serpent [2 Ki. 18:4] and JACOB'S earlier cleansing of his household [Gen. 35:1–4]). The people at Sinai had enough golden earrings to provide AARON with the material to fashion the golden calf, itself a symbol of the bull's strength and a national amulet (see CALF, GOLDEN). Judas MACCABEE was horrified to find amulets under the tunics of his dead soldiers (2 Macc. 12:40). The phylacteries, small boxes containing quotations from the law (esp. Exod. 13:1–16; Deut. 6:4–9; 11:18) that the PHARISEES wore on arms and forehead were properly amulets. The word PHYLACTERY (*phylaktērion G5873)* actually means a "safeguard" or "amulet," an extension of the basic significance of "guard post" or "garrison." These tiny scrolls were actually thought to ward off evil. The practice was an attempt to spiritualize a custom that others had found to be inveterate. The tufts or tassels, with crimson cords, which were worn at the four corners of the outer garments (Num. 15:37–41; Matt. 23:5), and the bells that decorated the high priest's robe may have originated in a similar compromise or sublimation. Christian practice has frequently been invaded by superstition. Witness Calvin's scorn for the alleged fragments of the cross and the numberless nails of Calvary and other relics of saints and martyrs.

E.M. BLAIKLOCK

Amun. See AMON #4.

amusements. See GAMES.

Amzi am'zi (אַמְצִי *H603*, "my strength," or short form of אַמַצְיָהוּ *H605*, "strength of Yahweh"; see AMAZIAH). (1) Son of Bani, descendant of LEVI in the line of MERARI, and ancestor of ETHAN, who was a musician in the temple (1 Chr. 6:46 [Heb. v. 31]; cf. v.44 [Heb. v.29]).

(2) Son of Zechariah and ancestor of Adaiah; the latter was a priest who returned to Jerusalem after the EXILE (Neh. 11:12).

Anab ay'nab (עֲנָב *H6693*, "[place of the] grape"). A city in the hill country of JUDAH, near DEBIR,

from which JOSHUA drove out the Anakites (Josh. 11:21; 15:50; see ANAK). The modern site is Khirbet ʿUnnab eṣ-Ṣaghir, some 12 mi. SW of HEBRON.

Anael an'ay-uhl (Αναηλ). Brother of TOBIT and father of AHIKAR, who was a very high official of SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria (Tob. 1:21–22 KJV; NRSV, "Hanael").

Anah ay'nuh (עֲנָה *H6704*, derivation uncertain). The name of one or more individuals mentioned in Gen. 36:2, 14, 18, 20, 24–25, 29 (cf. also 1 Chr. 1:38–41). The first two references in the MT describe Anah as the *daughter* of ZIBEON the HIVITE, but the NRSV says *son*, following several ancient versions. (The NIV translates, "Oholibamah daughter of Anah and *granddaughter* of Zibeon the Hivite." This rendering, which assumes that in this clause the second occurrence of *bat* also refers to OHOLIBAMAH, leaves open the question whether Anah was her father or her mother.) If this Anah was indeed a man, he is probably the same as the HORITE in Gen. 36:24, identified as a son of Zibeon who discovered some "hot springs" (KJV, "mules"; the Hebrew word is of uncertain meaning) in the desert.

Anaharath uh-nay'huh-rath (אֲנָחֲרַת *H637*, meaning unknown). A city in the tribal territory of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19:19). It is no. 52 in THUTMOSE III's list, and should probably be identified with Tell el-Mukharkhash (Tel Rekhesh), about 8 mi. SW of the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee, close to SHUNEM.

Anaiah uh-nay'yuh (עֲנָיָה *H6717*, "Yahweh has answered"). One of the men who stood beside EZRA when he read the law to the people (Neh. 8:4; called "Ananias" in 1 Esd. 9:43). He is probably the same individual listed among the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:22).

Anak ay'nak (עֲנָק *H6737*, possibly "long-necked [people]"; gentilic עֲנָקִים "Anakites"). Anak was the eponymous hero of the Anakites (KJV and other versions, Anakim), a tribe inhabiting PALESTINE in pre-Israelite times. Without the article, Anak appears in Num. 13:33 and Deut. 9:2, but with the article (a collective term equivalent to the plural form) in Num. 13:22, 28; Josh. 15:13–14; 21:11; Jdg. 1:20.

The place of Anak's origin was KIRIATH ARBA ("city of Arba"—ARBA was Anak's father), later known as HEBRON, so the Anakites regarded it as their home (Num. 13:22, 28, 33; Deut. 1:28; Josh. 11:21; 14:12; 15:13–14; Jdg. 1:20; the LXX calls Hebron their *mētropolis*, Josh. 14:15; 15:13; 21:11). After CALEB drove them out, they survived in the PHILISTINE cities of GAZA, GATH, and ASHDOD (Josh. 11:22).

The people of Anak (a HURRIAN name?) are the most frequently mentioned of the "giant" class (see also GIANTS; NEPHILIM; REPHAITES). So tall and formidable were these descendants of Anak that their name and reputation became a byword in Israel: "Who can stand against the Anakites?" (Deut. 9:2; cf. also 1:28, 2:10, 21). They are probably the people referred to as Iyʿaneq (whose three princes have Semitic names) in the Egyptian EXECRATION TEXTS of the 19th-18th centuries B.C. (*ANET*, 328).

W.C. KAISER, JR.

Anakim, Anakites an'uh-kim, an'uh-k*i*ts. See ANAK.

Anamim an'uh-mim. See ANAMITES.

Anamites an'uh-m*i*ts (עֲנָמִים *H6723*, meaning unknown). A tribe or nation related to the Egyptians (MIZRAIM) and mentioned in the ethnographic lists of Gen. 10:13 and 1 Chr. 1:11. See NATIONS. Various suggestions have been made regarding their location (such as CYRENE, the desert of LIBYA, and an area W of ALEXANDRIA), but the identification of the Anamites remains uncertain.

S. BARABAS

Anammelech uh-nam'uh-lek (עַנַמֶּלֶךְ *H6724*, perhaps "Anath is queen [*lit.*, king]"). TNIV Anammelek. A deity of the natives of SEPHARVAIM (Sabraim in E central Syria) whom the Assyrians transplanted to SAMARIA after 722 B.C. (2 Ki. 17:31). Some scholars hold that the name should be spelled "Anu-melech" (Anu was the great sky-god of the Sumerians). Others suggest that the name alludes to the Canaanite goddess Anath (see ANATH #2). See also ADRAMMELECH.

S. BARABAS

Anan ay'nuhn (עָנָן *H6728*, possibly "cloud" or short form of עֲנַנְיָה *H6731*, "Yahweh has heard me"; see ANANIAH). (1) One of the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:26).

(2) KJV Apoc. form of HANAN (1 Esd. 5:30).

Anani uh-nay'n*i* (עָנָנִי *H6730*, short form of (עֲנַנְיָה *H6731;* see ANANIAH). Son of Elioenai and descendant of King JEHOIACHIN (1 Chr. 3:24).

Ananiah (person) an'uh-n*i*'uh (עֲנַנְיָה *H6731,* prob. "Yahweh has heard/answered [me]"). Father of Maaseiah and grandfather of AZARIAH; the latter was an Israelite who helped rebuild the walls of Jerusalem under NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:23).

Ananiah (place) an'uh-n*i*'uh (עֲנַנְיָה *H6732*, prob. "Yahweh has heard/answered"). A town in the tribal territory of BENJAMIN occupied by Jews after their return from EXILE (Neh. 11:32); it is probably modern el-ʿAzariyeh (= NT BETHANY).

Ananias an'uh-n*i*'uhs (Ἀνανίας *G393*, from Heb. חֲנַנְיָה *H2863*, "Yahweh is gracious"). (1) KJV Apoc. form of HANANIAH, one of Daniel's three companions (Pr. Azar. 66; LXX Dan. 3:88).

(2) KJV Apoc. form of ANNIAS (1 Esd. 5:16).

(3) KJV Apoc. form of HANANI (1 Esd. 9:21; cf. Ezra 10:20).

(4) KJV Apoc. form of HANANIAH (1 Esd. 9:29; cf. Ezra 10:28).

(5) KJV Apoc. form of ANAIAH (1 Esd. 9:43; cf. Neh. 8:4).

(6) KJV Apoc. form of HANAN (1 Esd. 9:48; cf. Neh. 8:7).

(7) The father of TOBIT'S relative, Azarias (Tob. 5:13, where the angel Raphael identifies himself as Azarias; NRSV, "Hananiah" and "Azariah").

(8) Ancestor of JUDITH (Jdt. 8:1).

(9) An early member of the church in Jerusalem who was punished with sudden death for his

attempted deception (Acts 5:1–10). He and his wife SAPPHIRA coveted the approbation that the church bestowed on those who generously sold their possessions for the relief of the poor (4:32–37). Selling a piece of property, they agreed to contribute part of the proceeds under the pretense that it was the total amount received. The sin was not in retaining part, but in pretending that they were giving all, a deliberate attempt to deceive both the apostles and God. When under separate questioning Sapphira reaffirmed her husband's pretense, she also fell dead under the divine punishment (5:7–10).

(10) A Christian at DAMASCUS who was commissioned by the Lord to minister to Saul of Tarsus (see PAUL) following Jesus' appearance to him on the Damascus road (Acts 9:10–19). He was not a refugee from Saul's persecution, but had heard of his activities and knew the purpose of Saul's visit to Damascus. Upon being informed of the divine purpose for Saul, Ananias put aside his fears and carried out his commission. He addressed Saul as a Christian brother, explained to him the significance of his experience on the road (22:12–16), and assured him of recovery of sight and filling with the Spirit (9:17). Saul's immediate recovery of sight was followed by baptism and a period of fellowship with the Christians at Damascus. In his speech to the Jerusalem mob, Paul described Ananias as "a devout observer of the law," having the full approval of the Jews at Damascus (22:12). Later tradition makes Ananias one of the Seventy, bishop of Damascus, and a Christian martyr.

(11) The high priest who presided over the SANHEDRIN meeting called to interrogate Paul following his arrest in Jerusalem (Acts 22:30–23:5). Because of his insolent command to strike Paul on the mouth, Paul called him a "whitewashed wall" (23:3). Paul's subsequent assertion (v. 5) that he did not know that Ananias was high priest has been variously explained (see C. K. Barrett, A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, ICC, 2 vols. [1994–98], 2:1061–62). He appeared in person in CAESAREA to support the charges against Paul in the trial before FELIX (24:1). According to JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 20.5.2), Ananias was the son of Nebedeus and was appointed high priest by Herod, king of Chalcis, in A.D. 48. Quadratus, legate of SYRIA, sent him to Rome in the year 52 to answer charges of cruelty, but he was acquitted by CLAUDIUS through the efforts of Agrippa the Younger (*Ant.* 20.6.2–3) and retained office until the year 58. He was a typical SADDUCEE, haughty, wealthy, and unscrupulous (*Ant.* 20.9.2). He cooperated with the assassins (*sicarii)* to accomplish his purposes. Because of his collaborations with the Romans, he was hated by the nationalistic Jews. When the war broke out in 66, he was hunted down by the assassins and murdered (Jos. *War* 2.17.9). He has been called one of the most unworthy men to hold the office of "high priest."

D.E. HIEBERT

Ananiel uh-nan'ee-uhl (Ανανιηλ, from Heb. חֲנַנִיאֵל "God is gracious"; cf. HANANEL). Father of Tobiel and grandfather of TOBIT (Tob. 1:1 [NRSV, "Hananiel"]; in v. 8, CODEX SINAITICUS, by a scribal error, calls Ananiel Tobit's father).

Anasib an'uh-sib (Ανασιβ). Ancestor of a priestly family that returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:24; KJV, "Sanasib" [a variant in the Gk. MSS]; Vulg., "Eliasib"). The name is not found in the parallels (Ezra 2:36; Neh. 7:39).

Anat ay'nat. See ANATH #2.

Anath ay'nath, ah'nath (עֲנָת *H6742*, meaning unknown). (1) Father of SHAMGAR; the latter was one of the judges in Israel (Jdg. 3:31; 5:6). It has been suggested that the phrase *ben-ʿănāt* ("son of Anath") is really a military title (P. C. Craigie in *JBL* 91 [1972]: 239–40). Others emend to *bēt-ʿănāt* ("house/temple of [the goddess] Anath") and regard it as a reference to the city of BETH ANATH (1:33).

(2) Anath (or Anat) was also the name of a warrior-goddess worshipped by various nations in the ANE. She is especially prominent in the texts found at UGARIT, where she is referred to as the sister (perhaps not in a literal sense) and consort of BAAL (see *DDD*, 36–43). This goddess is not explicitly mentioned in the OT, although perhaps she is alluded to in the names of various cities (e.g., ANATHOTH, BETH ANATH, BETH ANOTH).

anathema uh-nath'uh-muh. This English term, borrowed directly from Greek (*anathema G353* or *anathema G356*, "that which is devoted, dedicated, banned, cursed"), occurs once in the KJV (1 Cor. 16:22), but not at all in most modern versions. The SEPTUAGINT uses the Greek term frequently, though not exclusively, to translate *ḥērem H3051*, a noun that occurs twenty-nine times in the OT and that is used in two senses, both relating to the idea of devoting something to God.

It would appear that Lev. 27:28 speaks about a person voluntarily devoting some of his goods in a solemn way to Yahweh, while the following verse refers to someone who is to be *destroyed.* In contrast to the *consecrated* things (hiphil of *qādašH7727)* mentioned in the earlier parts of the chapter, neither of these two *devoted* classes of items can be sold or redeemed. But they must be different from each other, for there is no necessary reason why the items mentioned in v. 28 should be devoted, whereas such a reason must surely be present in v. 29, since here the one devoted is to be put to death. These represent two types: that which is dedicated and that which is set apart for destruction. (However, note that NRSV translates *ḥērem* "devoted to destruction" in both verses.)

In the first class should be included the *ḥērem* that belongs to the priests (Num. 18:14; Ezek

Statuette from Hazor, mid-2nd millennium. According to Deut. 7:25–26, idols such as this bronze bull were considered anathema and were to be destroyed.

44:29). The rest of the examples are of the second type. The following are to be destroyed: idols

(Deut. 7:26); cities in Israel in which idolaters live (13:16); Canaanite cities and their goods (Josh. 6:17–18); ACHAN, who violated the previous *ḥērem* (Josh. 7:1, 11–13; 22:20; 1 Chr. 2:7); the Midianites (Num. 31:7–12; see MIDIAN); the Amalekites and their goods (1 Sam. 15:21; see AMALEK); BEN-HADAD, king of ARAM (1 Ki. 20:42). The connection of the *ḥērem* with warfare is close, but Deut. 20:10–18 makes it clear that not all warfare was to employ such severe destruction, but only that which was directed against the Canaanites and related peoples. On the question of why these things were to be destroyed, some have suggested that originally it was their connection with a god other than Yahweh, although there are some passages where this connection is no longer felt. See also ACCURSED; BAN; CURSE; DEVOTED; EXCOMMUNICATION.

In nonbiblical Greek, the emphasis of *anathema* is upon the idea of dedicating something to deity (the verb *anatithēmi G423* becomes a semitechnical term for setting up a votive offering). In the NT the term is used once of votive offerings (Lk. 21:5), while the LXX meaning "object devoted to destruction" is perpetuated in Rom. 9:3 (*anathema…apo tou Christou*, "accursed and cut off from Christ"); 1 Cor. 12:3 (no one who has the Spirit can call Jesus "anathema"); 16:22 (the word used as a curse on those who do not love the Lord); Gal. 1:8–9 (NIV, "let him be eternally condemned," a wish uttered twice). In Acts 23:14 the noun (as the object of its cognate verb *anathematizō G354)* is used with the meaning "oath, curse."

D. HUTTAR

Anathoth (person) an'uh-thoth (עֲנָתוֹת *H6744,* prob. from ANATH). (1) One of the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant along with NEHEMIAH after the return from the Babylonian captivity (Neh. 10:19).

(2) Son of BEKER and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 7:8).

Anathoth (place) an'uh-thoth (עֲנָתוֹת *H6743*, prob. from ANATH; gentilic עֲנָתֹתִי *H6745*, "Anathothite," KJV "Anet(h)othite"). One of the forty-eight cities allotted to the Levites from the territory of the tribe of BENJAMIN (Josh. 21:18). The name (prob. not a pl. form) may derive from ANATH, a Canaanite goddess, thus suggesting that the city was devoted to the worship of that deity before the Hebrew occupation.

SOLOMON banished ABIATHAR to Anathoth for his part in the unsuccessful attempt of ADONIJAH to lay claim to the throne after DAVID'S death (1 Ki. 2:26). Anathoth was also the birthplace of JEREMIAH and the town where some of his first prophetic utterances were made. These, however, met with such opposition from the people of Anathoth that Jeremiah's life was threatened (Jer. 11:21). In a prophetic oracle depicting the advance of the Assyrian invaders, Isaiah speaks of Anathoth as one of the places standing in the path of the invading armies. It occurs in a play on words in conjunction with the word *ʿăniyyah* (Isa. 10:30, translated "Answer her, O Anathoth" by NRSV, and "Poor Anathoth" by NIV).

ABIEZER, one of David's warriors (2 Sam. 23:27), and JEHU, who joined David at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:3), were Anathothites. After the EXILE, 128 men of Anathoth returned in the contingent that came with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:23). The city was settled in the time of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 11:32), and its name apparently lives on in the modern Anata. Ancient Anathoth, however, is usually identified with the nearby site of Ras el-Kharrubeh, 2.5 mi. NE of Jerusalem, where excavations have revealed settlements from early Israelite times.

T. MCCOMISKEY

Anatolia a'-nuh-toh'lee-uh (from ἀνατολή *G424,* "rising [of the sun]," referring to the east). A term equivalent to ASIA MINOR. The Anatolian languages include several that belong to the Indo-European family (Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, Lydian, Lycian, and Phrygian) and some that do not (Hattic, Hurrian, and Urartian; possibly Carian and Sidetic). See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE.

anchor. A heavy object attached to a vessel to keep it in place. The ancient anchor (Gk. *ankyra G46)* was originally a pierced or indented stone, a form found from the Mediterranean to Polynesia. By the 1st cent. of the modern era, anchors of recognizable similarity to the modern type, complete with crossbar, teeth, and flukes, had been developed. There were also large wooden anchors, weighted by a lead crossbar.

Anchors are mentioned in two contexts in the NT. The first is the brilliantly written account of the wreck of the Alexandrian grain ship in Acts 27. Finding the shoal beneath, "they dropped four anchors from the stern" (27:29). Some sailors, seeking to contrive an escape, lowered a boat under pretext of letting out anchors from the bow, in itself a not unreasonable procedure if the ship was to be braced in the swell by a quadrangular pattern of support (v. 30). To beach the galley they cut loose the anchors (v. 40). See also SHIPS.

In the second NT context, the term is used as a powerful figure for Christian confidence: "We have this hope as an anchor for the soul, firm and secure" (Heb. 6:19). See ASSURANCE; HOPE.

E.M. BLAIKLOCK

Ancient of Days. This elegant Semitic expression (Aram. *ʿattîq yômîn H10578 + H10317*, equivalent to "advanced in years"), which refers simply to someone old, occurs only in Dan. 7:9, 13, and 22. Although these verses do not directly say so, commentators "take it at once to be a euphemistic term for God, indicating his eternal existence" (J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC [1927], 297), "apparently much in the same sense as Eternal" (McClintock-Strong, *Cyclopedia*, 1:220). It is a peculiar expression probably chosen to contrast God and his kingdom with the temporary limited duration of the four successive kingdoms, under the figures of four wild beasts, which appear earlier in the chapter. The eternal Yahweh of all the universe appropriately defeats them and establishes his own eternal kingdom under the matchless "son of man" and his "saints" who appear in the same scene (vv. 13–14, 22). The details are elaborated elsewhere in Scripture (Ezek. 1:1–2:8 and Rev. 4–20) and imitated in the APOCRYPHA and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

In Rev. 1:13–14, someone "like a son of man" is described in terms that are reminiscent of the Ancient of Days. It has been argued that this identification of Christ may have been aided by the SEPTUAGINT rendering of Dan. 7:13, which speaks of the one like a son of man coming *hōs palaios hēmerōn* ("*as* an ancient of days"). However, the text of Daniel is disputed, and some scholars believe it should read, *heōs palaiou hēmerōn* ("*to* an ancient of days"; see J. Ziegler's edition, *Daniel, Susanna, Bel et Draco*, Septuaginta 14/2 [1954], ad loc., and cf. MT and Theodotion). Still, it is clear that in Revelation some of the attributes of the Ancient of Days are transferred to Christ.

R.D. CULVER

Andrew an'dr*oo* (Ἀνδρέας *G436*, "manly"). The brother of Simon PETER and one of the first disciples of Jesus. Although a native Palestinian Jew, Andrew bore a Greek name. He was the son of

Jonah (Matt. 16:17) or John (Jn. 1:42; 21:15–17; see JOHN #4), whose home was in BETHSAIDA in GALILEE (Jn. 1:44; 12:21). Doubtless Andrew, as a native of Galilee, where life was strongly influenced by Gentile culture, spoke Greek as well as ARAMAIC. Simon his brother, as a married man, made his home in CAPERNAUM (Mk. 1:21), and Andrew apparently shared the house with him (1:29). By trade Andrew and Simon were fishermen on the Sea of Galilee (Matt. 4:18). They worked in partnership with James and John, the sons of ZEBEDEE (Lk. 5:10; see JAMES I; John the apostle).

When JOHN THE BAPTIST was preaching at BETHANY beyond the Jordan (Jn. 1:28; KJV, "Bethabara"), Andrew, like many of his countrymen, laid aside his daily work to go to hear the famous preacher. What Andrew saw and heard influenced him greatly. He became a disciple of John (Jn. 1:35, 40) and, receiving the baptism of repentance, committed himself to receive the Messiah when he came. When John the Baptist pointed out Jesus as "the Lamb of God," Andrew and another disciple (apparently John) acted upon the implied suggestion of the Baptist and sought an interview with Jesus. The interview with him that day convinced Andrew that Jesus was indeed the expected Messiah (Jn. 1:35–39). He was one of the first acknowledged followers of Jesus.

Andrew enthusiastically went in search of his brother Simon to share the discovery with him. He used his good influence to bring his brother into personal contact with Jesus (Jn. 1:40–42). It proved to be the turning point in Peter's life. Apparently Andrew and the other followers won at Bethany remained with Jesus during the events recorded in Jn. 1:43–4:54. If so, Andrew was an eager participant in those early events and shared in the baptizing recorded in Jn. 3:22; 4:2.

Upon Jesus' return to Galilee, Andrew resumed his work as a fisherman. When Jesus established his headquarters at Capernaum (Matt. 4:13), he called Andrew and Peter, with James and John, into full-time training to be "fishers of men" (Matt. 4:18–22;

Fishermen mending their nets on the shore of the Sea of Galilee in the first half of the 20th cent.

Mk. 1:16–20; Lk. 5:1–11). Their ready response to the invitation of Jesus, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, presupposes their previous associations with Jesus as recorded in the fourth gospel.

Some time later Andrew was among the Twelve whom Jesus selected as his apostles (Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:14). In all the lists of the Twelve (Matt. 10:2–4; Mk. 3:16–19; Lk. 6:14–16; Acts 1:13), Andrew was always named among the first four, although the order varies. He was associated with Peter, James, and John in their "private" inquiry of Jesus concerning his predictions of the future (Mk. 13:3–4). Andrew did not attain to the intimacy and resultant privileges of the other three as the "inner circle," but he was on the fringe of it.

On two occasions in the fourth gospel, Andrew was closely associated with PHILIP, the only other apostle with a Greek name. At the feeding of the five thousand, the anxious, calculating reaction of Philip stands in contrast to the practical action of Andrew, who called Jesus' attention to the boy with his small store of food, even though he too failed to see its sufficiency for the purpose of Christ (Jn. 6:4–9). When at the last Passover Philip, in perplexity, conferred with Andrew concerning the request of some Greeks for an interview with Jesus, Andrew concluded that the solution was to lay

the request before Jesus himself and let him decide whether or not to grant the interview (12:20–22). In the book of Acts, Andrew's name is included among those who waited in the upper room after the ASCENSION OF CHRIST (Acts 1:13). Following that occasion, his name disappears completely from the NT.

Tradition has been busy with the later life of Andrew. EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.1) records the tradition that Andrew's area of labor was in Scythia (NE of the Black Sea); hence he has been adopted as the patron saint of Russia. Other traditions connect him with Lydia, Thrace, and Achaia. The apocryphal *Acts of Andrew* pictures him as evangelizing in ACHAIA and being martyred at Patras by being bound to an X-shaped cross (*crux decussata,* subsequently called St. Andrew's Cross). (See also ANDREW, ACTS OF.) He has been made the patron saint of Greece. A later tradition claims that his body was transferred to Constantinople, and then to Italy during the Crusades. Andrew also has been made the patron saint of Scotland because of the late tradition that his arm was brought to its E coast by St. Regulus. (Cf. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* [1958]; S. Lamont, *The Life of Saint Andrew: Apostle, Saint and Enigma* [1997].)

It is only in the fourth gospel that the character of Andrew emerges with any distinctness. He was a sincere man with earnest and devout messianic expectations. He was not bound by traditional views, but was open to, and eager for, new truth. He was a man who had the courage of his convictions, eager and enthusiastic to have others share what he had come to know. He was always busy bringing others into touch with his Master. As a man of action, he was practical, ready and willing to do any needed task. On the basis of Jn. 1:41 and 12:22, he has been called "not only the first home-missionary…but also the first foreign-missionary" (G. Milligan in *DCG*, 1:53).

Andrew did not possess the native ability and aggressive leadership of his brother Peter, but he was content to play a lesser role. His broad sympathies, practical common sense, and steady discipleship made him a valuable member of the apostolic band.

D.E. HIEBERT

Andrew, Acts of. This work is first mentioned by EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.25.6) among writings put forward by the heretics, of which, he says, no writer in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention; in his opinion they are not even to be ranked with the spurious books (*notha)* but rejected as altogether absurd and impious. According to EPIPHANIUS the book was current among the ENCRATITES and other groups, while Philastrius and others later mention its use by the MANICHEANS. References in the Coptic Manichean Psalter, however, do not necessarily show knowledge of this work in its original form.

I. Text. The knowledge of this document rests largely on an epitome by Gregory of Tours, since the full text has not survived. There is a long series of texts, mainly Byzantine, relating the fate of the apostle, but these have been revised to conform with later theology. Martyrdoms frequently circulated independently of the works to which they originally belonged, and in varying forms. Part of the original *Acts* is preserved in a codex with the designation Vaticanus graecus 808, and a further fragment in a Coptic papyrus in Utrecht. A second Coptic fragment in Oxford is doubtful, since it relates a conversation between Andrew and Jesus, and looks more like part of a gospel. Further fragments appear in the PSEUDO-TITUS Epistle (*NTAp*, 2:103) and in Evodius of Uzala. (For information on separate works of later date, see ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF; PETER AND ANDREW, ACTS OF.)

II. Content. The *Acts of Andrew* was probably the longest of the five major books referred to as "Acts." Gregory speaks of its excessive verbosity, and states his intention to extract and set out the "virtues" only (i.e., the miracles), omitting all that bred weariness. His outline of a journey from Pontus to Achaia, with miracles at various stages, is confirmed by Philastrius, but there is evidence also of considerable modification. For example, Gregory says that Andrew did not forbid marriage, and that it is a divine institution, which is inconsistent both with Vatic. gr. 808 and with the fragment in Pseudo-Titus. To judge from the extant fragments, the narrative was punctuated by lengthy and sometimes tedious speeches, and was severely ascetic in tone. Some incidents are related in divergent forms in different texts. Andrew's martyrdom in particular, of which Gregory gives only a hint, has to be pieced together from various sources (such as several Greek MSS that contain the last sections of *Acts of Andrew*, as well as a later translation known as *The Armenian Martyrdom*). The chief theme is that of turning away from the world of transitoriness and illusion, and the realization of true being in return to God. Special interest attaches to the speculations on the cross as the symbol of the Logos (cf. *NTAp*, 2:109), which go back ultimately to Platonic and Stoic ideas.

III. Character. On the character of the work, opinions have differed. Some scholars have thought it Gnostic, while others have regarded the author as an orthodox Christian strongly influenced by Neo-Platonism. Against the first view is the absence of the more characteristic traits of GNOSTICISM (e.g., cosmic DUALISM); against the second it has been objected that the contacts noted are not sufficient to make Neo-Platonic influence probable. The ascetic element is not necessarily Gnostic, for such tendencies were strong in some quarters; and allowance must be made for the fluidity of thought in the early centuries, and the extent to which an "orthodox" author could assimilate alien ideas without actually going beyond the limits recognized by the contemporary church. More recently attention has been drawn to close contacts with the theology of Tatian. Such features, with the speculations on the cross already mentioned, are typical of the syncretism of the period. (See the articles in J. N. Bremmer, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew* [2000].)

IV. Date. There is no complete agreement on the date. Those who detect Neo-Platonic influences favor the second half of the 3rd cent., others place the book before A.D. 200. A probable *terminus a quo* is the reign of HADRIAN (117–138), and a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the *Acts of Paul* (c. 190–200), whose author seems to have used it (see PAUL, ACTS OF; cf. also the allusions in the 3rd-cent. Manichean Psalter). This gives a range between A.D. 120 and 200, but the work should probably not be dated too early within this period. The second half of the 2nd cent. is perhaps the closest approximation possible. The place of writing may be somewhere in Achaia, but one has no conclusive evidence, nor is it possible to say anything about the personality of the author.

R. McL. WILSON

Andrew, Acts of Peter and. See PETER AND ANDREW, ACTS OF; APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.

Andrew, Fragmentary Story of. A story, extant only in Coptic, from a late apocryphal book, about a woman who killed her child in the desert and fed it to a dog. On the approach of the apostles she fled, but the dog reported what had happened. Andrew prayed, alluding to a miracle of Jesus on Mount Gebal when "Thou didst command all the scattered stones and grains of sand to be gathered in one place." The child then apparently came to life again.

R. McL. WILSON

Andrew and Matthias, Acts of. Among the most famous of the apocryphal romances, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias (Matthew)*, possibly dating to the 4th cent., is extant in various versions, including Latin, Greek, and Syriac. It was prefixed by Gregory of Tours to his epitome of the *Acts of Andrew* (see ANDREW, ACTS OF), but is not part of that work, and is also preserved in the Anglo-Saxon *Andreas* attributed to Cynewulf (see K. R. Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* [1961]). The name Matthew in some forms of the title is due to confusion of Matthias (Acts 1:26) with the better-known evangelist. (English trans. in *ANF,* 8:517–34. For a discussion of several issues, including the relationship between this work and the *Acts of Andrew*, cf. *NTAp*, 2:443–47.) The following is a brief summary of this book's contents.

When the apostles divide the world into mission areas, Matthias is allotted the land of the cannibals, who imprison strangers, blinding and drugging them to take away their senses, and finally eating them on the thirtieth day. Matthias is imprisoned and blinded, but retains his senses and prays for help. On the twenty-seventh day Jesus appears to Andrew, sending him to the rescue. Andrew and his disciples embark on a boat piloted, unknown to them, by Jesus, at whose bidding Andrew recounts Jesus' mighty works, including a visit to a heathen temple where the (Jewish) high priests are confuted by a talking sphinx. On arrival Andrew rescues Matthias, who with the disciples is carried off by a cloud, leaving Andrew alone. He works miracles, but is arrested and tortured, then nearly destroys the city by water called forth from a statue; when the inhabitants repent he restores the city, draws plans for a church, and baptizes the people.

R. McL. WILSON

Andrew and Paul, Acts of. A fragmentary story, extant only in Coptic, from one of the later apocryphal Acts. (Full Coptic text with French trans. by X. Jacques, *Orientalia* 38 [1969]: 187–213. Cf. *NTAp,* 2:449–50.) According to this work, Paul dives into the sea to visit Amente (the underworld), leaving a message for Andrew to bring him up again. On his return he tells of meeting Judas, the last soul left in Amente; forgiven for his betrayal of Jesus, Judas had been frightened by Satan into worshiping him and then had killed himself. Now he is doomed to remain until the Day of Judgment. The apostles visit a city, but the Jews refuse them admission. Paul strikes the gates with a piece of wood brought from Amente, and they are swallowed up in the earth. A dispute leads to the conversion of some 2,700 Jews.

R.McL. WILSON

Andronicus an-dron'uh-kuhs (Ἀνδρόνικος *G438,* "conqueror of men"). (1) A deputy of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes who, left in charge of ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, aroused the Jews by the murder of ONIAS, and upon complaint to the king was executed (2 Macc. 4:31–38). Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl. Hist.* 30.7.2–3) gives a different account of his death (cf. J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, AB 41A [1983], 238–39).

(2) An officer whom Antiochus Epiphanes, after sacking Jerusalem, left in charge at GERIZIM (2 Macc. 5:23).

(3) A Christian at Rome to whom PAUL sent greetings (Rom. 16:7). The apostle calls him and JUNIAS "my relatives," though the Greek term (*syngenēs G5150)* may indicate blood relatives (the most common meaning, cf. vv. 11, 21), members of the same (Jewish) civic tribe at TARSUS, or simply fellow-Jews (cf. 9:3). The apostle says that they became Christians before he did and that they shared imprisonment with him (where or when is not known). They are further described as "outstanding among the apostles." This comment may mean that they were held in high esteem by the

apostles (taking "apostles" in the strict sense) or that they were themselves distinguished apostles (in a wider sense, i.e., early authorized preachers of the gospel). The Greek expression (*epiēmoi en tois apostolois)* favors the second view. (For a discussion of the names in Rom. 16, see P. Lampe in *The Romans Debate*, ed. K. P. Donfried [1991], 216–30.)

D.E. HIEBERT

Anem ay'nuhm (עָנֵם *H6722*, meaning uncertain). One of the Levitical cities of ISSACHAR assigned to the descendants of GERSHON (1 Chr. 6:73). The parallel list reads EN GANNIM (Josh. 21:29). If they are not the same site, Anem may be identified either with ʿOlam, some 8 mi. SE of Mount TABOR (W. F. Albright in *ZAW* 44 [1926]: 231; but see Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 425), or with Khirbet ʿAnim, c. 2 mi. NE of ʿOlam (F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* [1933], 2:244, who gives the form ʿAnīn).

Aner (person) ay'nuhr (עָנֵר *H6738*, meaning unknown). One of three AMORITE brothers, including MAMRE and ESHCOL, allies of ABRAHAM in his pursuit after the four kings who had taken LOT captive (Gen. 14:13, 24). Since Mamre is an old name for HEBRON (Gen. 23:19), and Eshcol is the name of a valley near Hebron (Num. 13:23), it is likely that Aner was also the name of a locality.

Aner (place) ay'nuhr (עָנֵר *H6739*, meaning unknown). One of the Levitical cities of MANASSEH assigned to the descendants of KOHATH (1 Chr. 6:70). The parallel list reads TAANACH (Josh. 21:25). If they are not the same site, the location of Aner remains unknown.

Anet(h)othite an'uh-t(h)oh-th*i*t. KJV alternate forms of Anathothite. See ANATHOTH (PLACE).

angel

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5. Angelology

I. Definition and description. In Scripture records, angels constitute a distinct order among the higher echelons of universal beings.

A. Appellative terms. Though both the Greek and Hebrew terms are sometimes used to designate human messengers, as a prophet (Hag. 1:13) or a priest (Mal. 2:7), differentiation is usually made from the context. Other terms for angels were "sons of God" (Gen. 6:2–4 [a disputed passage]; Job 1:6; 2:1; Ps. 29:1, NIV, "mighty ones"; 89:6, NIV, "heavenly beings"); "holy ones" (Ps. 89:5, 7; Dan. 4:13); "heavenly host" (Lk. 2:13); and "hosts," as in the familiar phrase "LORD of hosts," originally meaning "LORD of armies" (1 Sam. 1:11 et al.). The SERAPHS in Isa. 6:2 obviously belong to the order of angels. Enoch spoke of "holy myriads" (Jude 14; NIV, "thousands upon thousands of his holy ones").

B. Spiritual beings. Angels are spirits, supernatural celestial beings. The author of Hebrews asks, "Are not all angels ministering spirits sent to serve those who will inherit salvation?" (Heb. 1:14). They are more than personifications of abstract good and evil; angels are majestic beings whom God created to execute his will (Ps. 148:2–5; Col. 1:16). They are therefore active in a multiplicity of universal operations. They were created at a time that long antedates the creation of man (Job 38:7). Being spirits, angels can function as mediators between God and human beings. They can pass back and forth from the spiritual realm to the natural at will, unimpeded by physical boundaries (Acts 12:7). Angels are superhuman in strength: "…even angels, although they are stronger and more powerful, do not bring slanderous accusations against such beings in the presence of the Lord" (2 Pet. 2:11). Yet, they are not omnipotent (Ps. 103:20; 2 Thess. 1:7). Angels are also endowed with superior intellect and wisdom (2 Sam. 14:17, 20), but are not omniscient (Matt. 24:36; 1 Pet. 1:12).

References to angels in common parlance shed further light on their superhuman qualities: King ACHISH said to DAVID, "I know that you have been as pleasing in my eyes as an angel of God'" (1 Sam. 29:9). The wise woman from Tekoa who approached King David in disguise reflected on the superior wisdom of angels: "for my lord the king is like an angel of God in discerning good and evil"; and, when David asked whether JOAB was back of this ruse, she replied, "My lord has wisdom like that of an angel of God—he knows everything that happens in the land" (2 Sam. 14:17, 20). PAUL solemnly pronounced a curse on anyone, even "an angel from heaven," who should preach a false gospel (Gal. 1:8). Pursuing his appeal to the Galatians, he recalled their former kindness to him, saying: "you welcomed me as if I were an angel of God" (Gal. 4:14). Warning the Corinthian Christians against the false apostles, Paul said about their deception: "And no wonder, for Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14). In his masterpiece on LOVE, Paul wrote of the eloquence of angels (1 Cor. 13:1).

When refuting the SADDUCEES' argument against angels and RESURRECTION, Jesus stated that angels were not sexual and did not marry. He also pointed out their present superiority to human beings, but said that people who are worthy of the coming age "are like the angels. They are God's children, since they are children of the resurrection" (Lk. 20:35–36). Since Jesus was temporarily incarnate, the writer of Hebrews, quoting from the psalmist, declared, "You made him a little lower than the angels" (Heb. 2:7; Ps. 8:5). However, Christ ultimately would be supreme ruler: "It is not to angels that [God] has subjected the world to come" (Heb. 2:5). And Paul asked, "Do you not know that we will judge angels?" (1 Cor. 6:3).

C. Human characteristics. Angels consistently appeared in human form, with the exception of the

seraphs (Isa. 6:2). Contrarily, angels never appeared in subhuman form, as animals, birds, or material objects. Though the angel of the Lord spoke out of fire and cloud, and even caused a donkey to speak, he never identified himself with either. Moreover, it should be observed that there is no biblical record showing that an angel ever appeared to a wicked person or warned such a one of impending danger (cf. Matt. 24:37–39). Good angels always appeared to God's people: Abraham, Moses, David, Daniel, Jesus, Peter, Paul, and others. Furthermore, angels always appeared as men, never as women or children, and they were always clothed. Thus God has repeatedly revealed himself by establishing rapport in the medium of human perception.

Many times angels were so disguised as men that they were not at first identified as angels. ABRAHAM entertained "three men" as dinner guests. One remained to talk with him while the other "two angels" went on down to SODOM and spent the night with LOT, who thought that they were men (Gen. 18:2; 19:1). Referring to this incident, the writer of Hebrews admonished his readers to show hospitality to strangers, "for by doing so some people have entertained angels without knowing it" (Heb. 13:2). Similarly, just before the Israelites' attack on JERICHO, JOSHUA "looked up and saw a man standing in front of him with a drawn sword in his hand," but this man was an angel (Josh. 5:13–15). GIDEON too did not know that a reassuring guest was an angel until he had served him a sumptuous meal and the angel had made a burnt offering of it (Jdg. 6:11–22). "The angel of the LORD" made several appearances as "a man" to MANOAH and his wife (13:2–21).

Occasionally angels displayed themselves as men with awesome appearances in countenance or clothing. The description given by Manoah's wife was, "A man of God came to me. He looked like an angel of God, very awesome" (Jdg. 13:6). At the tomb of Jesus, "two men in clothes that gleamed like lightning stood beside" the women (Lk. 24:4). As the Twelve witnessed Jesus' ascension, "two men dressed in white stood by them" (Acts 1:10). A most colorful description of an angel was given by DANIEL, who saw him while standing on the banks of the TIGRIS: "I looked up and there before me was a man dressed in linen, with a belt of the finest gold around his waist. His body was like chrysolite, his face like lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and legs like the gleam of burnished bronze, and his voice like the sound of a multitude" (Dan. 10:5–6). On numerous other occasions angels were described as men (e.g., Ezek. 40:3; Dan. 10:18; Zech. 2:1). In all these instances angels were soon, if not immediately, recognized as such. On other occasions angels were instantly recognized as angels, such as those seen by BALAAM (Num. 22:31), DAVID (2 Sam. 24:17), ZECHARIAH (Lk. 1:11–12), and MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS (Lk. 1:26–29).

II. Classification and names. Angels were created holy (cf. Gen. 1:31), and like men were apparently given freedom of choice in attitude and action during a probationary period (cf. Jude 6). Some chose to worship and serve God and some rebelled, creating two major divisions of angels.

A. Good angels. Good angels are called "the holy angels," "the angels of God," "angels in heaven," "his powerful angels" (Lk. 9:26; 12:8; Heb. 1:6; Matt. 16:27; 22:30; 24:31; 2 Thess. 1:7). Of these good angels only two are mentioned by name in the Bible. First, MICHAEL is called the archangel by Jude (v. 9), while in the book of Daniel the messenger angel called him "one of the chief princes" (Dan. 10:13). In Rev. 12:7–8 Michael is portrayed as the commander of the army of good angels who defeated and expelled the bad angels from heaven.

Second, GABRIEL appears to be the chief messenger angel. He announced the forthcoming births of John the Baptist and of Jesus (Lk. 1:13, 31). He also interpreted Daniel's dream and on the same mission delivered God's decree (Dan. 8:15–27). JOSEPHUS (*War* 2.8.7) stated that the initiation oath

of the ESSENES included the pledge to preserve the names of angels. This interest in angels is illustrated in the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, which show the emphasis the Qumranites placed on the later Jewish writings, where angels figure prominently. For example, the apocryphal book of *1 Enoch* contains an interesting list of angel names. Each of the names is followed by the phrase "one of the holy angels" (which for the sake of brevity is omitted in the following quotation): "And these are the names of the holy angels who watch: Uriel…who is over the world and over Tartarus; Raphael… who is over the spirits of men; Raguel…who takes care of the world of the luminaries; Michael…is set over the best part of mankind and over chaos; Saraqael…is set over the spirits who sin in the spirit; Gabriel…is over paradise and the serpents and the cherubim; Remiel…whom God set over those who rise" (*1 En.* 20). Good angels will continue their blissful existence with God and his elect in the future age.

B. Bad angels. Bad angels consist of "the devil and his angels." It appears that their habitation was for some time in heaven, but they proved unfaithful to their trust and were driven out of heaven down to earth by the holy angels (cf. Rev. 12:7–12). The apostasy of the angels must have taken place before man's creation, for SATAN as the serpent caused ADAM and EVE to sin in the Garden of EDEN. Out of the group of degenerate angels Satan emerged as the chief exponent of evil and wickedness. The PHARISEES called him BEELZEBUB, "the prince of demons" (Matt. 12:24). Jesus said that the devil was a murderer, a liar, and the father of lies (Jn. 8:44). Paul said that Christians are contending "against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms" (Eph. 6:12). Bad angels will in the end be cast "into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. 25:41). The nebulous passage of Gen. 6:1–5, showing the increase of wickedness as man multiplied, is translated in various ways. One of the oldest commentaries on the subject is an elaborate account of the same story in *1 Enoch.* In its mythological account an attempt is made to solve the problem of sin by attributing it to marriages between lustful angels and earthly women (*1 En.* 15:9–16). See SONS OF GOD.

III. The angel of God. This figure, also called "the angel of the LORD," stands out in distinct preeminence in the OT.

A. Character and distinctiveness. Though it was natural for the terminology discussed above to be applied to any good angel (Matt. 2:20, 23), there was definitely a theophanic mediator, unique and distinct. He introduced himself as the Deity and yet as distinct from God. He spoke face to face with early Bible characters as man to man, in whose form he appeared. The angel of the Lord gave aid and encouragement twice to HAGAR, Sarai's Egyptian slave girl, in her distress in the wilderness

Some of the curtains of the tabernacle were embroidered with angelic creatures known as cherubim (Exod. 26:1 et al.).

(Gen. 16:7–13; 21:17). On the second occasion he called from heaven, as he did on two occasions to Abraham: when he stopped his attempt to sacrifice ISAAC and when he promised him countless descendants (22:11, 15–18). He was spokesman of the "three men" who came to announce to Abraham the impending doom of Sodom and Gomorrah, and to foretell the birth of Isaac. After the other two left for Sodom, Abraham detained him in his supplication to spare the city (18:1–19:1). The angel of the Lord accompanied ELIEZER on his mission to HARAN to get a wife for Isaac, through whom the chosen people were to be perpetuated (24:7, 40). He appeared to JACOB in a foreign land, identified himself as "the God of Bethel," and instructed him to go home (31:11–13). Later, after wrestling with him, Jacob said, "I saw God face to face" (32:24–30).

It was the angel of the Lord who appeared to MOSES in the BURNING BUSH and identified himself as "the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Exod. 3:6). The same angel later guided and guarded the Israelites in their exodus from Egypt (13:21–22; 14:19). He frequently talked to Moses on the wilderness journey, and delivered the TEN COMMANDMENTS to Moses on Mount Sinai (chs. 19–20). He blocked the road for Balaam on a questionable mission (Num. 22:22) and identified himself as "commander of the army of the LORD" to Joshua at the beginning of the conquest of the Promised Land (Josh. 5:14; 6:2).

Early in the period of the judges, when the Israelites were forsaking God, the angel of the Lord spoke to them at BOKIM (Jdg. 2:1–5). He later appeared to GIDEON to commission him for military leadership (6:11–14). Then he appeared to Manoah and his wife to promise them a son, SAMSON (ch. 13). He appeared to DAVID at the threshing floor of Ornan (ARAUNAH), where he stopped the destroying angel; and afterward he commanded the prophet GAD to order David to build an altar on that rock (1 Chr. 21:15, 18, 27). The angel of the Lord received a report from the angels who patrolled the earth and then asked God to have mercy on Jerusalem (Ezek. 1:10–13).

B. Preincarnate Logos. The question of the identity of "the angel of God" has aroused an intriguing interest among Bible students. The view with which most concur is that he is a distinct personal self-manifestation of God, who may be called the incarnate LOGOS. The reference in Jdg. 2:1 shows

clearly that "the angel of the LORD" is God in his self-manifestation. This is also the case with similar patriarchal passages dealing with Abraham, Jacob, and Moses. The angel whom David saw at the threshing floor was superior in rank to the destroying angel whom he ordered to stop. He later spoke with divine authority concerning the building of the altar on the spot. He was of the angelic order, but was superior to other angels. He always had the same specific personality, distinguishable from angels in general. For instance, he was not restricted to executing a single order, but, like Jesus, he spoke with authority as though he were God himself. Only the Logos, or some other manifest personification of God, would be able to do that.

John declared that the Logos "was in the beginning with God" and that he "was God"; that he was instrumental in the CREATION; and that he "became flesh and made his dwelling among us" (Jn. 1:1–14). It is interesting to note that this angel did not appear on earth while Jesus was in the flesh. The angel who announced Jesus' birth to the shepherds was probably Gabriel, but was referred to only as "an angel of the Lord" (Lk. 2:9). Other resemblances between "the angel of the Lord" and Jesus support the thesis that he was the preincarnate Logos. The wife of Manoah reported that his countenance was "very awesome"; and his appearance to David and to Balaam was terrifying. He appeared to Moses in the midst of a fire, and vanished from Gideon with the holocaust fire. Daniel said his eyes were like flaming torches, and Ezekiel saw on a throne "a figure like that of a man" who seemed to be "full of fire" (Dan. 10:6; Ezek 1:26–28). In comparison to these descriptions one can find striking similarities in John's vision of Jesus: "…his eyes were like blazing fire. His feet were like bronze glowing in a furnace, and his voice was like the sound of rushing waters" (Rev. 1:14–15).

It is amazing how often the appearance of "the angel of the LORD" marked a turning point in history, or sparked the innovation of some project with long-lasting consequences. Some examples are the founding of the chosen race through Abraham; deliverance of the same race from Egypt; founding a theocracy at Mount Sinai; leading an Israelite settlement into the Promised Land; laying foundation for Solomon's temple by ordering an altar built on Ornan's threshing floor rock; supporting Elijah in preserving monotheism; and protecting his elect in the Babylonian captivity. Another characteristic of the deity exercised by the angel of God was the authority to forgive sins (Exod. 23:21). In summary, the angel of the Lord was the guardian angel of the chosen race. The following words in Isaiah's prophecy are both predictive and reflective: "In all their distress he too was distressed, and the angel of his presence saved them. In his love and mercy he redeemed them; he lifted them up and carried them all the days of old" (Isa. 63:9).

IV. Distribution of work. In general the work of angels is to execute God's universal will in heaven and on earth. They praise, reverence, and obey God. They promote divine goodness, and they are mediators of God's love and good will to man. With their relation to man, the writer of Hebrews states tersely the role of angels in his question: "Are not all angels ministering spirits sent to serve those who will inherit salvation?" (Heb. 1:14). Their service is rendered throughout a wide distribution of duties, observed in the following categories.

A. To announce and forewarn. Angels announced beforehand the births of some of God's select servants. An angel announced in advance to Abraham and Sarai the conception and birth of their son Isaac (Gen. 18:9–10). Likewise, an angel foretold the birth of Samson to his parents, Manoah and his wife (Jdg. 13:2–24). Gabriel announced the birth of John the Baptist to his father Zechariah before his wife Elizabeth became pregnant, and the birth of Jesus to Mary before she was with child (Lk. 1:13, 30). On the night of Jesus' birth, that momentous event was announced by an angel to the shepherds

and immediately a chorus of heavenly angels began praising God and blessing man (Lk. 2:8–15).

Angels not only announced blessed events, but on occasions forewarned the righteous of imminent danger or threatening disaster. Abraham and Lot were forewarned by angels of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 18:16–19:29). Joseph was warned by an angel to "take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you; for Herod is going to search for the child to kill him" (Matt. 2:13). Gabriel revealed future events involving God's judgment to the prophet Daniel: "I am going to tell you what will happen later in the time of wrath, because the vision concerns the appointed time of the end" (Dan. 8:19). Similarly, an angel revealed to John on Patmos in a kaleidoscope of visions some eschatological scenes including the resurrection, the judgment, and the new Jerusalem (Rev. 1:1; 5:2 et al.).

B. To guide and instruct. From the day that Abraham left his home in Ur of the Chaldees until Joshua settled the tribes of Israel in Canaan, there is the manifest implication that the chosen people were divinely led. Always and everywhere during the nomadic wandering of the patriarchs, the sojourn in Egypt, and the wilderness tour to the Promised Land, an angel, visible or invisible, seemed to be ever near. Abraham was repeatedly in conversation with angels, and when he sent Eliezer to Mesopotamia to get a wife for Isaac, he assured the servant that God would send his angel with him (Gen. 24:7, 40). Later, when Jacob was on a similar mission for himself, he had a marvelous dream of angels ascending and descending a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with the Lord standing above and giving the reassurance, "I am with you and will watch over you wherever you go, and I will bring you back to this land. I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you" (28:15).

When Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, "the angel of God, who had been traveling in front of Israel's army, withdrew and went behind them" (Exod. 14:19). Subsequently Moses reassured the Israelites with God's promise, "See, I am sending an angel ahead of you to guard you along the way and to bring you to the place I have prepared" (23:20). He bolstered this promise by recalling that the Lord "sent an angel and brought us out of Egypt" (Num. 20:16). Directing and instructing were kindred functions, often combined in the same angelic mission. The most comprehensive instruction in the OT was the law received by Moses from angels on Mount Sinai. When Stephen was on trial before the Sanhedrin, he mentioned in his survey of Israel's history "the angel who spoke to [Moses] on Mount Sinai," and proceeded to charge the rulers that they had "received the law that was put into effect through angels but have not obeyed it" (Acts 7:38, 53). Paul said that the law "was put into effect through angels by a mediator" (Gal. 3:19).

Elihu envisioned an angel "as a mediator…to tell a man what is right for him" (Job 33:23). An angel gave Manoah's wife instructions for her personal care during pregnancy and for rearing her son Samson (Jdg. 13:3–5). An angel informed Joseph of the nature of Mary's conception and instructed him to marry her (Matt. 1:20–21). An angel appeared to the centurion Cornelius at Caesarea and told him to "send men to Joppa to bring back a man named Simon who is called Peter," and gave direction where to find him (Acts 10:5). An angel instructed Philip to leave Samaria and go to a desert place on the Jerusalem–Gaza road, where later he was to learn the purpose of the mission (8:26). Paul repeatedly received divine instruction, mediated, at least at times, by angels. One striking example was during a storm at sea, when an angel stood by Paul and assured him of his safety and that of the crew, and told him that he was yet to stand before Caesar (27:23–24). Angels also interpreted visions for Zechariah, Daniel, and John (Zech. 1:9, 19; Dan. 7:16; Rev. 17:7).

C. To guard and defend. The belief in guardian angels is an old one and has scriptural basis. "The

angel of the LORD encamps around those who fear him, and he delivers them" (Ps. 34:7). Angels guarded Jacob during his twenty years in Haran and brought him safely home to Canaan (Gen. 28:12, 15; 31:11; 32:1, 24). An angel, by cloud and fire, defended Israel from Egypt during the exodus (Exod. 14:19–20). When Moab and Midian allied to bring a curse of destruction on Israel, their plan was aborted by an angel who made Balaam revise his prophecy and rewrite his sermon (Num. 22). Reminiscent of Jacob's experience in seeing God's army of angels on returning to Canaan was that of Joshua when he met the "commander of the army of the LORD," who joined him as an ally at the beginning

Modern replica of a carved Assyrian relief depicting a guardian angel.

of the conquest of Canaan (Gen. 32:1–2; Josh. 5:14). In David's thanksgiving psalm he sang, "Bless the LORD, you his angels, you mighty ones who do his bidding, who obey his word" (Ps. 103:20). God's army stood by to defend Elisha and his servant (2 Ki. 6:17). The writer of Chronicles, profoundly impressed with the brave warriors who continued to come to David's support, said, "Day after day men came to help David, until he had a great army, like the army of God" (1 Chr. 12:22).

An angel prevented Abraham from committing murder and losing his only son of promise, and at the same time guarded the life of Isaac (Gen. 22:9–12). An angel guarded the lives of Daniel and the three young Hebrews against the sentences of death pronounced by powerful rulers (Dan. 3:28; 6:22). On the subject of guardian angels for children, Jesus warned, "See that you do not look down on one of these little ones. For I tell you that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father in heaven" (Matt. 18:10). The psalmist, after listing some of the worst perils that threatened him, pointed to God as his refuge and declared, "he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways" (Ps. 91:11). The angel who talked with Daniel said that he had been the guardian angel of DARIUS. He had just stated that Michael was the guardian angel of Daniel (prob. meaning of the Jews in general), and that he and Michael had contended with the prince (angel) of Persia and that later the prince of Greece would come (Dan. 10:13–11:1). Obviously, then, nations and cities, as well as individuals, have guardian angels. To this may also be added churches, as seen by the seven angels respectively assigned to the seven churches of ASIA MINOR (Rev. 2–3).

In the guardianship of God's people, angels were sometimes engaged in militant action against their enemies. "The destroyer," the angel of death, slew the firstborn of the Egyptians to force the release of the Israelites from the bondage of slavery (Exod. 12:23, 29). When SENNACHERIB'S army threatened the destruction of Jerusalem in the days of King HEZEKIAH and the prophet ISAIAH, "the angel of the LORD went out and put to death a hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp" (2 Ki. 19:35). The most enlightening and most reassuring comment on angelic guardianship was spoken by Jesus himself at the time of his arrest in the Garden of GETHSEMANE. PETER had just attempted a valiant defense of Jesus by wielding his sword when Jesus disarmed him and uttered amazing words of reassurance: "Do you think I cannot call on my Father, and he will at once put at my disposal more than twelve legions of angels?" (Matt. 26:53).

D. To minister in times of need. All angelic service to God's people is ministering in some form to their needs. Angels are mediators of God's love and good will to human beings, and their mission is always benevolent, either immediately or ultimately. As already seen, angels ministered to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in times of critical need. Nor did angelic service end with people of honorable estate, but with tender compassion ministered necessary aid to the slave girl, Hagar, and her young boy, Ishmael, when they were threatened with thirst and starvation in the wilderness (Gen. 21:17–18). When the Israelites were sorely oppressed by the taskmaster's lash and seemingly hopeless Egyptian bondage, the angel of the Lord came to Moses and said, "I have indeed seen the misery of my people in Egypt. I have heard them crying out because of their slave drivers, and I am concerned about their suffering. So I have come down to rescue them" (Exod. 3:7–8).

When Elijah, with exhaustion, fear, and loneliness, fell asleep under a broom tree in the desert, a celestial being ministered to his needs. An angel awoke him and served him with a hot cake and a jar of water, which provided him with strength for a long journey ahead (1 Ki. 19:5–7). After Jesus had spent forty days in the wilderness, threatened by wild beasts, weakened by fasting, and harassed by the devil, "angels attended him" (Mk. 1:13). In his agony, loneliness, and sorrow in Gethsemane, "an angel from heaven appeared to him and strengthened him" (Lk. 22:43). After Jesus had been laid in the tomb, "an angel of the Lord came down from heaven and, going to the tomb, rolled back the stone and sat on it" (Matt. 28:2). Peter was delivered from chains and prison by an angel, just as earlier an angel of the Lord had opened the prison doors and brought the apostles out and commanded them to go into the temple and preach (Acts 5:19; 12:6–11).

E. To assist in judgment. Finally, angels assist in God's judgment. Enough instances are on record to show that this is continually being done in human history. Some have already been mentioned. Another striking example of this is the death of HEROD Agrippa: "Immediately, because Herod did not give praise to God, an angel of the Lord struck him down, and he was eaten by worms and died" (Acts 12:23). Some examples of their roles in judgment are shown in the visions of John on Patmos. One angel with great authority and amazing splendor proclaimed the fall of Rome, while a mighty angel threw a large stone into the sea, symbolizing the fall of Rome (Rev. 18:1, 21). In the outset of the war in which Christ and his heavenly armies defeated the beast and his cohorts, an angel stood in the sun and summoned carrion fowl to eat the corpses of God's enemies to be slain in the conflict (19:17–18). Another angel bound Satan and threw him into the pit (20:1–3).

Jesus said to NATHANAEL that what Jacob had seen in a vision he would now see in reality in Jesus' ministry: "I tell you the truth, you shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of man" (Jn. 1:51). Later, Jesus declared to his audience: "If anyone is ashamed of me and my words, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes in his glory and in the glory of the Father and of the holy angels" (Lk. 9:26). Similarly he said, "whoever acknowledges me before men, the Son of Man will also acknowledge him before the angels of God. But he who disowns me before men will be disowned before the angels of God" (12:8–9). Moreover, Jesus said that angels would attend him on his SECOND COMING: "When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on his throne in heavenly glory" and judge all the nations (Matt. 25:31). When he comes, "he will send his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of the heavens to the other" (24:31; cf. Mk. 13:27). Doubtless the major function of angels in the age to come is to praise God continually (Rev. 19:1–3; Lk. 2:13–14).

V. Angelology. Angels are referred to in an open and straightforward manner from Genesis to Revelation, from Abraham by the oaks of Mamre to John on the island of Patmos. Their appearances are reported at various places in Bible lands over a period of more than 2,000 years. Scripture writers assume the existence of angels and, therefore, make no attempt to prove it. The earliest archaeological evidence of a reference to angels appears on the stela of Ur-Nammu (c. 2100 B.C.), where angels are seen flying over the head of this king while in prayer. Since Abraham came on the scene in this area not long after that time, he doubtless was acquainted with angelology from his youth and saw clearly that it had a natural place in the monotheism which he fostered.

Though angelology was mixed with mythology in the primitive religions, and in the polytheism of Israel's neighbors, the chosen people did not borrow distorted concepts from them only to be sloughed off with the maturation of their own religion. Contrarily, the records of angels increases as biblical history unfolds. They were sporadic throughout the OT until near its close. During the Babylonian captivity angels became more evident. It is the opinion of Bible scholars generally that ZOROASTRIANISM made a generous contribution to Jewish angelology. In any case, the NT opens with angel activity and continues so to its end. The visible activity of angels, however, has been superseded by the HOLY SPIRIT, who now guides Christians "into all truth" (Jn. 16:13).

(See further E. Langton, *The Angel Teaching of the New Testament* [1937]; W. G. Heidt, *Angelology in the Old Testament* [1949]; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Angelology and Demonology in Early Judaism* [1950]; W. Carr, *Angels and Principalities* [1981]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 19; M. Israel, *Angels, Messengers of Grace* [1994]; P. S. Williams, *The Case for Angels* [2000]; *DDD*, 45–59.)

angel of God (of the Lord). See ANGEL III.

angels of the seven churches. The seven stars in John's vision (Rev. 1:16) were interpreted to him by the spiritual guest to mean seven angels (v. 20). They were seen in the right hand of Jesus in the midst of the seven golden lampstands, or churches. The seven letters to the seven churches were addressed directly to the seven angels respectively. Consequently, the critical appraisal, censure, and praise, as well as admonition, so identified the angels with the churches that the two were inseparable. Obviously they were spiritual guardians or superintendents, intimately related to the lives of the churches, directing their attitudes and acts, and to be held responsible for them. There is much difference of opinion, however, as to whether the reference is to literal angels or to human "messengers" (e.g., the leaders of the churches; see G. R. Osborne, *Revelation*, BECNT [2002], 98–99).

G.B. FUNDERBURK

anger. At least eight Hebrew and two Greek words are used to express this concept in Scripture. The most common Hebrew word is *ʾap H678,* "anger" (lit., "nose," thought of as the seat of anger, from its use in hard breathing). Other words are *zaʿam H2405*, "indignation"; *zaʿap H2408*, "rage"; *ḥēmâ H2779*, "heat, fury"; *ḥārâ H3013*, "to burn, to be angry"; *kaʿas H4088*, "grief, vexation"; *ʿebbrâ H6301*, "outpouring of anger"; *qeṣep H7912*, "the breaking forth of wrath." In the SEPTUAGINT these various words are almost always translated by one of two Greek words, *orgē G3973* and *thymos G2696,* which seem interchangeable. In classical Greek *thymos* suggested the inward emotion of anger, and *orgē* the outward manifestation, but in the NT *thymos* tends to mean the sudden outburst of passionate anger, while *orgē* implies the settled attitude of moral indignation. All ten words are used with regard to both human and divine anger.

I. Human anger. The anger of human beings against other persons (individually or in groups) is just and holy insofar as it is concerned with righteousness and not motivated by personal considerations. Examples of the former in the OT are the anger of DAVID toward the unjust rich man of NATHAN'S story (2 Sam. 12:5), of NEHEMIAH anger at the extortion of the Jewish leaders (Neh. 5:6), of MOSES with the people for their distrust and disobedience of God (Exod. 16:20; 32:19; Lev. 10:16), of ELISHA anger because of his disappointment with King JOASH (2 Ki. 13:19). On the other hand, there are examples of selfish and therefore wrongful anger, as that of CAIN against ABEL (Gen. 4:5), ESAU against JACOB (27:41–45), BALAK against BALAAM (Num. 24:10), SAUL against JONATHAN (1 Sam. 20:30), ASA against the seer (2 Chr. 16:10), UZZIAH against the priests (26:19), Ahasuerus (XERXES) against VASHTI (Esth. 1:12). In many cases, motives are a mixture of regard for righteousness and personal or family self-interest, as in the case of JACOB'S anger against LABAN (Gen. 31:36–42), that of DINAH'S brothers against SHECHEM (34:7), and David's against AMNON (2 Sam. 13:21).

In the NT human anger is almost invariably condemned. The anger of the ungodly against the innocent is illustrated in the case of HEROD (Matt. 2:16), the people of NAZARETH (Lk. 4:28), the SANHEDRIN (Acts 5:33), those who stoned STEPHEN (7:54), Saul (PAUL) before his conversion (9:1), the silversmiths of EPHESUS (19:28). Such wrath is in the final analysis directed against God (Lk. 15:28; Rev. 11:18) and is seen in its most concentrated ultimate form in the devil (12:12, 17). Anger

is forbidden to the Christian as one of the works of the flesh (Gal. 5:19–21) or as the clothing of the old nature to be put off (Col. 3:8). Christians should be slow to anger, which does not accord with God's righteousness (Jas. 1:19–20), and which hinders true prayer (1 Tim. 2:8). Jesus spoke of anger as incipient murder, rendering one liable to judgment both human and divine (Matt. 5:21–22). The only hint of any concession to human weakness is Paul's command (quoting Ps. 4:4), "'In your anger do not sin' : Do not let the sun go down while you are still angry, and do not give the devil a foothold" (Eph. 4:26–27), which implies that if anger comes to the heart, it must be controlled and dispelled before nightfall. Otherwise one gives opportunity to the devil. Paul continued to beg the Ephesians to put away all rage and anger and brawling in favor of tenderhearted, forgiving kindness and love (Eph. 4:31–5:2).

II. The anger of Jesus. We are expressly told of Jesus' anger with the hard-hearted people in the synagogue at CAPERNAUM (Mk. 3:5), and of his indignation with the disciples when they sought to stop the children from being brought to him (10:14). His actions and words in emptying the temple precincts of the hucksters suggest anger (11:15–17). His words in various other places seem also to indicate indignation, as against those who cause little ones to stumble (Matt. 18:6–9), PETER when he speaks the tempting words of SATAN (16:23), the SADDUCEES with their foolish mockery of a solemn question (Mk. 12:24–27), and the SCRIBES and PHARISEES with their hypocritical attitudes (Matt. 23:13–36). In all these examples, there is nothing of self-interest, only holy anger against unrighteousness, which is abhorrent to God. The suggestion that his cursing of the fig tree (Matt. 21:18–20; Mk. 11:12–14, 20, 21) showed petulant anger may be dismissed. This was surely an acted parable (cf. Lk. 13:6–9). The Lord's character was not insipidly mild; there was real strength and virility balanced finely with his gentle kindliness. He could be angry, but only for God's honor. (See B. B. Warfield, "On the Emotional Life of Our Lord," in *Biblical and Theological Studies by Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary* [1912], 36–90.)

III. The wrath of God. In the OT God's anger is directed continually against the nation of Israel for forsaking his COVENANT and breaking his laws, and also against his individual servants when they fail in their function, such as was the case with Moses (Exod. 4:14; Deut. 1:37), Aaron (9:20), Miriam (Num. 12:9), and various kings and prophets. The prophets speak also of God's wrath against the nations because of their wickedness (Jon. 1:2), their crimes against humanity (Amos 1–2), and their attacks against his own people Israel (Jer. 10:25). This wrath of God was exercised against his people by means of national calamities, such as the fiery serpents in the wilderness (Num. 21:6) or the three days' pestilence (2 Sam. 24), but most often he used other nations as the instruments of his chastisement of Israel (Amos 3:9–11; Isa. 10:5) and in turn of one another (Isa. 13:4–5, 17–19; Jer. 50:24–27, 41–43).

The NT gospel is introduced by the Baptist's warning of wrath to come (Matt. 3:7; Lk. 3:7), a note that continued in Jesus' preaching (Lk. 21:23). This eschatological view of the wrath of God is seen in the epistles (Rom. 2:5–9; 5:9; Eph. 5:6; Col. 3:6; 1 Thess. 1:10; 2 Thess. 1:7–10) and repeatedly in Revelation. But Paul emphasizes that all men are "by nature objects [lit., children] of wrath" (Eph. 2:3) and stand even now under the wrath of God (Rom. 1:18–3:20) because of ungodliness (*asebeia G813)* and wickedness (*adikia G94)*.

C. H. Dodd regards "the wrath of God" not as "the attitude of God to man, but an inevitable process of cause and effect in a moral universe" (*The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, MNTC [1932], 50). But a completely depersonalized concept is not adequate to cover biblical teaching. The wrath of

God is certainly no capricious passion, but it is the personal attitude of a personal God—what has been called "the eternal recoil against the unholy on the part of the all-holy God." One side of God's HOLINESS is his anger against sin; the other, and more fundamental aspect, is his love and mercy, to which the whole Bible bears witness. If we fail to recognize his wrath, we shall not fully appreciate his mercy. (Cf. R. V. G. Tasker, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* [1951].) See also WRATH.

D.G. STEWART

angle, the At NEHEMIAH'S refortification in 444 B.C., the "angle" (KJV, "turning"; Heb. *miqṣôa(H5243*, "corner" of a building, court, or altar) extended southward along the eastern edge of ancient Mount ZION from a point above the GIHON SPRING (Neh. 3:24–26), through eight sections of construction, to the "armory" (3:19–20). Three centuries before, UZZIAH had erected a tower at this point (2 Chr. 26:9). Since the ramparts seem here to have run relatively straight, "the angle" may refer to some interior structure that paralleled or abutted upon the wall. It should not be confused with the NE "corner" of the city (Neh. 3:31–32). See also JERUSALEM III.A.

J.B. PAYNE

Anglo-Saxon Versions. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ENGLISH III. A.

anguish. See SUFFERING.

Aniam uh-n*i*'uhm (אֲנִיעָם *H642*, "lament of the people" [if from אָנָה *H627*] or "I am kinsman" [if from אָנִי *H638*]). Son of Shemida and descendant of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 7:19). Some scholars emend Manasseh's genealogy here on the basis of Num. 26:30–32.

Anim ay'nim (עָנִים *H6719*, possibly "springs"). A city in the hill country of JUDAH (Josh. 15:50). It is mentioned in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters as Hawini. Anim is identified with modern Khirbet Ghuwein et-Taḥta, 11 mi. S of HEBRON. (See *NEAEHL*, 1:62.)

animal. This English word, which came into general use after the publication of KJV and thus is absent from it, is used in modern versions of the Bible as the translation of various terms. Hebrew words referring to animals include the following: *bĕhēmâ H989*, "beast"; *ḥayyâ H2651*, "living [being]"; *miqneh H5238*, "cattle"; *ṣō)n H7366*, "sheep"; *nĕbēlâ H5577*, "carcase." Relevant Greek words in the NT are: *thērion G2563*, "wild beast"; *tetrapous G5488,* "quadruped"; *ktēnos G3229*, "beast of burden"; *zōon G2442*, "creature." Strictly speaking, an animal is any living being endowed with sensation and voluntary movement—in contrast to plants. In popular use it refers primarily to four-footed animals, sometimes only to four-footed mammals, in contrast to humans, birds, fish, etc. See also BEAST; FAUNA.

G.S. CANSDALE

anise. A term used by KJV once to render Greek *anēthon G464* (Matt. 23:23), and thought by some to be a reference to *Pimpinella anisum*, an aniseed-flavored herb. The Greek word, however, undoubtedly refers to DILL (*Anethum graveolens)*.

W.E. SHEWELL-COOPER

ankle chain, anklet. Anything worn around the ankle as an ornament. Such ornaments are referred to in Isa. 3:16,18 (NRSV), 20, where the women of Zion are described as "tripping along with mincing steps, with ornaments jingling on their ankles," and who are warned that "the LORD will snatch away their finery." Archaeology has uncovered many anklets through Palestine. Oriental women were partial to them, often wearing them in sets of three or more. Anklets were made of various metals: gold, silver, bronze. As the wearer walked, they made a ringing sound.

Anna an'uh (Ἄννα or Ἄννα *G483*, the equivalent of Heb. חַנָּה *H2839*, "grace"). (1) The wife of TOBIT (Tob. 1:9). She plays a significant role in the narrative.

(2) An aged prophetess in Jerusalem who witnessed the presentation of Jesus in the temple (Lk. 2:36–38). She was the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of ASHER. (Although her tribe was taken into the Assyrian captivity and never officially returned, presumably her family remembered its genealogy and returned to the Promised Land.) After being married for seven years, she lived eighty-four years in widowhood, so she must have been well over one hundred years old at the time of Jesus' presentation (according to KJV and RSV, she was eighty-four years old at the time, but this translation is less likely). A devout and saintly woman, she spent all her time in fasting and prayer. The comment that she "never left the temple" can hardly mean she had her residence in the temple precincts, but rather that she spent her waking hours there in the worship of God. At Christ's presentation, she joined her praises with those of the aged SIMEON to thank God for the long-awaited redemption through the MESSIAH.

(3) The mother of Mary and grandmother of Jesus, according to the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* and subsequent legends concerning the birth of the Virgin (see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF). Long childless, she and her husband Joachim received angelic assurances of the birth of a child in answer to their prayers. The girl, named Mary, was dedicated to a lifelong service of God. At the age of three Mary was taken to the temple by Anna, where she remained, fed by angels, until the age of twelve. Later embellishments make Anna the mother of two more girls, both named Mary, who became the wives of ALPHAEUS and ZEBEDEE respectively.

D.E. HIEBERT

Annaas an'ay-uhs. See ANNAS.

annals. See CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF.

Annan an'uhn (Αννάν). Ancestor of some Israelites who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:32 [KJV, "Annas"]; the name apparently corresponds to HARIM in Ezra 10:31).

Annas an'uhs ("Αννας *G484*, shortened form of "Ανανος; = חֲנַנְיָה *H2863*, "Yahweh is gracious"). (1) KJV Apoc. form of ANNAN (1 Esd. 9:32; some editions of KJV have "Annaas").

(2) KJV Apoc. variant of SENAAH (1 Esd. 5:23).

(3) A high priest of the Jews from A.D. 6 to 15, and who as long as he lived was the virtual head of the priestly party in Jerusalem (see J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004], 420–24). The son of Seth, he was appointed high priest by QUIRINIUS, governor of SYRIA, and was deposed by Valerius Gratus. In the time of Christ high priests were

appointed and deposed at the whim of the Roman governors. Although removed from office, Annas's power and influence were so great that five of his sons, as well as his son-in-law Caiaphas and his grandson Matthias, likewise became high priests (Jos. *Ant.* 18.2.1–2; 20.9.1). Years afterward he lost the office, but the people continued to regard him as high priest. Even after Jesus' death and resurrection his name appears first in the list of priestly leaders (Acts 4:6). In Jn. 18:19, 22 the high priest is undoubtedly Annas, although in vv. 13 and 24 Caiaphas is mentioned as occupying the office.

Annas is referred to in connection with the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry, which took place "during the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas" (Lk. 3:2), as though father and son-in-law were joint holders of the office. It seems clear that due to his ability and force of character he was virtually high priest, although Caiaphas had the title. When Jesus was arrested, he was first brought before Annas (Jn. 18:13). It was apparently Annas who questioned him about his disciples and his teaching, and who gave orders to one of the officers standing by to strike Jesus with his hand (18:19–22). After the questioning, he sent Jesus to Caiaphas. He was undoubtedly the ruling spirit in the council that condemned Jesus, although nothing is said about his part in the proceedings that followed the preliminary questioning. He was present at the meeting of the SANHEDRIN before which Peter and John defended themselves for preaching the gospel of the resurrection (Acts 4:6). For further discussion and bibliography, see CAIAPHAS.

S. BARABAS

Annias uh-n*i*'uhs (Αννιας). Head of a family, numbering 101, who are among those listed as returning from the Babylonian captivity with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:16; the name is omitted in the parallel passages, Ezra 2; Neh. 7).

S. BARABAS

annihilationism. See IMMORTALITY; PUNISHMENT, ETERNAL.

Anniuth uh-n*i*'uhth (Αννιουθ). One of the Levites who assisted EZRA in teaching the law of the Lord (1 Esd. 9:48 [KJV, "Anus"]; called BANI in Neh. 8:7).

annunciation. This term is used in theology with reference to the supernatural announcement of the births of JOHN THE BAPTIST and JESUS CHRIST. According to the Gospels, three people received an annunciation: ZECHARIAH (Lk. 1:13), JOSEPH (Matt. 1:20), and MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS (Lk. 1:26–38; the words "Blessed art thou among women" in the KJV of v. 28 are not found in the earliest MSS and are undoubtedly an interpolation from v. 42). The term most commonly refers to the angel GABRIEL'S announcement to Mary that she would give birth to Jesus. Added details, undoubtedly legendary, of the annunciation are related in the apocryphal 2nd-cent. book known as the *Protevangelium of James* (chs. 10–11; see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF). The Feast of the Annunciation is celebrated on March 25 on the basis of a date of December 25 for the Nativity. The well-known prayer *Ave Maria* is based in part on Gabriel's salutation to Mary.

S. BARABAS

Annunus an'y*oo*-nuhs (Αννουνος). KJV Annuus. One of the priests who returned to Jerusalem with EZRA (1 Esd. 8:48; his name does not appear in the parallel list, Ezra 8:19).

Annuus an'y*oo*-uhs. KJV Apoc. variant of ANNUNUS (1 Esd. 8:48).

anoint. To apply OIL or ointment on an object or a person, usually as a religious ceremony. The common ointment was OLIVE oil, although other substances were used. Sacred anointing oil was carefully compounded and reserved for sacral use. The term is used to render primarily Hebrew *sûk H6057*, "to pour," or *māšaḥ H5417*, "to smear"; and Greek *aleiphō G230*, "to rub oil," or *chriō G5987,* "to anoint."

I. History of the practice

A. Origin. W. Robertson Smith (*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, rev. ed. [1907], 233, 383–84) thinks that the religious rite arose from nomadic sacrificial practices. Perhaps it developed from a custom of smearing the sacrificial fat on the pillar *(maṣṣēbâH5167)* as part of a communal meal (or feast with totem animal). Others feel it is an outgrowth of the secular use of anointing for medicinal and cosmetic purposes. See OINTMENT.

B. Pre-Hebraic examples. The practice of anointing is well attested in Babylonian and Egyptian customs well before biblical times. The specific

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First-century glass bottle used to hold perfume and oil for the purpose of anointing.

practice of anointing a king is mentioned in the 14th cent. B.C. (TELL EL-AMARNA Letter #37). One text from Ras Shamra refers to anointing BAAL (C. H. Gordon, *UM*, #76; *ANET*, 142a; cf. *Syria* 17 [1936]: 150–173).

C. Hebraic customs. Anointing is attested throughout all periods of Hebrew history.

1. Sacral practice in the premonarchic period. The earliest usage in premonarchic times seems to be that recorded in Gen. 28:18 (cf. 31:13), which states that JACOB anointed the pillar he had erected at BETHEL. During the time of the judges it was assumed that a king was inducted into office by anointing (Jdg. 9:8, 15).

2. Sacral practice during the monarchy. During the monarchy there is evidence for the anointing of the first three kings: SAUL (1 Sam. 9:16; 10:1), DAVID (16:13), and SOLOMON (1 Ki. 1:34, 39, 45). Others anointed include JEHU (2 Ki. 9:1–13), JOASH (11:12), and JEHOAHAZ (23:30).

3. Nonsacral practice in OT. Nonsacral usage in OT times is widely attested from the period of the exodus (Deut. 28:40) to exilic times (Ezek. 16:9).

4. Postexilic and Christian usage. In Zech. 4:14 the postexilic successor to David's claim to the throne, ZERUBBABEL, is said to be anointed. Here, as in Isa. 45:1, where the Persian king CYRUS is called the Lord's anointed, the reference may be metaphorical rather than literal. In intertestamental and NT times literal anointing for medicinal purposes is attested in Jdt. 10:3; 16:10; Jas. 5:14; Rev. 3:18. As a mark of hospitality or special honor, guests were anointed (Lk. 7:37–46; Jn. 11:2).

II. Meaning of the practice

A. Literal usage. Persons were anointed (1) to give relief from the sun (Ps. 104:15); (2) as part of the toilette (Ruth 3:3; 2 Sam. 12:20; 2 Chr. 28:15; Dan. 10:3; Amos 6:6; Mic. 6:15); (3) as part of the care of newly born infants (Ezek. 16:9), (4) as part of other medicinal usages (see above, I.C.4).

It is called the oil of joy or gladness (Ps. 45:7; Isa. 61:3). Refraining from its use was a sign of mourning (2 Sam. 12:20; 14:2; Isa. 61:3; Dan. 10:3; Jdt. 10:3). This custom persisted into Christian times, as indicated by Christ's strictures against it (Matt. 6:17). An honored guest was anointed on the head (Ps. 23:5; Lk. 7:46; Jn. 11:2) or, rarely, on the feet (Lk. 7:38). For other examples of literal usage see sections III and IV below.

B. Metaphorical usage. Since persons ritually anointed were believed to have received the HOLINESS and virtue of the deity in whose name they were anointed, it was also believed that they received a special endowment of the Spirit of Yahweh (1 Sam. 10:10; 16:13). There was a transfer of divine powers and authority. By extension, "to anoint" became a metaphor for the bestowal of God's favor (Ps. 23:5; 92:10–as parallelism shows) and for the designation of someone to a particular place or office in God's plan (Ps. 105:15; Isa. 45:1). Anointing indicated preparation for service and the gift of God's Spirit (1 Sam. 10:1, 9; 16:13; Isa. 61:1; Zech. 4:1–14). This is carried on in the NT (Acts

10:38; 1 Jn. 2:20, 27). Perhaps Jas. 5:14 should be included here, with oil as the symbol of the presence of the HOLY SPIRIT, the Lord and Giver of Life.

III. Objects anointed

A. Noncultic. Noncultic objects may have been anointed. Some interpreters see such a practice in 2 Sam. 1:21 and Isa. 21:5. However, two other possibilities are present: (1) that anointing the shields may have been a part of the ritual of sanctifying a war; (2) that the reference is simply to a preservative measure (so RSV in Isaiah), but this interpretation does not fit the context of 2 Samuel.

B. Cultic. Among the cultic objects anointed were the TABERNACLE and all its furniture and utensils (Exod. 30:26–29; 40:9–11; Lev. 8:10, 11; Num. 7:1). Special note is made of anointing the ALTAR (Exod. 29:36; Num. 7:10) and the ARK OF THE COVENANT (Exod. 30:26). In patriarchal times stone pillars were anointed (Gen. 28:18; 35:14).

IV. Persons anointed

A. Kings. Kings were inducted into office by the rite of pouring oil on their heads at coronation. The anointing was by a divine representative, usually a prophet (1 Sam. 10:1; 1 Ki. 1:39, 45; 19:16; 2 Ki. 9:6; 11:12). Only JOASH seems to have been anointed by a priest. ABIATHAR was present when ADONIJAH was crowned, but did not anoint him. In the rite the king became the vassal (*nāgîd H5592)* of Yahweh (1 Sam. 10:1; cf. 2 Sam. 6:21, which implies David's feudal subservience to Yahweh). Anointing conveyed divine authority. JEHU'S fellow officers thought the young prophet sent by ELISHA was a madman, but they accepted Jehu as their king (2 Ki. 9:11–13). Because it was customary to anoint kings, the phrase "the Lord's anointed" became a synonym for "king" (1 Sam. 12:3, 5; 24:6, 10; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam. 1:14, 16; 19:21; Ps. 20:6; Lam. 4:20).

B. Priests. Priests were customarily inducted into office by anointing (Exod. 28:41; 29:7; 30:30; 40:13–15; Lev. 4:3; 8:12, 30; 16:32; 21:10). The anointing conferred office in perpetuity (Lev. 7:35–36; 10:7).

C. Prophets. Although ELIJAH was commissioned to anoint ELISHA as his successor (1 Ki. 19:16), there is no record that this was ever done. R. de Vaux (*Ancient Israel* [1961], 103–6) thinks the reference here is metaphorical, as is clearly the case with the anointing of the speaker in Isa. 61:1. The spirit of Elijah was given to Elisha, and thus is fulfilled the commission to anoint him. However, the obvious parallelism of Ps. 105:15 to 1 Chr. 16:22, when taken in context, seems to indicate the possibility that some prophets were anointed, unless, again, "anointed" means the Hebrews as God's representatives on earth, rather than an individual.

V. Metaphorical usage

A. Persons endowed with God's Spirit. They are called God's "anointed" (Pss. 28:8; 84:9; 89:38, 51; Hab. 3:13). In the NT the descent of the Holy Spirit is a metaphorical anointing (2 Cor. 1:22; 1 Jn. 2:20, 27).

B. Technical term for the Messiah. The English word MESSIAH is a direct transliteration of the Hebrew word *māsîah H5431*, "anointed." In a literal sense the reigning king in OT times was the Messiah. After the promise to David (2 Sam. 7:13), "anointed" came to indicate the royal line of David (Pss. 2:2; 18:50; 84:9; 89:38, 51; 132:10, 17). However, in the sense of a coming deliverer the term Messiah is first found in *Psalms of Solomon* (17:36; 18:8), dating from c. 50 B.C. (For possible pre-Christian usage in DSS, see W. LaSor in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, ed. M. Ben-Horin et al. [1962], 343, 364.) The term "anointed of Yahweh" is never used in the OT for a coming king, but for the actual king (cf. A. Richardson, *Theological Word Book of the Bible* [1950], 45). In NT times the term "anointed" (Messiah, Christ) came to mean a promised deliverer (Jn. 1:41; 4:25; see JESUS CHRIST).

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Anos ay'nos. KJV Apoc. variant of VANIAH (1 Esd. 9:34).

ant. The name *ant* is technically and popularly given to insects, forming a family of the order *Hymenoptera* (membranous wings) containing over 10,000 species; only the sexual forms are winged, the great bulk of each colony being sexless workers and soldiers. Their most important feature is that all kinds are social, forming colonies that range from a few dozen to perhaps a million. They vary greatly in size, and span from wholly carnivorous to wholly vegetarian. Some are entirely arboreal; others nest underground but travel widely in search of food. Palestine has many species, including some that are now house pests.

The context of both occurrences in the OT (Prov. 6:6–8; 30:25; Heb. *nĕmīālâ H5805)* suggests the harvester ant (*Messor semirufus)*. Many species can be said to "provide their food in the summer," but few so obviously as the harvester ant, which is usually found in the desert. The nest is underground, with its entrance made conspicuous by a series of well-worn paths leading to it from several directions. These ants are nearly one quarter of an inch long, and during spring and early summer they spend the day collecting seeds from a wide area around the nest. Seeds with a loose kernel are dehusked after delivery at the nest; the husks are thrown out and carried down wind, making the entrance even more obvious.

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antediluvians. People who lived before the flood ("deluge") of NOAH (see FLOOD, GENESIS). This period is covered by Gen. 3–6, from which we learn that they calculated time in years, months, and days. They apparently were familiar with AGRICULTURE (ADAM kept the garden of EDEN, 2:15; Adam and ABEL tilled the ground, 3:17–19; 4:2), botany (thorns and thistles, 3:18; cypress wood, 6:14; fig tree, 3:7; pitch, 6:14), metallurgy (bronze and iron tools, 4:22), architecture (CAIN built a city, 4:17), and music (harp and flute, 4:21). The hints of government seem to be patriarchal and possibly city states. With regard to religion, SACRIFICES appear to have been established (Gen. 4:4; 8:20), and Noah was familiar with "clean" animals (7:2; 8:20). Of the lineage of SETH and ENOSH it is said,

It has been suggested that dinosaurs roamed the earth in the antediluvian period (Gen. 3–6), but modern science dates them much earlier.

"At that time men began to call on the name of the LORD" (4:26). A contrast with the descendants of Cain, who presumably did not call upon God, seems to be implied.

The dates of Adam and Noah are not known. In fact, any dates of patriarchs before ABRAHAM are uncertain. Even the various methods for computing the date for Abraham yield results that differ as much as 300 years. The uncertainty in the date for the flood may be thousands of years. See CHRONOLOGY (OT). Much information has been learned from archaeology and anthropology about ancient peoples and their cultures that likely predate the flood. Radiocarbon and potassium argon methods of radioactive dating are among the most reliable means of obtaining absolute dates (in contrast to relative dating). By these a time scale in years is obtained, generally with a precision of about two to five per cent on the measurement and a probable accuracy of about five to ten per cent with respect to the true date. Certainly, this is evidenced repeatedly by numerous comparisons with ancient artifacts of known historic age, and of tree rings where the yearly rings can be counted. Radiocarbon is reliable in dating organic (once living) materials back to about forty or fifty thousand years. The precision is not as good for a 40,000-year-old sample as for those of recent age because the radioactivity is very low. Potassium argon precision is good on samples a million years old or more. For younger samples the analytical precision is poorer because the samples are too young to have accumulated sufficient radiogenic argon for more precise measurement.

I. Genealogies and the period from Adam to Noah. In Gen. 5 we find a GENEALOGY of ten antediluvian patriarchs along with statements on (1) the age of each at the birth of a son, (2) the number of years remaining until his death, and (3) the sum of the years of these periods combined.

J. D. Davis (*ISBE* [1929], 1:139–43) compares the numbers of this genealogical list in three ancient texts—the Hebrew MT, the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, and the SEPTUAGINT—supplemented with several other textual sources. There seems to be in the LXX a systematic excess of 100 years for the age of the patriarch at the birth of the son. Also the longevity of JARED, METHUSELAH, and LAMECH is variously divergent in the Samaritan text. Davis presents the opinions and theories from a number of commentaries and favors these conclusions: (1) the divergencies of the texts are due mainly to systematic alteration and not to accidental corruption; (2) the differences in the Samaritan text give evidence of adjustment to a theory; and (3) biblical scholars no longer question the general superiority of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch as a whole over the LXX and Samaritan texts. Which

source is superior in this passage is still in question.

FROM THE FALL TO THE FLOOD Genesis 4:1–8:14		
Cain and Abel and Their Offerings	**The Genealogies of Cain and Seth**	**The Great Apostasy and Following Judgment**
Gen. 4:1–15	Gen. 4:16–5:32	Gen. 6:1–8:14
(i) The First Home (Gen. 4:1–2)	(i) Cain's Posterity (Gen. 4:16–24)	(i) The Blending of the Seeds (Gen. 6:1–2)
(ii) The Time of Worship (Gen. 4:3a)	(ii) Seth's Posterity (Gen. 4:25–5:32)	(ii) The Divine Warning (Gen. 6:3)
(iii) The Two Offerings (Gen. 4:3–4a)		(iii) The Prevailing Wickedness (Gen. 6:5, 11–13)
(iv) The Divine Response (Gen. 4:4b-7)		(iv) The Divine Resolve (Gen. 6:6–7, 13)
(v) Murder and Martyrdom (Gen. 4:8)		(v) The Godly Remnant (Gen. 6:8–9)
(vi) The Divine Judgment (Gen. 4:9–12)		(vi) The Preparation for Judgment (Gen. 6:13–7:10)
(vii) The Cry of Cain (Gen. 4:13–15)		(vii) The Punitive Flood (Gen. 7:10–8:14)

One of the theories, based on the interpretation that the names denote individuals with no omissions, suggests that the LXX translators noted from their data that Methuselah would have survived the flood and so accordingly increased his age at the birth of Lamech. Likewise the Samaritan scribes noted that Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech would have outlived the flood, so their respective ages were reduced to indicate that they died in the year of the flood. Other rather involved changes have been suggested to bring the several accounts into agreement. The net result is that we cannot be sure of the original reading of the data on the ages of the patriarchs.

Other biblical scholars of repute give essentially this same warning and believe it is improbable that the genealogical framework in Gen. 5 can be used, or was intended to be used, for calculating the length of time between the CREATION and the flood. Such terms as "begat" and "son" can be used in a variety of ways and may indicate distant descendants. The brevity and symmetry of the genealogies (ten generations from Adam to Noah, and ten from Noah to Abraham; cf. the groupings in Matt. 1) seem to argue against unbroken father-to-son relations. Human beings are now scientifically known to have existed long before 4000 B.C. M. F. Unger (*Archeology and the Old Testament* [1954], 18) has written that God's revelation, the Bible, may be made "more fully understandable as a result of light shed upon it from external sources—whether it be ancient history, modern archeology, or any other branch of learning. And anyone who would understand the Bible as fully as possible has no right to

neglect light that may be obtained from extra-Biblical sources." Archaeologists and anthropologists place the ancient civilizations of Egypt, the Indus Valley, and Mesopotamia back to 3000–4000 B.C. or somewhat before. There is no known universal break in faunal species or geologic sedimentation that would date the biblical flood, and hence the date for antediluvians. Furthermore, most scientists believe that the earliest human fossils are more than two million years old (more than four million if bipedalism is thought to be a defining human characteristic).

In discussing antediluvians from Adam to Noah we are left still with the question, When did Adam live? We do not know. Was Adam the first member of *Homo sapiens* or was he the first member of an earlier genus such as *Australopithecus?* Some would place Adam as the first of genus *Homo*, but then, was Adam's race of antediluvians contemporary with Neanderthal man? These are questions that cannot be answered now from paleontology. Perhaps in the future new data will shed further light.

J. O. Buswell—after affirming the Bible as the Word of God, fully reliable on matters that it claims to set forth, including the special creation of man—says that, as far as the antiquity of human beings on the earth, "the Bible gives us no data on which to base any conclusion or even an estimate" (*A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion* [1962], 325). B. B. Warfield, widely regarded as the greatest defender of the inerrancy of the Bible, says, "…for aught we know instead of twenty generations and some two thousand years measuring the interval between the creation and the birth of Abraham, two hundred generations and something like two hundred thousand years may have intervened. In a word, the scriptural data leaves us wholly without guidance in estimating time which elapsed between the creation of the world and the deluge, and between the deluge and the call of Abraham. So far as the Scripture assertions are concerned, we may suppose any length of time to have intervened between these events, which may otherwise appear reasonable" ("On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race" [1911], in *Studies in Theology* [1932], 244).

Both Warfield and Buswell cite William Henry Green (*BSac* 47 [1890]: 285–303), who discusses a dozen genealogical lists and passages that clearly show "that the Biblical writers in giving a list of names in a genealogy, never intend to give the readers to understand that all the links in the chain are included, but, on the contrary, expect the readers to recognize that the names given are selected, and that there may be gaps in the list," and that the lengths of the gaps are irrelevant to the purpose of the writer. For example, in Matt. 1:1–17 we have "the generation of Jesus Christ…all the generations from Abraham to David…and from David until the carrying away into Babylon." However, in v. 8 Matthew dropped the names of three kings of Judah—namely, Ahaziah (2 Ki. 8:25), Joash (12:1), and Amaziah (14:1) between Joram and Ozias (Uzziah)—and later (Matt. 1:11) he omitted Jehoiakim after Josiah (see 2 Ki. 23:34; 1 Chr. 3:16). Therefore it is apparent that Matthew used the word "begat" in a figurative sense, meaning "to have as a descendent."

Furthermore, Buswell points out that Matthew's genealogy (Matt. 1:2–17) is divided into three sections each containing fourteen names (see v. 17). On observation there are forty names rather than forty-two, since the last name in the first section is the first name of the second section, etc. He suggests that Matthew did not intend three fourteens that could be added together but rather three fourteens that would be easy to memorize (*Systematic Theology*, 330). Davis shows that Genesis is divided into ten sections, each introduced by the same formula (Gen. 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; et al.). In this pattern the flood was a point of crisis, with ten generations named before that event and ten after. Also the time from Noah to Abraham is divided into two equal sections with five generations named from Noah to Peleg (during whose life "the earth was divided," 10:25), and five generations named from Peleg to Abraham (11:10–26). Davis concludes, "There is no basis in the genealogy from Adam

to Noah for the calculation of Chronology. The table was constructed for a different purpose and the years are noted for another reason than chronology" (*ISBE* [1929], 1:142).

In a discussion of ancient idiom, Buswell writes that Moses in these genealogies "had no intention of giving figures which could be added up, but took it for granted that his readers would understand that the biographical information in these chapters was given, not at all for long term chronology, but among other purposes, to show God's dealings with men and families from the beginning of the human race down to Abraham, regardless of the unmentioned persons and gaps in the record as given, and to show the great antiquity of God's redemptive program through many ancient families prior to Abraham's time" *(Systematic Theology,* 326). Davis also points out that the Hebrew author himself does not use the genealogies to construct a chronology: "There is no computation anywhere in Scripture of the time that elapsed from the Creation or from the Deluge, as there is from the descent into Egypt to the Exodus (Exod. 12:40), or from the Exodus to the building of the temple (1 Ki. 6:1)" (*ISBE* [1929], 1:142).

The Hebrew method of recording genealogies has a parallel in the Sumerian King Lists. The Weld-Blundell Prism lists eight kings who reigned before the flood and fourteen dynasties after it. To the eight kings who ruled at five different cities seemingly in succession are ascribed lengths of reign from 18,600 years to 36,000 years for a total of 241,200 years (J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past: The Archaeological Background of Judaism and Christianity*, 2nd ed. [1959], 27–36). A later form of the same list is known from the writings of Berosus, a priest of Marduk's temple at Babylon about 300 B.C. He gives ten names instead of eight and further exaggerates the lengths of reigns from 10,800 years to 64,800 years for a total of 432,000 years (ibid., 28; *ISBE* [1929], 1:141).

Davis points out some remarkable similarities between the Genesis account and the Babylonian account, and well there might be if each obtained information from the same earlier writings. One recognizes, of course, that Moses wrote Genesis about a thousand years before Berosus' list. The correspondence begins with the third name in each list. The third patriarch (Genesis) is Enosh, meaning "man," and the third king (Babylonian list) is Amelu, which has the same meaning; the fourth patriarch is Kenan, derived from a root meaning "to fabricate," and the fourth king is Ummanu, meaning "artificer"; the seventh patriarch was Enoch, who walked with God, and the "seventh king is Enmeduranki, who apparently was reputed to have been summoned by the gods Shamash and Ramman into their fellowship and made acquainted with the secrets of heaven and earth"; the tenth patriarch, Noah, was the hero of the flood, as was the tenth king (ibid., 142).

Davis goes on to show apparent differences. The Hebrew account "asserts kinship, however remote, between the successive links," whereas in the Babylonian account the "descent of the government from father to son" is asserted in only two instances, namely, between the first two and between the last two. Also the longevity of the patriarchs contrasts with the longevity and length of reign of the Babylonian kings. There is no apparent systematic ratio between the years indicated for the members of each list, but the symmetry of the numbers in the Babylonian list makes it suspect. For example, there are ten kings, and the sum of their combined reigns is 120 sars (a sar is 3,600 years), which is a multiple of ten and twelve, corresponding to their duodecimal number system. Davis illustrates, "There are ten reigns of ten sars each, and three successive reigns which taken together, 3, 13, 12, make ten and eighteen sars. Taking the reigns in the order in which they occur, we have as their duration the series 10, 18–10, 18, 10, 18, 10, 8, and 18."

The weight of evidence according to the foregoing interpretations of available data clearly indicates that the Genesis account of the antediluvians does not give a chronology of a specific number of years from Adam to Noah. It is also clear that we have no date for when Noah or Adam

lived.

II. Antediluvian longevity. The genealogies of Gen. 5 are used also to indicate much greater longevity before the deluge. Unger (*Archeology and the Old Testament*, 19) indicates that some writers interpret the genealogies as giving actual and consecutive years, and then, to explain the long lifetimes, they postulate a more perfect health for early man and a more healthful climate. One should make clear that this is a theory, possible perhaps, but supported by little or no data. There is medical research currently into the cause of aging. How is it that some animals, such as the turtle, may live considerably longer than humans? Simple forms of life like the Protozoa Globigerina do not die: the protoplasm divides and goes on living in the form of two new individuals *ad infinitum.*

Perhaps unwise habits, stresses, and pollution of the environment combine to reduce longevity today. However, it would appear from paleoecology and paleoenvironmental studies that there has been little change in the environment aside from regional variations in temperature and rainfall for many thousands and even millions of years. Yet, if the genealogy years mean longevity of individuals, the longevity of the antediluvians was a factor of ten greater than today.

A more viable interpretation given by Davis (*ISBE* [1929], 1:142–43) and Buswell (*Systematic Theology*, 339–43) is that most, if not all, of the names in the genealogies of Gen. 5 and 11 are names of families, or dynasties, as well as individuals. It is common to speak of Israel, Jacob, or Judah to denote the individuals and also to denote the tribes or nations that derived from them. David denotes both the king by that name and the dynasty that he founded. In Gen. 10 and 25 the genealogies obviously contain the names of tribes (Jebusites, Amorites) and the countries they inhabited: MIZRAIM, as Egypt was called by the Hebrews, "begat" the Ludites (10:13; see LUD), and CANAAN "begat" (the city of) SIDON (v. 15). "Sometimes the family takes its name from its progenitor or later leading member; sometimes the name of the tribe or of the country it inhabits is given to its chief representative, as today men are constantly addressed by their family name, and nobles are called by the name of their duchy or country," says Davis. "It is quite in accordance with usage, therefore, that Noah, for example, should denote the hero of the Flood and the family to which he belonged. The longevity is the period during which the family had prominence and leadership; the age at the son's birth is the date in the family history at which a new family originated that ultimately succeeded to the dominant position."

Buswell (*Systematic Theology*, 340) interestingly points out that in Gen. 46:1–4 the name of Jacob as an individual and as a nation is blended. God promises to Jacob as an individual, "I am God, the God of your father…Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will make you into a great nation there. I will go down to Egypt with you, and I will surely bring you back again." Jacob died in Egypt before his people came out, so the personal pronouns "refer both to Jacob as an individual and to his people as a nation." Buswell also refers to Isaiah, who calls the nation "Jacob" without fear of confusion, and Ezekiel, who prophesies the restoration of Judah and Israel and says that "David my servant will be king over them" (Ezek. 37:24). He clearly means the Messiah of the line of David and not David as an individual.

C. H. Pfeiffer (*The Patriarchal Age* [1961], 20) comments, "It has often been suggested that the descriptions of the Biblical patriarchs are actually records of the movements and activities of whole tribes. Terms such as 'son' and 'begat' may be used metaphorically, and in some instances the Biblical writers use them to show the relationships of ethnic groups."

W. AULT

antelope. The NIV and other modern versions use this term to render Hebrew *tĕʾô H9293*, which occurs twice (Deut. 14:5; Isa. 51:20; KJV, "wild ox" and "wild bull"). See discussion under ORYX; cf. also GAZELLE.

Anthothijah an'thoh-th*i*'juh (עֲנָתוֹתִיָּה *H6746*, possibly "belonging to Anathoth"). KJV Antothijah. Son of Shashak and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:24); he is included among the clan chiefs who lived in Jerusalem (v. 28).

anthropology. (1) The study of human beings in relation to history, geography, culture, and so forth. See RACE; SOCIETY. (2) The biblical and theological doctrine regarding the origin, nature, and destiny of human beings. See BODY; CREATION; FALL; HUMAN NATURE; RESURRECTION; SIN; SOUL.

anthropomorphism. A figure of speech whereby the deity is referred to in terms of human bodily parts or human passions. To speak of God's hands, eyes, anger, or even love is to speak anthropomorphically.

It may be helpful to distinguish two types of anthropomorphisms: those which picture God in bodily form and those which refer to God as possessing various aspects of human personality. In a sense, it can be argued that only those of the first type are true anthropomorphisms. They speak as if God possessed bodily form, which of course he does not. The second type of anthropomorphism may be called factual description and not a figure of speech at all (though the term *anthropopathism* is sometimes used specifically with reference to

This figurine with its human characteristics comes from Ur during the time of Abraham and possibly represents the sun-god, Shamash.

the ascription of human feeling to God). It is the Christian teaching that the living and true God is actually possessed of these personal characteristics, which human beings recognize in themselves as attributes of personality.

I. Bodily anthropomorphisms. There are numerous instances of bodily anthropomorphisms in both the OT and NT. Some of these are of a majestic nature for all their bodily representations. Some are much more ordinary. There are a few examples commonly referred to, which should be noted.

A case in point is the creation of man, for God is said to have formed him of dust and to have breathed into his nostrils (Gen. 2:7). ADAM and EVE "heard the sound of the LORD God as he was walking in the garden in the cool of the day" (3:8). This particular case may be doubted. The word "cool" is the word *rûaḥ H8120*, regularly translated "wind" or "spirit," never "cool." The word for "walk" is a general word meaning "go" (*hālak H2143*). The picture may just as well be that the voice of the Lord was going throughout the garden borne along upon the wind and that the representation of God is wholly immaterial.

When people made the tower of BABEL, God "came down to see" (Gen. 11:5). Likewise God resolved to "go down and see" the sin of SODOM (18:21). Such anthropomorphisms are to be distinguished from the appearance of God in human form to ABRAHAM as he sat at his tent door in MAMRE. The divine appearance in human form is called a THEOPHANY and is not a figure of speech.

The book of Exodus speaks of the feet of God (Exod. 24:10). The commandments were written with the finger of God (31:18). MOSES sees God's "back" but not his "face" (33:23). Actually, this last instance is questionable. The Hebrew word here is not the regular word for "back" but can suggest "aftereffects." That is, Moses saw the GLORY, but not the essence of God.

The Psalms illustrate the use of anthropomorphisms. The highly poetic Ps. 18 pictures God as breathing forth smoke (v. 8), as uttering a voice of thunder (v. 13), and as one whose breath is the wind (v. 15). God's eyes and eyelids test human beings (Ps. 11:4). Second Chronicles pictures the eyes of the Lord as running throughout the earth (2 Chr. 16:9). In Ezek. 1:26–27 God is pictured as seated on a throne in human form, and in the NT this symbolism is repeated (Rev. 4:2–3).

There has been a tendency to apologize for these figures of speech and assume that they betray a low concept of deity. It is alleged also that the "J" narrative of the PENTATEUCH, as separated out by critical scholars, is characterized by such anthropomorphisms, whereas other narratives like "E" or "P" represent God as more distant and speaking only through the medium of angels. This division into documents is highly subjective, however, and is an example of circular reasoning. Most anthropomorphisms are placed in "J" and this is the reason it has several notable examples. The alleged "P" document also has anthropomorphisms, such as God's "resting" (Gen. 2:2). The SEPTUAGINT occasionally removes the anthropomorphisms of the Hebrew text, possibly in the interests of a more transcendent picture of the Deity (but see K. H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* [2000], 95–96).

It should be admitted on all sides, however, that the OT does not anywhere represent God as actually possessed of a bodily form. The whole denunciation of IDOLATRY rests upon the uniform teaching of the spiritual nature of God. The Psalms refer repeatedly to the eyes of God, but Ps. 94:9 remarks that the God who made the eye is not limited to lesser faculties than the creatures he made. The picture of God in the OT is an altogether worthy one portraying an exalted Being who, though pictured as having hands, yet reaches out to uphold his children even in the uttermost part of the sea (Ps. 139:9–10). The Israelites never thought of their God as six-foot tall with any limitations of body or flesh. The references to the bodily activities of God are clearly figures of speech.

II. Anthropomorphisms of personality. The Bible repeatedly speaks of God as living, active, speaking, loving, thinking, judging. There have been many philosophers who insist that this is only a way of speaking of the infinite one. God himself, being the Absolute, does not have the limitations of personality. Indeed, they say, God cannot be known or defined in his essence. Man can have no factual knowledge of him; he can have only a direct awareness, an experience, a divine-human encounter. God in himself cannot be known, so the theory goes, nor can he be defined in human terms.

This is an old view newly reemphasized in more recent times. Some Greek skeptics argued that man pictures God like himself and thereby deceives himself. They said that if a triangle could talk, it would say "God is a triangle." There is more truth in this charge than at first appears. The obvious point is that if a triangle could talk, it would not be a mere triangle. It would be a three-sided figure possessed of intelligence, rationality, and self-expression. In short, to talk like this is the essence of human personality. Human personality may rightly claim that God is akin to humans, because he has revealed that they are created in his own image.

The fact of the IMAGE OF GOD in man is what makes religion possible, and indeed is the only solid basis for finding meaning in life. If people are made in the image of God in personal characteristics, then it is no mere figure of speech or mythologizing description to say that God is love. Hodge in a significant treatment of these problems declares: "We know that he is a Spirit, that he has intelligence, moral excellence, and power to an infinite degree. We know that he can love, pity, and pardon; that he can hear and answer prayer. We know God in the same sense and just as certainly as we know our father or mother. And no man can take this knowledge from us or persuade us that it is not knowledge, but a mere irrational belief" (C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. [1871–73], 1:360). C. S. Lewis has a most helpful discussion of the same matters. He tells of a girl he knew who was brought up to believe that God was a perfect "substance." On examination it developed that "her mental concept of God was 'a vast tapioca pudding'! Such is the bleak alternative for those who deny personality in God" (C. S. Lewis, *Miracles* [1947], 75–82).

The Bible everywhere assumes and repeatedly teaches that God is a living, infinite Person, and the description it gives of his love, pity, justice, and pardon are not really anthropomorphisms, but are sober descriptions of the living and true God. However, some passages ascribe to God feelings that are associated with the limitations of human beings. One well-know example is that of REPENTANCE, but there are others as well (such as grief, WRATH, and so on) that are couched in terms of the human experience. It is to these that the term *anthropopathism* is often applied.

R.L. HARRIS

antichrist. This term derives directly from the Greek compound, *antichristos G532*, "against Christ," or secondarily, "instead of Christ," that is, a pseudochrist or substitute MESSIAH.

I. References in Scripture. Specific reference to antichrist is found only four times in Scripture, all in the epistles of John (1 Jn. 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 Jn. 7). The first reference in 1 Jn. 2:18 provides the norm of the doctrine: "Dear children, this is the last hour; and as you have heard that the antichrist is coming, even now many antichrists have come. This is how we know it is the last hour." John seems to anticipate an individual who is specifically antichrist, a notorious opponent of JESUS CHRIST. He declares that this person was anticipated by "many antichrists" who have already come. This fact is offered as evidence that "the last hour" is approaching.

In 1 Jn. 2:22, antichrist is defined as one who "denies that Jesus is the Christ." Such a one also "denies the Father and the Son." According to John's definition, an antichrist is anyone who denies that Jesus is God and Christ. In 1 Jn. 4:3, reference is made to "the spirit of the antichrist," which again is described as coming in the future and "even now is already in the world." In this passage, also, an antichrist is defined as one who is a denier of the DEITY OF CHRIST.

In 2 Jn. 7, a more specific reference is made to contemporary rejection of Christ by those who deny the reality of the INCARNATION: "Many deceivers, who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ as coming in the flesh, have gone out into the world. Any such person is the deceiver and the antichrist." John is anticipating docetism, the view that Christ merely appeared to be in the flesh and was not actually incarnate. From these four passages it is clear that antichrist, according to John's definition, is a theological concept primarily and relates to rejection of Christ or heretical views concerning his person.

II. Extent of application. As used in theology and the history of doctrine, the concept of antichrist has been applied more widely than it is in the epistles of John. Such application first of all proceeds

on the idea of a future antichrist based on 1 Jn. 2:18, "You have heard that the antichrist is coming." It is concluded from this reference that while there were contemporary opponents of Christ who denied his deity or his true humanity, these forces of opposition would eventually focus on one person as seen in futuristic interpretations of prophecy. A still wider application has been made to all antigod movements in Scripture, including many references to BELIAL in the OT, and to any blasphemous persons or movements in either history or prophecy. Accordingly, by theological usage, antichrist is a broad term covering either persons or movements against God, in contrast to the rather restricted usage in the epistles of John.

III. Historical identifications. An almost unlimited number of identifications of antichrist to specific historical characters can be found. Among the more prominent are Muhammad, the founder of the Muslim faith; CALIGULA, a Roman emperor who claimed to be God; and NERO, a popular candidate for the title because of his burning of Rome

A coin bearing the image of Emperor Nero, who was identified by some as the Antichrist.

and persecution of the Jews and Christians. To these can be added almost every prominent ruler of the past, including more modern characters such as Napoleon and Mussolini. In all these historical identifications, there is little more than evidence of being antichristian, but the variety of claims leaves the concept of antichrist in considerable confusion.

IV. Old Testament prophecies. The only school of INTERPRETATION that has been able to create a self-consistent understanding of the antichrist concept has been the futurist school of prophecy. This is supported by the prophecies linking the destruction of the antichrist with the future SECOND COMING of Christ. While recognizing past and present antichrist movements and individuals, as a system of interpretation it regards the antichrist concept as culminating in a person who is supremely the antichrist and who is the satanic counterfeit of Christ. Although a great variety of interpretations are possible in attempting to identify the characteristics and place of such a person to appear in the future, a number of passages in the Bible seem to make a major contribution.

In the prophecies of Dan. 7, where four world empires are depicted as four beasts, those who identify the fourth beast as the Roman empire will find in the last mentioned ruler—the eleventh horn or little horn—a portrayal of the antichrist. In the interpretation of the dream given to Daniel, this individual is described: "He will speak against the Most High and oppress his saints" (7:25). He is

described as ruling until his reign is replaced by the "everlasting kingdom," which "will be handed over to the saints, the people of the Most High" (7:27). In this description he is made the last great ruler of the world and one who is opposed to Christ.

In Dan. 11:36–45 another king is introduced who is identified by some as the same personage as the little horn of ch. 7. He is described as an absolute ruler: "The king will do as he pleases. He will exalt and magnify himself above every god" (11:36). In the subsequent description he is portrayed as against all the gods of the past and a materialist who "will honor a god of fortresses; a god unknown to his fathers he will honor with gold and silver, with precious stones and costly gifts" (11:38). The challenges to his rule are mentioned in 11:40–44, apparently referring to a great final world war. Like the little horn (ch. 7), he is a blasphemer, opposed to God, hence an antichrist, and apparently is the last ruler before the return of Christ and the resurrection (cf. 12:1–3). An alternate view is that he is a less important personage, a minor ruler of Palestine in the time of the end, a view somewhat contradicted by this ruler's claims of supremacy over all others politically or religiously. Some also interpret the small horn (8:9) as the future antichrist, although he is more probably ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes, a king of SYRIA (175–164 B.C.).

V. New Testament prophecies. In the NT, references are made by Jesus to false Christs who shall arise at the end of the age (Matt. 24:24). In addition, he constantly referred to SATAN as the enemy of God, and in one sense antichrist. This is seen in the TEMPTATION OF CHRIST by the devil (Matt. 4:1–11; Lk. 4:1–13). Also in the parable of the wheat and the tares, Christ identifies the sower of the tares as the devil (Matt. 13:37–39). Christ seems, however, to have anticipated that there would be a specific fulfillment in one person of the antichrist concept when he stated, "for the prince of this world is coming" (Jn. 14:30). Similarly Jesus said, "I have come in my Father's name, and you do not accept me; but if someone else comes in his own name, you will accept him" (5:43).

PAUL never uses the term "antichrist" in his epistles, but does develop the concept of those who are antigod or antichrist. He refers to Belial in the question, "What harmony is there between Christ and Belial?" (2 Cor. 6:15). Paul's major discourse on the concept is found in 2 Thess. 2:1–12. In discussing a future DAY OF THE LORD, he states: "…that day will not come until the rebellion occurs and the man of lawlessness is revealed, the man doomed to destruction. He will oppose and will exalt himself over everything that is called God or is worshiped, so that he sets himself up in God's temple, proclaiming himself to be God" (2:3–4). He predicts that after the lawless one is revealed, "the Lord Jesus will overthrow [him] with the breath of his mouth and destroy [him] by the splendor of his coming" (2:8). Because of the similarity between the activities and the final doom of this person at the second coming of Christ, many futurist interpreters identify this person with the little horn of Dan. 7 and the king of Dan. 11:36.

The most impressive NT passage relating to antichrist is the description given in the book of Revelation regarding two beasts, one rising out of the sea (Rev. 13:1–10), and another one out of the land (13:11–18). Variations of interpretation are without number, but generally the first beast is identified by futurists as the final world ruler before the second coming of Christ, and the second beast is considered a religious leader working under the political authority. Because of the similarity between the first beast (bearing ten horns and seven heads) and the small horn of Dan. 7:8, many have identified this personage and the government he heads as being the antichrist. Others, considering Christ religiously rather than from the standpoint of supreme authority, identify the second beast as antichrist. Obviously both are antichrist in spirit.

One of the interpretative problems relative to antichrist is the reference to "the number of his

name" (Rev. 13:17). The passage continues, "This calls for wisdom. If anyone has insight, let him calculate the number of the beast, for it is man's number. His number is 666" (13:18). Explanations too numerous to mention have been offered to solve the riddle of this statement using the letter equivalents for the numbers in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. One common explanation is that it refers to Caesar Nero, which can be transliterated into Hebrew as *nrwn qsr (Nerōn Kaisar)*, and these consonants have a total numerical value of 666 (*n*=50, *r*=200, *w*=6, *n*=50, *q*=100, *s*=60, *r*=200). Similar explanations using Greek letters can make allusion to Caligula. Taken as a whole, however, the best explanation seems to regard the triple six as referring to man, since six is short of the perfect number seven (cf. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S image, which was sixty cubits high and six cubits broad). The implication would then be that the antichrist, great though he is in power and influence, is only a man who ultimately will be judged by Christ who is God.

VI. Is antichrist Jewish? A complication in futurist interpretation is the attempt to prove that either the first beast or the second is Jewish, an approach based on the statement of Dan. 11:37, "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers" (KJV). It is argued that this person will deceive the Jews by claiming to be their Messiah and that he could not do so unless he is a Jew. The supporting evidence, however, is lacking. The word "God" in Dan. 11:37 is the general term *)ĕlōhîm H466* (not the specific name Yahweh, the God of Israel; see GOD, NAMES OF), and it may even be rendered "gods" (cf. NIV). It is also questionable whether the final world ruler, obviously the last in a long line of Gentile rulers, would be a Jew. The second beast of Rev. 13:11–18 also represents a world religion not predominately Jewish, hence the conclusion is reached that these characters are antichrists in the sense of being opposed to Christ, rather than primarily being pseudochrists. The futurist interpretation of Revelation, however, supports the concept that the final ruler of the world will be a satanic substitute for Christ who claims to be God and who will attempt to fulfill the role of King of kings, Lord of lords, and Prince of peace. Both the individuals represented by the beasts of ch. 13 are cast into the lake of fire at the second coming of Christ (19:20).

VII. Antichrist in apocalyptic and patristic writings. Allusions to the antichrist concept found in APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE are of such a general nature and subject to such varied interpretations that they contribute little to the doctrine. The early church fathers seldom referred to the concept except as in the case of POLYCARP, who quotes 2 Jn. 7 with reference to DOCETISM. The notion that Nero was to rise from the dead in order to be antichrist was advanced as early as the 3rd cent. by Commodian. In the Middle Ages it was fashionable to identify antichrist with Muhammad and occasionally with other rulers. With the rise of Protestantism, Romanists and Protestants tended to identify each other as antichrist. Protestants specifically found the beasts of Revelation and the lawless one of 2 Thess. 2:8–9 as references to Roman Catholicism.

In more recent times, the concept of antichrist has been principally discussed by conservative biblical interpreters who anticipate a future fulfillment of predictions of antichrist at the end of the age prior to the second coming of Christ. Apart from these biblical discussions the concept of antichrist has not attracted modern discussion.

VIII. Conclusion. Taking scriptural references as a whole, it may be concluded that while the concept of antichrist can apply to many people and antigod movements of the past and the future, there is reasonable justification for expecting this process to culminate in a single person who will be *the* antichrist and who will be destroyed by Christ at his second coming. This person will be antichrist

theologically as he claims to be God himself; he will be antichrist politically as he will attempt to rule the world. He will be antichrist satanically because he will prosper on satanic power, much as Christ manifested the power of God. In many respects the future antichrist will be to Satan what Christ is to God the Father, and the supporting false prophet of Rev. 13:11–18 will fulfill a role antithetically similar to that of the Holy Spirit, justifying the concept of an unholy trinity composed of Satan, the antichrist, and the false prophet. See also ESCHATOLOGY.

J.F. WALVOORD

Antilebanon an'ti-leb'uh-nuhn (Ἀντιλίβανος [Jdt. 1:7, KJV, "Antilibanus"]). Also Anti-Lebanon. A mountain range E of the LEBANON range itself and roughly equal to it in length and height. The southernmost peak is Mount HERMON, rising to over 9,000 ft. The Bible refers to it with such terms as SIRION (Ps. 29:6; cf. also SENIR in Deut. 3:9) and "Lebanon, toward the sunrising" (Josh. 13:5 KJV; NIV, "Lebanon to the east"). However, Lebanon (or even Antilebanon) by itself may designate both ranges. These regions are the major source of water for the Jordan and other rivers.

H.G. ANDERSEN

antilegomena an'ti-luh-gohm'uh-nuh. In the history of the CANON (NT), this term (Gk. sing. *antilegomenon*, "spoken against") has been used to describe books that were disputed in the first few centuries of the church. EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.25) used it of two distinct groups: (1) those books well-known and recognized as canonical by most, of which he names James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2–3 John; and (2) those books he considered spurious, such as the *Acts of Paul, Shepherd of Hermas, Apocalypse of Peter, Barnabas*, and the *Didache.* The ones in the first group were eventually accepted as Scripture by the church as a whole.

D. GUTHRIE

Antilibanus an'ti-lib'uh-nuhs. The classical Latin term for ANTILEBANON (Jdt. 1:7 KJV).

Anti-Marcionite Prologues. Some MSS of the VULGATE include brief introductions to Mark, Luke, and John that support the church tradition regarding their authorship and value (Latin text in K. Aland, *Synopsis quattuor evangeliorum*, 5th ed. [1968], 532–33). These prologues have been thought to reflect a common origin and an anti-Marcionite bias, thus their name. Certainly the material prefixed to the Gospel of John opposes MARCION, but the prologues to Mark and Luke are of a different character and probably had independent origins (cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* [1971], 10–11). Scholars have dated the Anti-Marcionite Prologues as early as the 2nd cent. and as late as the 4th. They appear to have been written originally in Greek (the prologue to Luke is in fact extant in Greek in one MS). See also MARCIONITE PROLOGUES TO PAUL.

antimony. A hard, brittle, and lustrous metallic element (symbol Sb). The term is used twice for Hebrew *pûk H7037* in the NRSV and some other versions (1 Chr. 29:2 [KJV, "glistering stones"], in a list of precious metals and stones that DAVID accumulated for the construction of the temple; and Isa. 54:11 [KJV, "fair colours"], apparently referring to a substance that enhances the beauty of building stones [cf. NJPS]). In both of these instances, the NIV translates "turquoise"; some believe that the meaning is "hard cement." The Hebrew word occurs also in two other contexts, where it seems to refer to (black) eye paint (2 Ki. 9:30; Jer. 4:30).

E.S. KALLAND

antinomianism an'ti-noh'mee-uh-niz-uhm. This term (from Gk. *anti G505*, "against," and *nomos G3795*, "law") refers to a theology that interprets biblical teaching, particularly that of PAUL, to mean that Christians are so wholly in GRACE that they have no obligation to keep the LAW. In this original form, antinomianism arose within the NT period, as is evident from Paul's reaction to it (Gal. 5:13–21). Antinomianism was endorsed by some of the Gnostics in the early church (see GNOSTICISM), by some sectarians in the Middle Ages, and at the time of the Reformation by Anabaptists who appealed to Luther's emphasis on salvation by grace apart from works. It appeared later in certain sects in England, and is still advocated by some sectarian groups in the United States and elsewhere.

The original understanding of law and grace as taught by Paul was transformed over the centuries into a distinctive theology whose chief characteristic stems from its elimination of the Pauline tension between law and grace in the life of the believer. This elimination was accomplished by ignoring the temporal process in which SALVATION was accomplished in Christ and realized in the sinner's life. Christ's gracious action for the sinner was viewed as making the sinner perfect in Christ, so that the sins of the believer are no longer to be regarded as his, but those of his "old nature" now dead and gone. See also ETHICS OF PAUL.

On this view of the sinner's status in Christ, JUSTIFICATION sometimes came to be regarded as an event in eternity—which makes the cross not so much a decisive, historical act of divine love as a mere disclosure of an eternal love. At other times justification came to be regarded as an event that occurred within the RESURRECTION, with the consequence that the believer did not at the time of his conversion become justified and set on the road of SANCTIFICATION, but merely came at that point to know that he is, and was long since, free from the law and in the grace of Christ.

Although springing from a different theological motif, the denial of all obligatory force to biblical moral law places the "New Morality" and other comparable movements in the category of antinomianism.

J. DAANE

Antioch, Chalice of. A large silver cup (7.5 in. high) embossed with twelve portrait figures, discovered in 1910 in Antakya, Turkey (see ANTIOCH OF SYRIA). It was launched on the world a few years later by G. A. Eisen (in *AJA* 20 [1916]: 426–37) as a 1st-cent. representation of Christ (twice), eight apostles, and two evangelists. This dating and identification received the substantial support of J. Strzygowski and A. B. Cook, and the cup had a vogue as the actual vessel used at the Last Supper. It was exhibited, for example, at the Chicago World's Fair of 1933. But while there is no doubt that it portrays Christ, most other claims made for it have been challenged.

Since the circumstances of its discovery remain obscure, it has even been alleged to be a modern forgery. However, chemical tests support its antiquity, and the date must be settled on stylistic grounds. It comes from a time when the naturalistic portraiture of the Hellenistic age was giving way to the colorism of the Middle Ages, the human figures being subordinated to highly stylized ornament (in this case, vines). Following a thorough study by G. de Jerphanion, most authorities accepted the late 4th or early 5th cent. as its date. G. A. Eisen (*The Great Chalice of Antioch,* 2 vols. [1923]) replied that the plain lining of the cup could still be the original chalice, later enclosed in the decorated outer shell, but it has been countered that the lining may itself be a later substitute for an original glass vessel. As for the portraits, it has been shown that the authentic tradition of Christ's appearance was lost by the 2nd cent. The artistic types of Christ and the apostles were then slowly elaborated from unrelated Hellenistic models. The cup is now in the Cloisters Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. (See J. Rorimer, "The Authenticity of the Chalice of Antioch," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. E. Miner [1954], 161–68.)

E.A. JUDGE

Antiocha an-t*i*'uh-kuh. See ANTIOCHIA.

Antioch of Pisidia an'tee-ok pi-sid'ee-uh (Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Πισιδίας *G522 + G4407,* or Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία [Pisidian Antioch] *G522 + G4408).* Roman colony near modern Yalvaç in south-central Turkey. Lying strictly in PHRYGIA beyond the limits of PISIDIA (which, as Acts 14:24 correctly implies, comes between Phrygia and PAMPHYLIA), Antioch was, nevertheless, in a controlling position "near" Pisidia (so Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.577). To distinguish it from the other Antioch in Phrygia it was popularly said to be "of Pisidia," or, as in the reading of the oldest codices of Acts 13:14, "Pisidian."

A great wedge of mountain ranges, based to the W on Lycia and to the E on CILICIA Tracheia, embraces Pamphylia, and converges in Pisidia to its N. Any E—W traffic is here ruled out by the terrain, but routes such as that followed by PAUL run N into the interior up the river valleys. Where they emerge into the lake-studded plateau that marks the limit of Pisidia stands Antioch, astride the southernmost of the great E—W highways of ASIA MINOR that was to carry Paul on to LYCAONIA (Acts 14:6). Immediately to the N again is the range now known as Sultan Dag, which in antiquity gave to its "slopes" on either side the name of Phrygia Paroreios. This tract, which centers on

Antioch, was incorporated in the new Roman province of GALATIA in 25 B.C. Thus, on the "South Galatian" theory, Antioch is one of the places to which the epistle to the GALATIANS was addressed.

As a Greek city, Antioch was founded probably on the site of a Phrygian temple-village of the god Mên, within twenty years of the Seleucid assumption of power over the region in 281 B.C. Its name honors ANTIOCHUS I, the son of Seleucus, one of the successors of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Settlers were brought in from Magnesia on the Maeander, and the city was one of several designed to pin down the difficult mountain peoples of Pisidia to the S. Two and a half centuries later the same problems led AUGUSTUS to make Antioch (under the name Colonia Caesarea) one of a chain of Roman colonies (including LYSTRA) with which he surrounded Pisidia. (Cf. B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* [1967].) The fact that Antioch alone was already a considerable town may suggest that the objective was not only military, but extended to grafting a specifically Roman civilization on

Byzantine church ruins in Pisidian Antioch; beneath them lie the remnants of an ancient synagogue.

to a region where the Greeks had not flourished. The new settlers were veterans from central and northern Italy. Some 3,000 of them may have been planted as the new elite of Antioch.

By Paul's time the military problem had faded into the background; inscriptions and coins attest a rich amalgam of Greek, Latin, and Phrygian traditions, to which the evidence of Acts adds a strong Jewish element, itself thoroughly accepted by the others (Acts 13:43). It is noteworthy that the writer of Acts chooses the synagogue of Antioch as the setting for his fullest account of Paul's preaching to the Jews (13:14–41). At the same time it represents the first occasion on which Paul is shown preaching to a mass audience of Gentiles (13:44), over and above those God-fearers who had been in the synagogue audience already.

The eminence of the Jewish community is shown by their ability to appeal against Paul to the leading men of the city, the husbands no doubt of those women of high society (Acts 13:50) who were God-fearers. These people must have included many Latin speakers. (Among them could have been the young C. Caristanius Fronto, who was to marry into the family of Sergius PAULUS [13:7] and become the first citizen of Antioch to enter the Roman senate.) Yet, like the Jews, they heard Paul and BARNABAS speak in Greek. Whether or not the action against the apostles took an official form, it is intriguing, in the light of later events at PHILIPPI, that Paul did not invoke his Roman citizenship to insure his protection in this key center. In spite of the persistence of his opponents (14:19), Paul twice returned to Antioch to support his converts (14:21; 16:6). (See S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and Its Monuments* [1998].)

E.A. JUDGE

Antioch of Syria an'tee-ok sihr'ee-uh (Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Συρίας *G522 + G5353*, regularly referred to simply as Antioch). Capital of SYRIA in Seleucid and Roman times, now Antakya in SE Turkey.

I. Site and origin. Antioch's particular location, about 15 mi. from the Mediterranean on the ORONTES River, was hardly advantageous. It was earthquake prone, subject to sudden flooding, and exposed to attack across the crest of Mount Silpius, below which it was built. The good water supply brought by aqueduct from the hillside resort of DAPHNE, 5 mi. away, presumably determined the site. Antioch's nine-hundred-year history as one of the greatest cities of the Greco-Roman era was however shaped by its larger setting. The conquest of the Persian empire by ALEXANDER THE GREAT put Syria at the center of the Hellenistic world, strategically placed between the three great centers of power: Macedonia, Egypt, and Babylonia. With the revival of Persian strength under the Parthian and Sassanid rulers of Roman times, Antioch retained its preeminence as the main base for the whole EUPHRATES frontier.

The city's foundation (in 300 B.C.) marks the emergence of the three-sided concert of Hellenistic powers after the generation of upheavals that followed Alexander's death. SELEUCUS, one of the victors at Ipsus (301 B.C.), extended his eastern kingdom into the territory Antigonus had held along the Mediterranean in Syria. He founded a new capital, SELEUCIA, on the coast, and Antioch (named presumably after his father rather than his son) as its counterpart, a day's journey inland from it. This second city was to prove more secure against attack from the sea, and better related to the network of land communications. During the reign of ANTIOCHUS I (281/0–261 B.C.), the son of Seleucus, it displaced Seleucia as the capital of his empire. Antioch was laid out on the standard Hellenistic gridiron pattern that can still be detected in the street plan of the modern city, while the existing bazaar apparently preserves the site of the original AGORA.

The inhabitants of the new city were mainly Greeks and Macedonians, discharged soldiers of Seleucus's army or settlers from Antigoneia, the nearby capital of the former ruler, which was broken up. In later times Antioch prided itself on the Athenian element in its makeup. Some Jews were no doubt present from the beginning, though it is doubtful whether JOSEPHUS can be right in thinking they enjoyed full citizen privileges. The difficulty of Jews participating in the Greek cults must have led them into forming their own community life, as at ALEXANDRIA. Syrians were also settled in the city, but not with rights of citizenship. The purpose of the strong Greco-Macedonian settlement would have been to establish the usual Hellenistic style of life and provide a bastion of loyal support for the Seleucids. The original number of adult men with citizen rights seems to have been 5,300.

II. Seleucid Antioch. On the death of Antiochus II in 247/6 B.C., the attempt of his second wife Berenice, a Ptolemaic princess, to claim the succession for her son led to the occupation of Antioch by an Egyptian force. Although Seleucus II, the heir of the first marriage, recovered the city in 244, the port of Seleucia remained in Ptolemaic hands until 219 B.C. In the reign of Antiochus III (the Greek) the last known influx of Greek settlers took place, no doubt veterans of the war in the Aegean against the Romans. After his defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C., the Seleucid empire was cut off from the old homelands. Antioch was thrown into greater prominence as a metropolis, and under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.) was of unprecedented magnificence. His efforts to consolidate the empire included accentuation of the Hellenic religion and ruler cult, setting the stage for the Maccabean revolt (see MACCABEE). Antioch was dazzlingly adorned with the proceeds of provincial temple treasuries such as that of Jerusalem.

Antioch in Pisidia and Syria.

This "third captivity" of the Jews must have added considerably to the numbers and problems of the Jewish community in Antioch. The refugee high priest ONIAS III resided at Daphne, and there was a synagogue (later a church) at Antioch dedicated to the Maccabean martyrs, apparently in the belief that they had died in the city that bore the name of their persecutor. During the civil war in the time of Demetrius II, the Jewish leader Jonathan sent 3,000 troops to help him. They boasted of killing 100,000 Antiochenes (1 Macc. 11:45–47), and surely did much to confirm anti-Jewish feeling in the city.

The last century of Seleucid rule is a time of great obscurity during which Antioch must have suffered considerably in the continued dynastic struggles. A severe earthquake is also recorded. The city's coins give occasional evidence of independence, and a period of Armenian rule occurred before POMPEY assumed control of Syria on behalf of the Romans in 64 B.C.

III. Roman Antioch. The PARTHIANS now became a source of fear or hope to the peoples of the Levant, according to their political alignments. In 53 B.C. the Roman general Crassus was defeated and killed at Carrhae, leaving Antioch exposed to attack, and in 40 B.C. the Parthians occupied all Syria including Antioch for a brief period. But Roman rule, though at first insecure, brought with it an influx of Italian businessmen, and a new era of prosperity for Antioch, which was treated as a free city. Pompey, Caesar, and Antony all contributed to its enhancement and Romanization, while the era of Augustan peace brought enlargement and much new building to the city (see AUGUSTUS).

A notable contributor to this expansion was HEROD the Great, an enthusiastic client and collaborator of the Caesarian regime. Herod supplied the famous two-mile marble boulevards, to which under TIBERIUS Caesar there were added colonnades, monumental gates, and statuary, the whole complex being some 90 ft. in breadth. By this stage Roman Antioch had eclipsed the brilliance

of the earlier Seleucid city. It was not only the capital of a flourishing province, but also the hub of the whole eastern Roman empire. A network of diplomatic connections held together the multitude of minor states and kingdoms embraced within the provincial system, and reached out across the Parthian frontier as far afield as India. The contemporary geographer Strabo reckons it not much smaller in size than Alexandria and Seleucia (the Parthian metropolis on the Tigris); it may well have had over half a million people.

In A.D. 40 an outbreak of rioting between the circus factions developed into a pogrom against the Jews. The high priest at Jerusalem, Phinehas, is said (by Malalas) to have led a punitive expedition of 30,000 men against Antioch, resulting in the recall and punishment of the representatives of the Roman government. Although such an expedition must be apocryphal, the general situation fits the known history of serious trouble between Jews and Greeks at this time. From CLAUDIUS'S letter to Alexandria we know that the Jews there brought in agitators from Syria. This was also the year of the conflict in Jerusalem over the statue of CALIGULA that he himself ordered set up in the temple. It was at this stage that Antioch witnessed an even more momentous shift in relations between Jews and Greeks. (Cf. also G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* [1961]; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* [1972]; C. Kondoleon, ed., *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* [2000].)

IV. The Christians at Antioch. Among the seven "Hellenists" had been NICOLAS, distinguished as being both a convert to Judaism and coming from Antioch (Acts 6:5). He marks that interest of the Antiochenes in Judaism that led some of the refugee preachers there for the first time to open the gospel to "God-fearing" Greeks as well as to Jews (11:20). Although the principle had already been established in the conversion of CORNELIUS, the mass movement of Gentiles at Antioch clearly took the church in Jerusalem by surprise. Perhaps sensing that much was at stake in such an influx, they sent an emissary (BARNABAS) who encouraged and taught the new church.

Although the point was not yet spelled out, the iron curtain of the law had now been decisively dropped, with vast consequences for the whole Gentile world. At Antioch the gospel threw open the door to the ends of the earth. Barnabas matched the man to the hour by seeking out the help of Saul, the converted archenemy, in following the new way forward (Acts 11:25). (See PAUL.) At Antioch, too, the phenomenon of Gentile believers first caught the attention of the general public and called for a distinctive name (11:26). The term CHRISTIAN is a Latin form and is paralleled by other partisan labels coined by Romans. Jewish critics would hardly have devised a term that conceded the very point (the messiahship of Jesus) that was at issue, while believers themselves in NT times clearly found no need for such a group name for themselves.

Although the disciples at Antioch are said to have met as a church (Acts 11:26; 13:1; 14:27), the structure of the church at Jerusalem does not appear to have been repeated. Paul and Barnabas are not referred to as ELDERS (nor were they subsequently claimed as BISHOPS). The ministries in the church were teaching and prophecy, shared between a number of people. How this situation gave way to the fixed ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons that appears in the epistles of IGNATIUS two generations later is unknown.

V. Antioch between Jerusalem and the West. Out of this company Barnabas and Paul were called to carry the gospel, preaching westward to the synagogues and to the Gentiles of CYPRUS and central ASIA MINOR. For all the new churches they appointed elders (Acts 14:23) before returning to report to the church at Antioch. But there were also links with Jerusalem. After the sending of Barnabas,

prophets had come from there, and in the great famine of A.D. 46 or 47 the disciples of Antioch had sent Barnabas and Paul back to Jerusalem with relief funds (11:27–30). This was perhaps the occasion on which they took TITUS, an uncircumcised Greek convert (Gal. 2:1–10), and won acceptance for their policy with James, Peter, and John.

Now following their return from the western mission there came visitors from Judea teaching the necessity of CIRCUMCISION (Acts 15:1–3). These may be the same as the men who Paul says came from JAMES (Gal. 2:12). If so, PETER was already at Antioch, and the believers there divided into Jewish and Gentile meetings. Paul and Barnabas were sent by the church to consult the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. A meeting of the church there supported James's judgment that only limited observance of the law was required in the case of Gentiles. JUDAS Barsabbas and SILAS were sent back to Antioch with this instruction (Acts 15:4–35), the latter subsequently joining Paul (15:40) on a visit to the western churches. (See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.)

Whatever the order of events, it is clear that Antioch was the center of a major conflict of practice involving the leading apostles, and that its resolution set the seal forever upon the freedom of the gospel from the law. It also seems to have been a source of funds to support the preaching. According to later tradition, Peter became the first bishop of Antioch, being followed by Euodius, the predecessor of Ignatius. Alongside this orthodox tradition there sprang up at Antioch a strong school of Gnostic speculation (see GNOSTICISM), which traced its origins back to SIMON MAGUS. (Cf. also D. Wallace-Hadrill, *Christian Antioch: A Study of Early Christian Thought in the East* [1982]; R. E. Brown and J. P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* [1983]; M. Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity* [2003].)

E.A. JUDGE

Grotto of St. Peter in modern Antakya. According to tradition the first Christians of Syrian Antioch met in this cave.

Antiochene (Ἀντιοχεύς *G523*). Also Antiochian. This term is used in 2 Macc. 4:9, which indicates that the privilege "to enroll the people of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch" (NRSV) was one of the favors purchased from ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes after his accession (in 175 B.C.) by JASON, the high

priest who had supplanted his own brother ONIAS. Three different explanations have been advanced: a cultural society formed within Jerusalem to practice the Greek way of life, centered upon the gymnasium; a grant of the citizenship of Antioch, the Seleucid capital, to Jerusalem (cf. NRSV trans. above); or (most prob.) the formation of a new city called Antioch at Jerusalem. In the manner of Hellenistic foundations, this would have excluded from citizenship nonhellenized inhabitants, and adapted the life of the city to the international model. The point of 2 Macc. 4:18–20 is that the Antiochians still drew the line at the Greek sacrifices their new status might have implied. (Cf. V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [1959], 161–70, 404–9.)

In the NT, the term occurs once as a designation of NICOLAS (Acts 6:5; NIV, "from Antioch"). In church history, the term is also used to refer to the early Christian fathers (most prominently John CHRYSOSTOM, d. A.D. 407) who resided in Antioch and whose approach to biblical INTERPRETATION is usually contrasted to that of the Alexandrian theologians.

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Antiochia an-'tee-ok'ee-uh. KJV Apoc. form of ANTIOCH (1 Macc. 4:35; 6:63; 2 Macc. 4:33; 5:21). Some editions had the form Antiocha.

Antiochian an'tee-ok'ee-uhn. See ANTIOCHENE.

Antiochis an-t*i*'uh-kis (Ἀντιοχίς). A concubine of ANTIOCHUS IV, Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4:30). When the king presented the Cilician cities of TARSUS and Mallus to his mistress as a gift, these cities revolted in protest.

Antiochus an-t*i*'uh-kuhs (Ἀντίοχος, "opposer, withstander"). A favorite name of the Seleucid kings of SYRIA from 280 B.C. onward.

(1) Antiochus I, Soter (324–261 B.C.), son of SELEUCUS I, founder of the dynasty, and Apama, a Bactrian woman. He was joint king with his father from 293/2 until he became the sole ruler in 281. Antiochus became known for his defense of ASIA MINOR against the invasion of the Gauls (from which he earned his title *Sōtēr G5400*, "Savior") and was considered the greatest founder of cities since ALEXANDER THE GREAT. He lost important districts of Asia Minor and Syria to PTOLEMY II Philadelphus during the "First Syrian War" (274–271) and was slain in a battle against the Gauls in Asia Minor in 261.

(2) Antiochus II,Theos (286–246 B.C.), second son of Antiochus I and Stratonice. His reign commenced in 261. Although many facets of his life are obscure, it seems that he, with the help of Antigonus II Gonatas of Macedonia, attacked PTOLEMY II Philadelphus and regained much of what Antiochus I had lost, namely, the coast of Asia Minor and districts of COELESYRIA. This is called the Second Syrian War, which lasted from 260 to 253. In the midst of this war, a self-willed Timarchus made himself tyrant of MILETUS and plundered the people. In 258, Antiochus defeated Timarchus, and the Milesians in gratitude for the victory surnamed him *Theos G2536*, "a god" (Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 65). A brilliant political triumph was accomplished by Ptolemy when in 253 Antiochus agreed to marry Ptolemy's daughter, Berenice, on the condition that he get rid of his first wife, Laodice (Appian, *Syrian Wars* 65; Dan. 11:6), with the understanding that the kingdom should go to Berenice's son. On the part of Ptolemy this was a diplomatic master-stroke but it is incomprehensible why Antiochus agreed to it. The marriage was consummated in 252 and hence there was peace

between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, but this was short-lived because both Antiochus and Ptolemy died in 246. Their sons had not the mutual feelings of friendship that their fathers had.

This Babylonian astronomical diary, dated 273 B.C., makes reference to Antiochus I's preparations for the First Syrian War.

(3) Antiochus III, the Great (242–187 B.C.), the second son of SELEUCUS II and grandson of Antiochus II and Laodice, succeeded his older brother Seleucus III Soter who was assassinated in 223. With fragmentation in the kingdom (Bactria and Parthia) and threats of this problem spreading to Media, Persia, and Asia Minor, his order was consolidation and then expansion. With the accession of PTOLEMY IV Philopater in 221, Antiochus invaded Lebanon in an attempt to wrest Palestine from his rival ("Fourth Syrian War"). He was stopped by the strong line of defense erected by Ptolemy's general Theodotus near Gerrha (c. 30 mi. NW of DAMASCUS). Antiochus made a second attempt, driving the Egyptians southward and capturing SELEUCIA (near ANTIOCH OF SYRIA). In 218 he captured TYRE and Ptolemais (see Acco), as well as inland cities all the way from Philoteria to Philadelphia, and then returned to Ptolemais and spent the winter of 218-217 there. In 217 he pushed southward as far as Raphia (near GAZA) where he was utterly defeated, leaving Ptolemy IV in undisputed control of Coelesyria and PHOENICIA (Polybius, *Hist.* 5.51-87; Dan. 11:11 – 12). Following this defeat he concentrated his warfare in the east (212-206), acquiring Armenia and regaining Parthia and Bactria as vassal kingdoms, feats that gained him, like Alexander, the title of "Great."

With the death of Ptolemy IV in 203 B.C., who was succeeded by his son (five to seven years of age), Antiochus saw his opportunity to take Coelesyria from Egypt and in 202 made a pact with Philip

V of Macedon for a division of Egypt between the two powers (Livy, *Epit.* 31.14.5). In 201 he invaded Palestine and after great difficulty captured Gaza. Having secured Palestine, Antiochus invaded the dominions of ATTALUS, king of Pergamos (who was pro-Roman against Philip V), in the winter of 199-198. Scopas, an Egyptian general, hearing of Antiochus's absence, invaded Palestine and recovered the lost territories. Antiochus returned to oppose Scopas, and at Panias (CAESAREA PHILIPPI) Ptolemy IV was decisively defeated (Jos. *Ant.* 12.3.3 §§131-33; Polybius, *Hist.* 16.18-19; 28.1; Dan. 11:14-16). He granted the Jews the freedom to worship according to their laws; allowed them to complete and maintain the temple; exempted the council of elders, priests, and the scribes of the temple from taxes, which exemption the citizens of Jerusalem enjoyed for the first three years and after that period they were exempted a third part of their taxes; and released the prisoners (Jos. Ant. 12.3.3-4 §§138-53). The Battle of Panias marked a turning point in Jewish history, for from this time until the Roman control in 63 B.C. the Jews remained connected with the Seleucid dynasty. Under Ptolemaic rule, the Jews had been treated with considerable tolerance, but under the Seleucid rule, after only a brief period of tranquility, they experienced fierce persecution.

Rome, having defeated Hannibal at Zama (near Carthage) in 202 B.C. and the Macedonian monarchy in 197, began to concentrate on the Seleucids. In the light of the new threat Antiochus discontinued his war with Egypt and made a treaty with Ptolemy V Epiphanes in which the latter married Antiochus's daughter, Cleopatra, with the idea that her son (his grandson) would be the next king of Egypt and would be partial to the Seleucids (Polybius, *Hist.* 28.20; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 5; Jos. *Ant.* 12.4.1 §154; Dan. 11:17). Antiochus went westward and invaded Thrace in 196, and with Hannibal's influence he invaded Greece (which the Romans had evacuated) in 194; but the Romans retaliated, defeating him at Thermopylae in 191 and at Magnesia in Asia Minor in 190. In the peace treaty signed at Apamea in 189, Antiochus agreed to give up Asia Minor N and W of the Tarsus Mountains, as well as much of his military force, and to pay a heavy indemnity over a twelve-year period. He had to deliver twenty hostages to Rome until the indemnity was paid, one of the hostages being his son, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Appian, *Syrian Wars* 36-39; Polybius, *Hist.* 20-21; Livy, *Epit.* 36-37; Dan. 11:18-19; 1 Macc. 1:10; 8:6-8; Jos. *Ant.* 12.10.6 §414). In 187 Antiochus III died in a rebellion. He was succeeded by his son SELEUCUS IV Philopater.

(4) Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (215-163 B.C.), third son of Antiochus III, succeeded his brother, SELEUCUS IV Philopater, as king in 175. After being in Rome fourteen years as a hostage in 176/175, his nephew Demetrius I (second son of Seleucus IV) took his place and Antiochus went to Athens, where after a short time he was appointed chief magistrate. In 175 his brother Seleucus IV was murdered by his chief minister Heliodorus, and upon hearing the news Antiochus, with the help of Eumenes II, king of PERGAMUM, ousted Heliodorus and made himself king. His newly acquired kingdom lacked political and financial stability. To heal the political factions within his domain, he attempted to unify them by a vigorous program of hellenization (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.8). Religion was one of the unifying factors, and although he was no monotheist, he was favorable to the Olympian ZEUS; later (c. 169) he even encouraged people to worship his own person in the form of Zeus (Dan. 11:21-24). Hence he assumed the title Theos Epiphanes, meaning "the manifest God," but some of his enemies called him Epimanes (which requires only one letter change in the Gk. spelling, *Epiphanēs* to *Epimanēs),* meaning "mad man" or "insane" (Polybius, *Hist.* 26.10).

Soon after Antiochus's accession he was called upon to settle a dispute between the high priest ONIAS III, who was pro-Ptolemaic, and Onias's brother JASON (a Gk. name, preferred over his Heb. name Joshua/Jesus), who was pro-Seleucid. In 174 B.C. Jason secured the high priesthood by a larger payment of money to Antiochus and by pledging his wholehearted support to the hellenizing of

the Jerusalemites (1 Macc. 1:10-15; 2 Macc. 4:7-17; Jos. *Ant.* 12.5.1 §§237-41). Jason asked if he would be permitted to build a GYMNASIUM in Jerusalem for Jewish youth in order to introduce them to Greek games and customs. Of course, Antiochus immediately agreed to all of this, for it would not only further his hellenization program, but also help him line the Seleucid's coffers, which were depleted

The kingdom of Antiochus III and IV.

at least in part by his father's payment of the heavy indemnity to Rome. Three years later (171) Jason sent MENELAUS to Antiochus with money he owed to the king. Menelaus seized the opportunity by pledging to Antiochus a more vigorous hellenization program and offering 300 more talents than Jason was able to give. Antiochus accepted this offer, for it meant not only more money, which he needed, but also, since Menelaus was outside the priestly Aaronic line (according to 2 Macc. 4:23 and 3:4 he was a Benjamite), it would break a great unifying factor among the Jews and it would allow the Seleucids to select high priests at will. Jason fled to the Ammonite country. In a desperate need of money Menelaus robbed the temple treasury of a number of golden vessels, selling some and giving others to Andronicus, Antiochus's deputy in Antioch, as a bribe. The legitimate high priest Onias III, who was still in Antioch, protested against these actions, and Menelaus urged Andronicus to kill Onias (2 Macc. 4:31-34).

In 170 B.C. the amateur regents Eulaeus and Lenaeus advised their minor king Ptolemy VI Philometor to avenge Panias and recover Coelesyria. But Antiochus got wind of these plans and with a large army invaded Egypt in 170/169, defeating Philometor, and then proceeded to Memphis, where he proclaimed himself king of Egypt. Antiochus then went to Alexandria and besieged it (in 169). Arrangement was made whereby Philometor was king in Memphis and his brother Ptolemy VIII

Euergetes king in Alexandria. Hoping that Egypt would remain paralyzed by the rivalry of the two brother kings (Dan. 11:25-27), Antiochus left Egypt to return to Syria. However, when Antiochus was in Egypt, new troubles broke out in Jerusalem. Menelaus plundered the temple and the people began to riot. In addition there was rumor that Antiochus was killed in Egypt, and so Jason came out of his hiding in TRANSJORDAN and attacked Jerusalem, compelling Menelaus to take refuge in the Acra (see JERUSALEM II.D.3). Unwisely Jason massacred many innocent people and consequently he was driven out of the city and took refuge again in Transjordan (2 Macc. 4:39—5:10). Antiochus learned of this trouble on his way back from Egypt and decided to subdue Jerusalem (2 Macc. 5:11-17). He felt that the Jews' rebellion against Menelaus was a rebellion against his own authority. With Menelaus he desecrated and plundered the temple of its treasure, leaving the city under one of his military commanders, Philip, a Phrygian (1 Macc. 1:20-29; 2 Macc. 5:18-22; Jos. *Ant.* 12.5.3 §§246-47).

In the winter of 168-169 B.C., the two brothers in Egypt agreed to unite as joint-kings against their uncle Antiochus. Inevitably Antiochus went to Egypt in the spring of 168. The Ptolemaic kingdom was in no shape to offer much resistance. Antiochus marched to Memphis, and from there he again went to Alexandria. However, before he could subdue Alexandria, the Roman representative Popillius Laenas, whom he had known at Rome, handed him (at Eleusis, suburb of Alexandria) an ultimatum from the senate to evacuate Egypt within a certain number of days (Rome was not able to come to Egypt before because of its involvement in the Third Macedonian War, 171-168). Antiochus wanted time for consideration, but the Roman legate arrogantly drew with his walking stick a circle in the sand around Antiochus and demanded his answer before he stepped outside the circle. Having become acquainted with Roman power when he was a hostage in Rome for fourteen years, he agreed to evacuate (Polybius, *Hist.* 29.2.1-4; 27.1-8; Livy, *Epit.* 45.12.1-6; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 31.2; Velleius Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.* 1.10.1-2; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 66; Justinus, *Epit.* 34.3; Dan. 11:28-30). With bitterness he retracted to Palestine (Polybius, *Hist.* 29.27.9; Dan. 11:30).

Antiochus was determined to make sure that Palestine was loyal to himself in order to act as a buffer state between himself and the Romans. Considering himself Zeus Epiphanes, he ordered a cultic hellenization policy in Palestine. Antiochus sent his general Apollonius with 22,000 soldiers, who came under the pretense of peace, attacked Jerusalem on the SABBATH, knowing that orthodox Jews would not fight, and killed many people. Women and children were taken as slaves, and the city was plundered and burned. Shortly afterward, in 167 B.C., Antiochus determined to exterminate the Jewish religion by forbidding the people to live in accordance with their ancestral laws. He forbade the observance of the Sabbath, customary festivals, traditional sacrifices, and the CIRCUMCISION of children, and ordered that copies of the TORAH must be destroyed. Idolatrous altars were set up, and the Jews were commanded to offer unclean sacrifices and to eat swine's flesh (2 Macc. 6:18). Anyone who disobeyed any of these orders was sentenced to death. The climactic infamous deed was on Kislev 25 (16 December 167), when the temple in Jerusalem (as well as the Samaritan temple at Mount Gerizim) became the place of the worship of the Olympian Zeus, offering swine's flesh on the altar of Zeus, which was erected on the altar of burnt offering (Dan. 11:31-32; 1 Macc. 1:41-64; 2 Macc. 6:1-11). These were to be offered on the twenty-fifth of every month, since that date was celebrated as the birthday of Epiphanes, hence the sacrifices were offered to him. All of this was a big mistake on Antiochus's part. He wanted to consolidate his empire around the Hellenic culture and religion, thinking that the Jewish religious eccentricities were party to the Ptolemaic dynasty. He never realized the significance of the Jewish religion. His actions sparked the Maccabean revolution begun at Modein by Mattathias (Dan. 11:32-35) and continued by his son Judas surnamed Maccabeus (see HELLENISM; MACCABEE).

Antiochus heard of the revolt and would no doubt have come in person to exterminate the Maccabees, but he had more serious troubles in Armenia and Persia, namely, insurrection and withholding of taxes (Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.2 §§293-95; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 31.17a; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 45). Consequently, in 165 B.C. he ordered LYSIAS, regent of the western part of his empire and guardian of his son (1 Macc. 3:32), to make an end of the rebellion and destroy the Jewish race (1 Macc. 3:32-36; Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.2 §§295-96). Lysias dispatched a large army under the command of Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, followed by merchants who expected to purchase Jewish slaves (1 Macc. 3:38-41). However, Judas decisively defeated Gorgias at Emmaus, causing the Syrian soldiers to flee (1 Macc. 4:1-22; Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.4 §§305-12). In 164 Lysias personally led a larger army and attacked Jerusalem from the S but was completely defeated at Beth Zur (1 Macc. 4:28-35; Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.5 §§313-15). Judas, who had regained the entire country of Judea except the Acra in Jerusalem, refurbished and rededicated the temple, restoring the daily sacrifices in Kislev 25 (14 December 164)—exactly three years to the day of its desecration (1 Macc. 4:47-59; 2 Macc. 10:1-8; Jos. *Ant.* 12.76-7 §§316-26).This marked the commencement of the Jewish Feast of DEDICATION (or Lights; cf. Jn. 10:22).

Antiochus was further enraged to the point of madness upon hearing of Judas's successes. In his desperate need of funds, he attempted to plunder the temple of Nanaea/Artemis in Elymais but was unsuccessful, though he was able to escape with his life (unlike his father). He withdrew and died insane in Tabae (Gabae), Persia, in the spring/summer of 163 B.C. (Polybius, *Hist.* 21.9; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 66; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 31.18a; Jos. *Ant.* 12.9.1-2 §§354-61; 1 Macc. 9:1-29; 2 Macc. 6:1-17).

(5) Antiochus V, Eupator (173-162 B.C.), succeeded his father at nine years of age (Appian, *Syrian Wars* 66). He had been under the guardianship of Lysias, regent of the western part of the Seleucid empire (1 Macc. 3:32), but Antiochus IV on his deathbed appointed Philip as regent and guardian of Antiochus V. Upon hearing this, Lysias set Antiochus V up as king and named him *Eupatōr* ("born of a noble father"). Because of Judas Maccabeus's siege of the Acra, Lysias and the boy-king went S defeating Judas at Beth Zechariah (SW of Jerusalem) and laid siege to Jerusalem (6:28-54). Fortunately for Judas, Lysias heard that Philip was marching from Persia to Syria to claim the kingdom for himself and so Lysias was anxious to make a peace treaty with Judas. He guaranteed religious freedom but did not tear down the walls of Jerusalem (6:55-63). Lysias left for Antioch and Philip was easily defeated. In 162 Demetrius I Soter, second son of Seleucus IV, nephew of Antiochus IV, and cousin of Antiochus V, escaped from Rome (where he had been sent as hostage to secure the release of Antiochus IV), then seized and put to death both Lysias and Antiochus V (1 Macc. 7:1-4; 2 Macc. 14:1, 2; Jos. *Ant.* 12.10.1 §§389-90; Polybius, *Hist.* 31.11; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 46-47, 67; Livy, *Epit.* 46).

(6) Antiochus VI, Epiphanes Dionysus (148-142 B.C.), son of ALEXANDER Balas and Cleopatra Thea (daughter of Ptolemy VI). Demetrius II Nicator assassinated Alexander Balas in 145 and took over the Syrian throne. Since he was young and inexperienced, Jonathan Maccabeus, who was confirmed as high priest, demanded and received many concessions from him. Being weakened by these concessions and having troubles within his own army, a general of Alexander Balas named Diodotus TRYPHO claimed the Syrian throne for Alexander's son, Antiochus VI, in 145. Jonathan took advantage of the situation and sided with Trypho, who in turn made Jonathan head of the civil and religious aspects and his brother Simon, head of the military. However, Trypho was embarrassed by Jonathan's success in subduing the whole country from Damascus to Egypt, so by deceit he imprisoned Jonathan and later put him to death (143) and procured the assassination of Antiochus VI

by surgeons in an operation in 142 (1 Macc. 11:1-13:31; Jos. Ant. 13.4.7-13.7.1 §§109-219). (7) Antiochus VII, Sidetes (159-129 B.C.), second son of Demetrius I, had grown up in the Pamphylian city of Side, hence his surname. He heard that his older brother Demetrius II was captured by the Parthians in 139. In trying to gain a foothold in Syria, Antiochus VII asked for the allegiance of Simon by confirming to him immunities granted by other kings and adding the right to coin money (1 Macc. 15:1-9; Jos. *Ant.* 13.7.1 §223). Antiochus VII claimed the throne against the usurper Trypho and quickly defeated him in Antioch in 138. In trying to restore the Seleucid power in the W, he asked Simon to surrender his principal fortresses (1 Macc. 15:28-31), but Simon refused and defeated Antiochus VII's officer, Cendebaeus (1 Macc. 16:1-10; Jos. *Ant.* 13.7.3 §§225-27). After the death of Simon (135), Antiochus VII in person attacked Judea and besieged Jerusalem. Because of the shortage of food, Hyrcanus (see HASMONEAN) surrendered and made peace, which restored the Seleucid supremacy in the west (Jos. *Ant.* 13.8.2-3 §§236-248). In 130, with the assistance of Hyrcanus, Antiochus VII temporarily recovered Babylon from Parthia. In 129 Demetrius II came to Syria, having been released from prison by the Parthians (who were hard pressed) so that he might create a diversion in his brother's attack on them. In 128 Antiochus was killed in battle against the Parthians, and Demetrius II became the sole king for the second time, until 125 (Jos. Ant. 13.8.4 §253; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 68). The internal strife seriously weakened the Seleucids, for they never regained the provinces in the E.

(8) Antiochus VIII, Grypus ("hook-nosed"; 140-96 B.C.), second son of Demetrius II and Cleopatra (daughter of Ptolemy Philometor and former wife of Alexander Balas). Antiochus VIII became ruler in 124 but in 116 was attacked by his half-brother or cousin Antiochus Cyzicenus. Consequently, in 113 Antiochus VIII retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia (Appian, *Syrian Wars* 68-69; Jos *Ant.* 13.10.1; 13.12.1. §§269-73, 325). In 111 Antiochus VIII returned and gained the greater part of Syria from Cyzicenus, the latter retaining the greater part of Coelesyria. The feud between the brothers was of great advantage to Rome in gaining a foothold in Syria, but it also aided the Jews in their move toward complete independence under John Hyrcanus. Antiochus VIII was assassinated in 96 by Heracleon, a king's minister (Jos. *Ant.* 13.13.4 §365). He was succeeded by his oldest son Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator.

(9) Antiochus IX, Cyzicenus (but Philopater on coins), reigned 113-95 B.C., second son of Antiochus VII and Cleopatra (daughter of Ptolemy Philometor and formerly married to Alexander Balas and Demetrius II), was reared in Cyzicus in Asia Minor, hence the surname (Appian, *Syrian Wars* 68). In 116 he defeated his half brother or cousin Antiochus VIII and became the sole ruler from 113 to 111. Upon the return of Antiochus VIII, Antiochus IX was able to retain only Coelesyria, while the former regained the greater part of Syria. Antiochus IX was captured, killed, and succeeded by his nephew Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator (Jos. Ant. 13.13.4 §366).

(10) Antiochus X, Eusebes ("pious"), reigned 94-83 B.C., son of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus. When Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator, son of Antiochus VIII Grypus, took over the throne in 95, he was challenged by Antiochus XI. Subsequently the other four sons of Antiochus VIII Grypus (viz., Antiochus IX, Philip, Demetrius III, and Antiochus XII) all attempted to wrest the throne from Antiochus X. After conquering Mesopotamia, Tigranes, king of Armenia, gained control over Syria in 83 and ruled over it by means of a viceroy until his own defeat by the Romans in 69 (Jos. *Ant.* 13.13.4 §§366-71; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 48). This internal strife weakened the Seleucid dynasty, a development that was beneficial to the Romans and made it possible for Alexander Jannaeus to conquer almost all of the land of Israel. Antiochus X's end in 83 is variously reported (Appian, *Syrian Wars* 49, 69; Jos. *Ant.* 13.13.4 §371).

(11) Antiochus XIII, Asiaticus, reigned 69-65 B.C., son of Antiochus X and Selene (daughter of Ptolemy Physcon who had been married successively to Ptolemy Soter, Antiochus VIII, Antiochus IX, and Antiochus X; see Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.3; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 69). When Lucullus of Rome defeated Tigranes of Armenia in 69, he assigned Syria to Antiochus XIII. In 65 Philip, grandson of Antiochus VIII, sought to claim the throne but was unsuccessful. Antiochus XIII appealed to Rome for help but POMPEY came to Syria and made it a Roman province in 63 B.C., which marked the end of the Seleucid dynasty (cf. Appian, *Syrian Wars* 49, 70; Plutarch, *Pompey* 39; Strabo, *Geogr*. 40.1a).

(12) The father of NUMENIUS, mentioned in 1 Macc. 12:16; 14:22; Jos *Ant.* 13.5.8 §169; 14.8.5 §146.

(13) Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus IV of Commagene, was engaged to marry DRUSILLA, youngest daughter of Agrippa I (see HEROD VII). The marriage was never consummated because, although Antiochus had promised Agrippa to embrace Judaism, he later changed his mind and refused to become a convert (cf. Jos. *Ant.* 19.9.1 §355; 20.7.1 §139).

(Important works include E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus,* 2 vols. [1902]; S. Tedesche and S. Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees* [1950]; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* 3 vols., 2nd ed. [1953]; R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 626 B.C. – A.D. 75, 2nd ed. [1956], 37-44; W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization* [1959]; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [1959]; O. Mφrkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria* [1966]; G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* [1961], 87-142; S. Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State,* 1 [1962]; B. Reicke, *The New Testament Era* [1968], 48-73; *HJP,* rev. ed., 1 [1973], 125-242; D. Musti in *CAH,* 2nd ed., 7/1 [1984], ch. 6; M. Errington and C. Habicht in *CAH,* 2nd ed., 8 [1990], chs. 8 and 10; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols. [1991], ch. 5; F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World,* rev. ed [1992]; J. Ma, *Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* [1999]; J. Wolski, *The Seleucids: The Decline and Fall of Their Empire* [1999]; J. D. Grainger, *The Roman War of Antiochos the Great* [2002]; P. F. Mittag, *Antiochus IV. Epiphanes: Eine politische Biographie* [2006].)

H. W. HOEHNER

Antipas an'tee-puhs (Ἀντιπᾶς *G525,* possibly short form of Ἀντίπατρος [cf. Jos. *Ant.* 14.1.3 §10]). (1) The name of several men in the Herodian family, especially a son of Herod the Great who was made tetrach of Galilee and Perea. See HEROD V.

(2) In the letter to the church in PERGAMUM, a Christian named Antipas is described as "my faithful witness, who was put to death in your city" (Rev. 2:13). Nothing more is known about him, although later legends arose concerning his martyrdom.

Antipater an-tip'uh-tuhr (Ἀντιπατρίς, "fatherlike"). (1) Son of Jason, an ambassador sent by Jonathan MACCABEE to renew relationships with the Romans, Spartans, and others (1 Macc. 12:16; 14:22).

(2) The name of the father and of the eldest son of HEROD the Great *(Jos. Ant.* 14.1.3 §§8-11; 14.11.1 §300).

Antipatris an-tip'uh-tris (Ἀντιπατρίς *G526).* The NT city that occupied the site of the OT Philistine city of APHEK, in the Plain of SHARON (1 Sam. 4:1; 29:1). The new city was built by HEROD the Great in 9 B.C. He named it Antipatris in honor of his father Antipater, who had been procurator

of JUDEA under Julius CAESAR. The modern name of the ruins is Ras el-ʿAin.

The site is marked by the great spring from which the name el-ʿAin comes. The stream that rises full-grown from this spring is the river Auja, the longest stream W of the Jordan River. Although its course to the Mediterranean is short, it flows through a fertile plain known as Kaphar Saba. Antipatris was on the main coastal road of Palestine, c. 25 mi. to the S of CAESAREA. From Antipatris the main road continued S to Lydda (see LOD), and a branch road went SW to JOPPA on the coast. Another road from Antipatris climbed E up the valley of AIJALON and then turned S to JERUSALEM. (Cf. M. Kochavi in *BA* 44 [1981]: 75-86.) Antipatris was the first city VESPASIAN captured after he moved out of Caesarea to begin the conquest of the PHILISTINE plain and the approaches to Jerusalem.

The only Bible reference to Antipatris is in Acts 23:31. In order to save PAUL's life, the military governor of Jerusalem ordered him to be taken on a secret night march under a large military guard from the Jerusalem barracks to Antipatris, c. a 40mi. march. This city was the military post (Mutatio) on the road between Jerusalem and Caesarea and, therefore, a logical resting place. The next day Paul was taken to the governor at Caesarea.

J. L. KELSO

antiphrasis. This term (from Gk. *anti G505,*

"against," and *phrazō G5851,* "to tell, declare") refers to a figure of speech in which something is said contrary to its normal meaning, usually for ironic purposes. Certain words acquire such a contrary meaning for euphemistic reasons. In Job 2:9, for example, the verb "curse" translates Hebrew *bārak H1385,* which normally means "bless."

antitype. The Greek word *antitypos G531* occurs twice in the NT (Heb. 9:24 and 1 Pet. 2:21; NIV, "copy" and "symbolizes" respectively). It signifies "a counterpart," that is, something that corresponds to something else. Its use in theology refers to the fulfillment of a type *(typos G5596,* a term that occurs sixteen times in the NT). Persons, events, and things in Scripture, and especially in the OT, are often types of what later appear in the NT. The paschal lamb, for example, was a type, and Christ is its antitype. In all types and antitypes there is some sort of likeness. The earlier type is a rough draught, or sketch, of the later antitype. Adam was a "pattern *[lit.,* type] of the one to come" (Rom. 5:14), and so were Melchizedek, Abraham, Aaron, Joseph, Jonah, and others who prepared the way for the antitypes, most prominently Christ. See TYPOLOGY.

J. K. GRIDER

Antonia, Tower of. The great fortress built by HEROD the Great for the defense of the temple area and located at its NW corner. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM VII.D.

I. Introduction. This tower or castle was named by Herod the Great in honor of his old army associate and patron, Mark Antony. The name Antonia is not used in the NT, but the castle is referred to as "the barracks" (Acts 21:34 et al.). Antonia was erected on the site of an earlier fortress built by the HASMONEANS (Jos. *Ant.* 15.11.4 §403), then destroyed by POMPEY in 63 B.C. That citadel had in turn been preceded by a fortress erected by NEHEMIAH when he rebuilt Jerusalem (Neh. 2:8). SOLOMON had doubtless also built an earlier fortress at this site. The only hill that towered above the temple area was at its NW corner. The castle's W wall was built upon the cliff edge of the Tyropoeon Valley. The N wall was separated from the hill Bezetha by a deep moat. The S wall was on an escarpment that towered 75 ft. above the temple area (Jos. *War* 5.5.8 §§238-45). The terrain to

the E can only be conjectured. (On the view that the location of Antonia should be identified with the Ḥaram esh-Sharif, see the critique by J. Murphy-O'Connor in *RB* 111 [2004]: 78-89.)

II. Description of Antonia. The fortress was roughly rectangular in form. The E–W length has been estimated at approximately 490 ft. and the N–S figure at c. 260 ft. Prominent high towers projected at each of the corners. They were said to be 75 ft. high, except for the SE one, which overlooked the temple and was 100 ft. high.

JOSEPHUS is the authority for the castle's interior. It seems to have served both as a palace and a barracks. Several stairs led down from the castle to the porticoes of the temple at its N end. There was said to have been a subterranean passageway from the castle to the Court of Israel, but it was for emergency use only. TITUS made his grand assault upon the temple area from the Castle Antonia.

In the old city of modern Jerusalem the street that begins at St. Stephen's Gate passes directly above the remains of the Castle Antonia. The street is approximately equidistant between its N and S walls. The Convent of the Flagellation and the Church of the Sisters of Zion are built above much of the N half of Antonia. Under the latter building can be seen a large area of the original central courtyard of the castle, which seems to have been c. 165 ft. square. The massive original paving stones, c. 1 ft. thick, are still in place. The channels cut in the stone pavement were used to carry rain water into the cisterns, which are still in use today. One can also see where the soldiers scratched their game patterns into the pavement, indicating that the soldiers' barracks were probably nearby.

III. Bible history. There are two theories concerning the place where Christ was tried before PILATE. Some scholars favor Herod's palace, which was at the NW corner of the city near the modern Jaffa Gate, but others prefer the Castle Antonia (see PRAETORIUM). Pilate and Christ could have stood on one of the balconies, with the mob in the courtyard described above. John speaks of the "Stone Pavement" as the site of the trial (Jn. 19:13; see GABBATHA). The traditional route known as Via Dolorosa assumes that the Castle Antonia was the site of the trial of Christ before Pilate.

PAUL was arrested in the temple courtyard after the mob had tried to lynch him. He asked for, and was granted, permission to speak to the crowd from the steps leading up from the Court of the Gentiles into the barracks (Acts 21:31—22:29). When Paul appeared before the Council the next day, he again had to be rescued and was rushed up the stairs into the barracks (22:30—23:10). He was then taken by night from the Castle Antonia under a military convoy to CAESAREA (23:23-35).

J. L. KELSO

The Romans used the Antonia fortress, consisting of four towers, to keep watch over Jewish activities taking place on the temple courts. (Modern reconstruction; view to the SE.)

Antothijah an'toh-thi'juh. KJV form of ANTHO-THIJAH.

Antothite an'tuh-th*i*t. KJV form of ANATHO-THITE.

Anub ay'nuhb (עָנוּב *H6707,* meaning uncertain). Son of Koz and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:8). There may be a connection between Anub and the town of ANAB.

Anus ay'nuhs. KJV Apoc. variant of ANNIUTH (1 Esd. 9:48).

anvil. The Hebrew term *pa(am H7193,* which has various uses, is found with the meaning "anvil" only in Isa. 41:7, where reference is made to the custom of workmen encouraging one another with their work. The metal anvil was driven into a block of wood or into the ground to keep it stable. It was used by various artificers: blacksmiths, silversmiths, tinsmiths, and shoemakers.
S. BARABAS

anxiety. This English term can be used to render several words, such as Hebrew *dĕ)āgâ H1796* and Greek *merimna G3533.* In both Testaments it is made unambiguously clear that the child of God has a heavenly Father who loves and cares for his own. God will allow nothing to befall his followers except what is for their good; they need not be anxious or fearful about circumstances, whether present or future. The man who trusts God is compared to a tree that does not fear heat and is not anxious in the year of drought, whose leaves always remain green, and does not cease to bear fruit (Jer. 17:8). Psalms 23 and 91 are classic examples of the freedom from anxiety of the godly Israelite who puts his trust and confidence in Yahweh.

In the SERMON ON THE MOUNT, Jesus said that his disciples were not to be anxious about food and raiment, because God, who looks after the birds of the air and the grass of the field, will certainly look after his children; he also said that they are not to be anxious about the morrow (Matt. 6:25-34). He rebuked MARTHA for allowing herself to be anxious and troubled about many things (Lk. 10:41).

PAUL admonished Christians, "Do not be anxious about anything, but in everything, by prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your requests to God" (Phil 4:6); and PETER urged them, "Cast all your anxiety on him because he cares for you" (1 Pet. 5:7). In 1 Cor. 7:32-34, where Paul balanced the advantages and disadvantages of the married and the unmarried states, he said that the unmarried do not have to worry about pleasing a spouse, but can give their undivided attention to the things of the Lord.
S. BARABAS

Apame uh-pay'mee (Ἀπάμη). A concubine of DARIUS, king of PERSIA, and daughter of the illustrious Bartacus. She was used as evidence of the great power of women over men, since the king's happiness depended upon her treatment of him. It is not certain whether she is a fictional character or an actual person (1 Esd. 4:29).

ape. The Hebrew word *qôp H7761* appears only in the list of cargo brought to SOLOMON from either E Africa or, less likely, India (1 Ki. 10:22; 2 Chr. 9:21), and the translation "ape" is given qualified acceptance generally. Apes (more correctly monkeys) from Africa would probably be BABOONS or vervet monkeys; if from India, the word may refer to one of the macaques, of which the E has several common species. No monkeys seem to have been native to Palestine within recent geological periods. The nearest today is the sacred (or *hamadryad)* baboon of the Arabian coast; it was once found in Egypt, where it was sacred. (See *FFB,* 4.)

G. S. CANSDALE

Apelles uh-pel'eez (Ἀπελλῆς *G593).* A Christian in Rome to whom PAUL sent greetings, referring to him as one who was "approved in Christ" (Rom. 16:10). The reason for the approval is not given, but it is clear that Apelles had been tested and found faithful. The name was a common one among Jews at Rome (the Roman poet Horace mentions an Apelles in *Satires* 1.5.100).

Aphairema uh-fair'uh-muh (Ἀφαίρεμα). KJV Apherema. One of three districts taken from SAMARIA and added to JUDEA by the king of SYRIA, Demetrius Nicator, an act subsequently confirmed by Demetrius II (Jos. *Ant.* 13.4.9; 1 Macc. 10:38; 11:34). It appears to be the same place as OPH-RAH, near BETHEL, and possibly was also known as Ephraim (2 Sam. 13:23; Jn. 11:54). See EPHRAIM (CITY). It is identified with the present ẹt-ṭaiyibeh, some 13 mi. NNE of Jerusalem.

Apharsachite, Apharsathchite uh-fahr'suh-k*i*t, -suth-k*i*t (אֲפַרְסָכָי *H10061,* אֲפַרְסַתְכָי *H10062).* These terms in the KJV are transliterations of Aramaic words in Ezra 4:9 (which has the longer form); 5:6; 6:6 (the last two references preserve the shorter form, which may be a different word). They refer to people listed among the signers of a letter in which complaint is made to the Persian rulers against the Jewish rebuilding of the temple. C. F. Keil *(Books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* [1888], 66) would link them with the Pharathiakites who lived on the borders of Persia and Media (Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.3.12, *Paraitakēnoi;* cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.101), while A. L. Oppenheim *(IDB,* 1:156) cites evidence to show that the words come from two Old Persian loanwords *(frasaka,* "investigator" [= cuneiform *iprasakku],* and *frēstak,* "messenger"). The latter approach is reflected in the NIV (and other modern translations), which translates both Aramaic terms as "officials."
W. C. KAISER, JR.

Apharsite uh-fahr'si't (אֲפַרְסִי *H10060).* This term in the KJV transliterates an Aramaic word in Ezra 4:9 that probably should be translated "Persians" (perhaps the same as *pāras H10594,* written with a prosthetic *)aleph;* cf. C. F. Keil, *Books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* [1888], 66). It is also possible that this term (like APHARSACHITE, APHARSATHCHITE) is a title of officials.
W. C. KAISER, JR.

Aphek, Aphik ay'fek, ay'fik (אֲפֵק H707[אֲפִיק in Jdg. 1:31], perhaps "stream-bed" or "fortress"). A place name that appears in widely scattered areas of Palestine. (1) A city of the tribal inheritance of ASHER taken from the Canaanites (Josh. 19:30; Jdg. 1:31). The tribe was not able to drive out its inhabitants so they dwelt among them. The city was strategically located on the coastal highway connecting PHOENICIA and EGYPT. It is usually identified with Tell Kurdaneh, near the sources of the river Na(aman on the Plain of Acco, 3 mi. inland from the Bay of Haifa.

Aphek.

(2) A site located on the N boundary of the Canaanite territory adjoining "the region of the Amorites" (Josh. 13:4). The term AMORITES here apparently does not have a general connotation (as usually in the OT), but rather is a reference to the kingdom of Amurru, well known from HITTITE and Egyptian sources of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. This Aphek is probably to be identified with modern Afqa (ancient Aphaca) in LEBANON, near the sources of the Nahr (River) Ibrahim, SE of Byblos (GEBAL, modern Jebeil). It was once a center of the Astarte-Adonis cult (see ASHTORETH).

(3) One of an important chain of cities on the Plain of SHARON ("level country" or "forested region"). It is to be identified with Tell Ras el-ʿAin at the source of the Yarkon (see ME JARKON), just NE of JOPPA. It was a key point on the VIA MARIS. For this reason it is mentioned in many military campaigns. Its king was slain by JOSHUA and the Israelites during the conquest of Canaan (Josh. 12:18). It was the starting point for the PHILISTINE expedition that captured the ARK OF THE COVENANT and destroyed SHILOH, c. 1050 B.C. (1 Sam. 4:1). The PHILISTINES also assembled their forces at Aphek before the campaign that resulted in the death of SAUL at GILBOA (29:1).

The Memphis Stela of Amenhotep II mentions Aphek in his second campaign against the Sharon and Jezreel Plains as one of the cities captured by him (c. 1440 B.C.). The SEPTUAGINT text of Josh. 12:18, according to Rahlfs's edition, seems to indicate that the king of this city was called "the king of Aphek of the Sharon" (the MT names two kings, one of Aphek and one of LASHARON). It was part of the province of SAMARIA during the reign of ESARHADDON (681-669 B.C.). A letter apparently from the king of ASHKELON has been found requesting help of Egypt against the Babylonian army of NEBUCHADNEZZAR, which had already taken Aphek (c. 600 B.C.). Centuries later, HEROD the Great would build ANTIPA-TRIS on this site. (See further *NEAEHL,* 1:62-72.)

(4) A city in the N TRANSJORDAN district of BASHAN on a road from DAMASCUS through the JEZREEL Valley to BETH SHAN. It was near here that BEN-HADAD, the Aramean ruler, was defeated by the Israelites and fled into the city itself, where he sought mercy from King AHAB (1 Ki. 20:26-34). It was also here that a later Ben-Hadad (son of HAZAEL) was defeated by JOASH of Israel according to a prophecy of the dying ELISHA (2 Ki. 13:14-25). Some have identified this city with two distinct sites near the E shore of the Sea of Galilee: Fiq (Upper Aphek) and ʿEn-Gev (Lower Aphek).
F. B. HUEY,JR.

Aphekah uh-fee'kuh (אֲפֵקָה *H708,* perhaps "stream-bed" or "fortress"). One of the cities listed as part of a district of JUDAH (Josh. 15:53). It should probably be identified with Khirbet el-Ḥadab, some 4 mi. SW of HEBRON.

Apherema uh-fer'uh-muh. KJV Apoc. form of APHAIREMA (1 Macc. 11:34).

Apherra uh-fer'uh (Αφερρα). Ancestor of a family of SOLOMON's servants who returned with ZERUB-BABEL (1 Esd. 5:34). His name does not appear in the parallel lists (Ezra 2:57; Neh. 7:59).

Aphiah uh-fi'uh (אֲפִיָּה *H688,* perhaps "large forehead" or "sooty"). A Benjamite who was one of SAUL's ancestors (1 Sam. 9:1).

Aphik. Variant of APHEK.

Aphrah. See BETH OPHRAH.

Aphses af'seez. KJV form of HAPPIZZEZ.

Apiru. See HABIRU.

Apis ay'pis (Ἄπις). A FERTILITY god in the form of a living bull, worshiped by the ancient Egyptians in MEMPHIS (see *DDD,* 68–72). There Apis was associated with Ptah, a creator god. Apis was also linked with OSIRIS, god of the dead. The combination Osiris-Apis (Egyptian *wsʾir ḥp),* brought over into Greek as Serapis, was worshiped in Egypt under the Ptolemies as well as in other countries (see PTOLEMY). Some have suggested that the Apis bull inspired the golden calf the Israelites made at Mount Sinai (Exod. 32:4-35) and the golden

A bull image of the Egyptian god Apis.

calves JEROBOAM set up after having visited Egypt (1 Ki. 12:28-29). See CALF, GOLDEN.

There may be an explicit reference to Apis in the OT. The SEPTUAGINT of Jer. 46:15 (= LXX

26:15) begins with the question, *dia ti ephygen ho Apis,* a reading followed by NRSV, "Why has Apis fled?" The Greek translators evidently interpreted the Hebrew consonants *nsḥp* as two words, *nās ḥap,* whereas the MT understands them as a single verb (niphal of *sāḥap H6085,* "to wash away"). The NIV, following this latter interpretation and linking the verb with the next Hebrew word, translates, "Why will your warriors be laid low?" (cf. also KJV).

J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

Apocalypse uh-pok'uh-lips'. See REVELATION, BOOK OF; also APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; ESCHATOLOGY.

apocalypses, apocryphal. Purported revelations given to or by well-known biblical characters, but excluded from the CANON, are quite numerous. Such extracanonical OT apocalypses include *1–3 Enoch, 2–3 Baruch, 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras), Apocalypse of Adam, Apocalypse of Abraham, Ascension of Isaiah, Assumption of Moses, Sibylline Oracles,* and others (English translations in vol. 1 of *OTP).* Among the apocryphal NT books, there are apocalypses that bear the names of Bartholomew, James, Paul, Peter, Stephen, Thomas, and the Virgin (cf. *NTAp,* 2:542-752). In the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY one finds additional apocalypses attributed to James, Paul, and Peter, as well as other books of a similar genre. See separate articles under these various names. See also APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

A. K. HELMBOLD

apocalyptic literature. A type of Jewish and early Christian writing, the bulk of which stems from c. 200 B.C. to c. A.D. 100, containing visions or revelations from God concerning the imminent end of the present evil age and the final advent of God's kingdom. In its broadest sense the term *apocalyptic* (from Gk. *apokalypsis G637,* "uncovering, disclosure, revelation") is applied to parts of the writings of the OT prophets—specifically to passages in Joel, Amos, Zechariah, and Daniel—as well as to portions of the NT (e.g., Mk. 13; 1 Thess. 4:13-18; the book of Revelation). It is customary, however, to use the term primarily with reference to a specific genre of literature that came into existence during the intertestamental period and that has remained outside the biblical canon. Much of this literature is included under the heading PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

I. Examples of apocalyptic writings. Although apocalyptic has its roots in OT prophecy in general, the real prototype is the series of visions in Dan. 7-12. Indeed, the similarities between these chapters and apocalyptic literature more generally is one of the reasons many scholars date the book of DANIEL in the 2nd cent. B.C. For more information on the works treated below, see separate articles (also cf. vol. 1 of *OTP* for greater detail and for English translations).

The *Book of Enoch* (= *1 Enoch,* also known as the *Ethiopic Enoch,* since it is extant only in a fragmentary Ethiopic translation), is a composite work dating from c. 170 B.C. and following. It contains visions of world history and the history of Israel, from the time of ENOCH to the present day, and looks toward the impending end. It is by far the most important of the nonbiblical apocalypses. The second section of the book, the "similitudes" or "parables" of Enoch, deals with the times of judgment on the world, and gives assurance to the righteous concerning the certainty of the messianic hope. The Messiah is referred to by the title "the Son of Man." The fifth section of the book contains, among other things, an "apocalypse of weeks"; here history is divided into ten "weeks" (i.e., periods of time of varied length, each marked by a momentous event, usually toward its end), seven belonging

to the past, and three yet to come. Although there is some question concerning the date of the final edition of the book—it may have been worked over by a Christian scribe—Enoch throws valuable light on pre-Christian Jewish theology. See ENOCH BOOKS OF.

The book of JUBILEES (c. 150 B.C.) is not, strictly speaking, an apocalyptic book; but it belongs to the same milieu and contains definite apocalyptic features. Its name is derived from its method of dividing history into "jubilee" periods of forty-nine years each; these, in turn, are subdivided into seven weeks of years. The course of history will lead to the messianic kingdom, which will come as a result of the gradual, spiritual development of mankind and a corresponding transformation of nature; during this time the forces of evil will be restrained and people will live to be a thousand years old.

Although parts of the SIBYLLINE ORACLES (from c. 150 B.C. onward) have a Christian origin, this work contains a number of documents of Jewish origin (books 3-5). Written in Greek by Hellenistic Jewish apologists who sought to imitate the pagan oracles, words are put into the mouth of a prophetess or Sibyl (identified as Noah's daughter-in-law) that purport to predict the course of world history and the coming of the messianic age with its peace and prosperity.

The TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS (c. 140 B.C., with later Christian redaction) consist of the last words and testaments of the twelve sons of JACOB to their children. Each testament contains three elements: an account of the significant events in the life of the patriarch, an exhortation based on the foregoing, and a prediction of what will happen in the last days. The apocalyptic element is not very prominent; rather, the stress is laid on ethical admonition. The work is especially important because of its association of the messianic hope with LEVI as well as with DAVID.

The apocalyptic element in the PSALMS OF SOLOMON (c. 50 B.C.), though again not the most prominent feature of this work, is nevertheless significant. There are eighteen psalms in the collection, and two of them contain apocalyptic or messianic content. Chapter 17 gives a brief review of the history of Israel and describes the glories of the messianic era in terms reminiscent of the OT. Chapter 18 continues the same theme, centering on the Davidic MESSIAH, who will rule the nations with wisdom and righteousness. The author's sympathies lie with the humble poor and oppressed, who are destined to share the glories of the kingdom and also the resurrection.

The *Assumption of Moses* (c. A.D. 6-30; see MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF), written originally in Aramaic, but extant only in Latin (itself a translation of an earlier Greek version), is only one part of a much longer work. According to R. H. Charles, possibly the greatest of students of apocalyptic literature, the longer work was the result of a conflation of a "testament" and an "assumption" (*APOT,* 2:407-9). The part that survives, in spite of its title, bears more the nature of the former than of the latter. Moses is portrayed as predicting the history of Israel from the time of the entry into Canaan to the time of the author. The text is somewhat dislocated, but it centers on the persecution under ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (169-164 B.C.) and on a pronouncement concerning the coming kingdom of God and the end of the world.

The *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (first half of the 1st Christian cent.), extant only in Ethiopic, Latin (in part), and Slavonic (fragmentary), forms part of a work known as the ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. It contains a prediction of the prophet's death by being sawed in two (cf. Heb. 11:37). The rest of the *Ascension* is more typically apocalyptic, but probably dates from a later time and is definitely Christian in character.

2 Enoch (1st cent. A.D.), also known as the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* or the *Slavonic Book of Enoch,* is probably the work of a Hellenistic Jew of Alexandria (though there is some evidence of Christian influence). The first part of the book consists of Enoch's vision of the seven heavens (on a

trip through them!), and a revelation of the history of salvation from the dawn of time down to Enoch's day, and on to the time of the flood. This is followed by the present age, which will last for seven millennia and will be brought to a conclusion by the final judgment. The last part of the book contains ethical admonitions directed toward Enoch's sons so that they may direct their lives accordingly. This latter section, along with parts of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* represents the high water mark of apocalyptic ethics.

The *Life of Adam and Eve* (before A.D. 70, see ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF), also called the *Apocalypse of Moses,* is a Jewish work that contains a good bit of interpolation. It attempts to supplement the biblical record concerning the lives of ADAM and EVE. The small but significant apocalyptic element consists of a brief vision given to Adam of the giving of the law, the building of the temple and its destruction, the exile, the return and rebuilding of the temple; this is followed by a time during which "iniquity will exceed righteousness," to be ended by the coming of God to judge the wicked and to save and purify the righteous.

The narrative *of the Apocalypse of Abraham* (1st cent. A.D.; see ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF) tells the story of ABRAHAM's youth and conversion and subsequent attack upon idolatry. This is followed by an ascension to heaven and a vision of the events of the past and the future. The author is deeply concerned with the problem of evil, but he seems to leave it ultimately unresolved.

The *Testament of Abraham* (1st cent. A.D.; see ABRAHAM, TESTAMENT OF), to be distinguished from the previous work, consists of a series of visions or extraordinary experiences of Abraham immediately preceding his death. He is visited by the angel MICHAEL, caught up into the heavens, and given a glimpse of the final judgment of human souls. He also has various encounters with death in the form of a radiant angel. In his vision of "the world and all created things," Abraham is told that history will last for seven ages, each lasting for a thousand years (cf. *2 Enoch).* In contrast to other apocalyptic writings, there is no sense of impending judgment in this work. Its chief concern is with the future destiny of individual souls.

As it stands, *2 Esdras* (= *4 Ezra* or the *Apocalypse of Ezra,* c. A.D. 90-100; see ESDRAS, SECOND) is probably a mixture of Christian interpolations (2 Esd. 1-2, 15-16) and an original Jewish apocalypse (chs. 3-14). It records seven visions given to EZRA in Babylon. The first two deal with the twin problems of suffering and sin (the latter due to the "evil impulse" in people as a result of Adam's sin), and the signs that will herald the approach of the end. The third vision speaks of the appearance of the Messiah; he and all those with him will die and be raised after seven days. A mourning woman appears in the fourth vision and is comforted; suddenly she disappears and is replaced by the new Jerusalem. The fifth vision presents an eagle with twelve wings and three heads, a reinterpretation of the fourth kingdom of Dan. 7, and a review of history; the present age will be followed by the appearance of Messiah (symbolized by a lion), who will destroy the eagle and deliver the righteous. The Messiah again appears in the sixth vision, as a man who rises out of the sea, travels on the clouds of heaven, and destroys his enemies with the fire of his mouth. The seer is told in the final vision that he will be translated to be with "the Son" until the time of the end (which will come soon); under divine inspiration he dictates ninety-four sacred books (including the Scriptures), which had been destroyed, and then ascends to heaven. The book is replete with imagery and phraseology that appear also in the NT, especially in Revelation. It is also the only apocalyptic book included among the OT APOCRYPHA.

2 Baruch or the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (c. A.D. 100-130) is closely related to *2 Esdras,* and is probably dependent on the latter. The work begins with a discussion of the problems of suffering and evil. The answer given is this: the present evil age will soon be consummated by a time

of "twelve woes," following which the messianic age will dawn; the appearance of Messiah will lead to the resurrection of the righteous and the destruction of the wicked. See BARUCH; BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF (SYRIAC).

A number of the writings found at Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) contain apocalyptic elements. The most important of these is the document known as *The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness* or simply the *War Scroll* (1QM), which gives the plan for the final eschatological battle between the forces of good and evil. Although

The *War* Scroll from Qumran is an apocalyptic writing that describes the battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness at the end of days.

the details of the final battle are more realistically described here than in other apocalyptic works, there is no doubt that the book is a theological treatise rather than a military manual. The writer draws on Ezek. 38, updates this to the situation which exists in his day (i.e., the middle of the 1st cent. B.C.), and gives it a cosmic perspective. Other Dead Sea documents that include apocalyptic features are the *Genesis Apocryphon,* the *Book of the Mysteries,* and *Description of the New Jerusalem.* (Cf. also J. J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1997].)

II. Historical background. Many factors concerning the historical milieu of apocalyptic literature are debated among scholars. All are agreed that the book of Daniel provided the prototype for this literary form and that apocalyptic writings arose out of a context of renewed Jewish nationalism, beginning with the Maccabean revolt (see MACCABEE). It is also generally agreed that the apocalyptic writings were written during times of intense persecution and crisis. As D. S. Russell has written, "It

is essentially a literature of the oppressed who saw no hope for the nation simply in terms of politics or on the plane of human history" *(The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* [1964], 17).

But how is this literature related to the various sects of JUDAISM? Is it representative of "mainstream" Jewish thinking? Or is it the literature of a "fringe" movement in Judaism? Does it stem from Palestinian Judaism, or from the DIASPORA? G. F. Moore, R. T. Herford, and others have minimized the place of apocalyptic in Jewish religion, arguing that it had little to do with normative Judaism. On the other hand, C. C. Torrey, W. D. Davies, D. S. Russell, and others have written in favor of the view that apocalyptic represents one of the most important developments in Judaism within the intertestamental period. Since (a) there was no such thing as "normative" Judaism prior to c. A.D. 70 (contra Moore) and (b) the extant literature is so extensive, it is probably safe to conclude that it was indeed an important feature of the Judaism of the period from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100.

Is the literature, then, to be identified with the PHARISEES (W. Bousset, R. H. Charles, S. Zeitlin), the ZEALOTS (R. T. Herford, in his earlier writings), or the ESSENES (K. Kohler, R. P. C. Hanson)? (No one argues in favor of identifying this body of literature with the SADDUCEES, since there is such great emphasis on the RESURRECTION and final judgment.) While it is certain that the Zealots drew some inspiration from apocalyptic writings, that the Essenes read and possibly even wrote some of them, and that there may have existed an "apocalyptic Pharisaism" (to use the phrase of Charles), it seems likely that the writers of apocalyptic literature were scattered throughout the various parties of Judaism. There is also good reason to regard the movement as having arisen in Palestine, rather than in the Hellenistic world outside (though the movement did spread to the Diaspora).

III. Characteristics of apocalyptic literature. There is much diversity among the apocalyptic writings. Nevertheless, there are certain general features that are characteristic of the literature as a whole and that justify the distinguishing of "apocalyptic" as a literary type: the presence of a cosmic dualism, visions and revelations; a contrast between the present evil age and the coming eschatological age; pessimism concerning the present age and optimism concerning the age to come; references and allusions to mythology, numerology, and animal symbolism; the idea of the unity of history and a goal toward which history is moving; the development of belief in life after death, and especially the resurrection of the righteous and the judgment of the wicked (there is no resurrection for the unrighteous dead); and the appearance of a transcendent figure identified as the SON OF MAN. Russell suggests four distinctly literary characteristics of apocalyptic: "It is esoteric in character, literary in form, symbolic in language, and pseudonymous in authorship" *(Method and Message,* 106).

A. Esoteric. The apocalyptic writings purport to be revelations of divine mysteries to certain illustrious individuals of Israel's past, which were subsequently recorded in secret books for the instruction of God's chosen remnant. The secrets are revealed to the seer in the form of a dream or vision, often in the context of a literal or spiritual translation to heaven. The vision may consist of a review of the history of the world up to the time of the assumed author, or it may take the form of prediction and outline the future destiny of the world and the coming of the KINGDOM OF GOD. Or it may describe the mysteries of the unseen world (that is, HEAVEN and HADES), the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the forces of nature. What is seen by the seer is written down, to be hidden away for many generations and faithfully preserved until the time of the end.

B. Literary. In spite of the visionary character of apocalyptic literature, it is quite clear that the

visions are, for the most part, literary creations by the author. That is to say, they are not the descriptions of actual ecstatic experiences, but rather self-conscious theological statements. While the OT prophets were first people who *spoke* the Word of God given to them and only afterward wrote down their messages, the apocalyptists were primarily *authors.* Closely related to this feature is the elaborate symbolism through which the various authors convey their messages.

C. Symbolism. Apocalyptic literature is marked by imagery and style that are striking to say the least. Some of the images are taken from the OT (esp. from Daniel). Some of it has its origin in ANE mythology, such as references to LEVIATHAN, BEHEMOTH, and "the dragon" (also alluded to in the OT); the use of animals to symbolize men and nations; allusions to "heavenly tablets" and astral phenomena; etc. In fact, the whole literature is marked by a carefully developed SYMBOLISM, which tends to suit its esoteric character. A study of this symbolism is important for an understanding of the book of Revelation in the NT, as well as the book of Daniel in the OT.

D. Pseudonymous. Apocalyptic literature is generally, though not always, pseudonymous. That is to say, the writers put their message into the mouth (or at least the pen) of some honored figure from ancient times (e.g., Enoch, Moses, Abraham, Isaiah, etc.). The reason for the adoption of PSEUDONYMITY is not entirely clear. The traditional explanation is that these writers had to attribute their writings to men of God prior to the time of Ezra (when, it was believed, prophecy had come to an end in Israel), in order to have them accepted as authentic revelations. Yet it is questionable whether anyone would have been deceived by this tactic. Another suggestion is that they adopted pseudonyms to avoid persecution by the authorities of the day (but why not simple anonymity?). Another explanation given by some is that pseudonymity was merely a literary custom with no attempt to deceive the reader. More recently, pseudonymity has been explained (by Russell) in terms of CORPORATE PERSONALITY, the peculiar time-consciousness of the ancient Hebrews, and the significance of proper names in Hebrew thought: the author identified himself and his message with the ancient seer in whose name he wrote, and wrote as his representative. Whatever the real reason for choosing the medium of pseudonymity, it seems probable that the name of the person in whose name the author wrote is related to the content of the book and, therefore, is not the result of an arbitrary choice.

IV. Biblical versus nonbiblical apocalyptic. Although the writings we have been discussing lie outside the canon of the Bible, they have their roots firmly embedded in the OT prophetic tradition. First, the authors are heirs to the prophetic view of history; alongside the biblical writers they speak in the name of the One who is sovereign over the whole of human history. Secondly, they call Israel to repentance and bring a message of comfort and encouragement to the faithful. Thirdly, they draw heavily on the visionary imagery of the prophets—chiefly Daniel, but also Joel, Zechariah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

Many scholars would classify the book of Daniel itself as apocalyptic in the same sense as the other writings discussed in this article. Conservative scholars, however, tend to emphasize the difference between Daniel (and also Revelation) and the later apocalyptic writings and to classify Daniel as "prophetic-apocalyptic." Drawing attention to the tendency toward determinism, pessimism, and ethical passivity in noncanonical apocalyptic, G. E. Ladd stresses the contrast between biblical and nonbiblical apocalyptic books *(Jesus and the Kingdom* [1964], 75-82). It must be noted, however, that these features are not present to the same degree in all the extracanonical

writings; the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *2 Enoch* lay a greater stress on the ethical implications of ESCHATOLOGY than even Daniel and Revelation, and it is certainly an overstatement to suggest that in apocalyptic literature "the present and future are quite unrelated" or that the apocalyptists "lost the dynamic concept of the God who is redemptively active in history" (ibid., 89, 97). Without denying the differences, it is probably more helpful to emphasize the similarities between biblical and nonbiblical apocalyptic, especially as a literary genre. Daniel has links with the prophetic tradition in Israel that the other apocalyptists do not possess, but its ties with the apocalyptic tradition are equally close. The book of Revelation has its roots squarely in the latter tradition.

V. Apocalyptic and the NT. Although the eschatology of the NT writings is free from the mythological associations and other negative features of noncanonical apocalyptic, it does draw from the store of apocalyptic imagery and occasionally uses its literary forms. References to the PAROUSIA of the Son of Man (the name itself is apocalyptic!) and the coming of God's kingdom in the teaching of Jesus are replete with apocalyptic images, as are also references to the resurrection and the final judgment in the letters of Paul. There are also passages such as "the little apocalypse" of Mk. 13 (cf. Matt. 24) and the description of "the man of sin" (2 Thess. 2:3 KJV). The chief representative is, however, the Revelation of Jesus Christ, commonly called the Revelation of St. John the Divine, from which this genre derives its name (Revelation = Gk. *Apokalypsis).*

The symbolism of Revelation is derived from three sources: the OT (the chief source), contemporary life in the Roman province of ASIA (esp. in Rev. 1-3, but also in the rest of the book), and Jewish apocalyptic literature. Symbols that Revelation shares with the latter include these: a woman, representing a people (ch. 12) and a city (ch. 17); horns, speaking of authority (5:6; 12:3; 13:1; 17:3; et al.); eyes, signifying understanding (1:14; 4:6; 5:6); trumpets, representing a superhuman or divine voice (1:10; 8:2; et al.); white robes, portraying the glory of the world to come (6:11; 7:9, 13-14; 22:14); and crowns, indicating dominion (2:10; 3:11; 4:10; et al.). The symbolic use of colors (white=victory; purple=kingship; black=death), numbers (seven=fullness or perfection; twelve=the eschatological perfection of the people of God; four=the visible world), angels (mentioned sixty-seven times), and visions (fifty-four times) also link Revelation with the apocalyptic tradition. Revelation stands apart from the other apocalyptic writings, however, in a number of ways: it is not pseudonymous; it contains no revelations of the mysteries of cosmogony, astrology, or the unfolding of ancient history since the beginning of the world; and it offers a specifically Christological conception of history.

(For further discussion, see P. Hanson, *Old Testament Apocalyptic* [1987]; J. C. VanderKam and W. Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity,* CRINT 3/4 [1996]; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,* 2nd ed. [1998]; B. McGinn et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism,* 3 vols. [1998]; S. L. Cook, *The Apocalyptic Literature* [2003]; B. McGinn et al., eds., *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism* [2003]; S. M. Lewis, *What Are They Saying about New Testament Apocalyptic?* [2004].)

W. W. GASQUE

apocalypticism. See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

Apocrypha. A group of books written during the last two centuries B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. that are included in editions of the SEPTUAGINT and the VULGATE OT, but not in the Hebrew Scriptures. At

the Council of Trent in 1546, the Roman Catholic Church received these materials as canonical (except for 1 and 2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh) and designated them *deuterocanonical,* that is, officially accepted as part of the canon on a second or later occasion. The term *apocrypha* is sometimes used more broadly of other inauthentic or noncanonical writings (see APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA).

I. The concept of the Apocrypha. The word *apocrypha* (sg. *apocryphon,* from the Gk. adjective *apokryphos G649,* "hidden") was used originally as a literary term with regard to books considered unsuitable for public reading because of their esoteric content. It was felt that the secret doctrines they enshrined would lose their authority if they were profaned by the gaze of the common people, an attitude particularly in evidence among the Greek Gnostics. After A.D. 70 the apocalyptic works fell into disfavor in Judaism, and the term *apocrypha* became equally debased. The esoteric nature of the "hidden" books actually worked against them, since the uninitiated believed that the secret lore was really heresy. The term thus came to mean "heretical, spurious," and books of this nature were forbidden to be read either in public or in private. This situation had become normative by the 4th cent. A.D., since Athanasius (d. A.D. 373) and Rufinus (d. A.D. 410) spoke of apocryphal material in this manner. Some books in the NT canon were occasionally regarded as apocryphal, and Gregory of Nyssa (d. A.D. 395) put the book of Revelation into that category. In the 5th cent. the term was used to designate noncanonical rather than heretical works, as in the writings of JEROME (d. A.D. 420), and this usage has survived to modern times in Protestant thought.

II. The Apocrypha in Judaism. During the two centuries prior to the birth of Christ, a great many books were written by Jewish authors. Since it was only about A.D. 100 that the idea of a "closed" Hebrew canon was implemented, the problem of the canonicity of these compositions was not serious. These "outside books" were known in Jewish circles as "writings which do not defile the hands" and enjoyed considerable popularity, as shown by the large number of Hebrew and Aramaic works of this kind, some of which were recovered from Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). The members of this Jewish sect made little serious effort at distinguishing between the canonical Hebrew writings and other works of a similar character, and this attitude undoubtedly reflected current practices in Judaism.

Most of the apocryphal compositions in circulation at that time were of an APOCALYPTIC, legendary, historical, or theological nature, and in addition to the OT Apocrypha included such works as the book of JUBILEES, the PSALMS OF SOLOMON, the story of AHIKAR, and other books from the intertestamental period that are sometimes styled *pseudepigraphic* (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA). The popularity of much of this literature came to an abrupt end with the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and the apocalyptic writings in particular, in which so much hope had been placed, fell into outright disfavor with the collapse of the Jewish state. In addition, Christian compositions written in ARAMAIC were increasingly available, and when Christian interpolations began to appear in Jewish apocryphal works,

Noncanonical Jewish writings found in Qumran. Top row: fragments of the book of Jubilees (1Q17 and 1Q18). Center and bottom: fragments of the Genesis *Apocryphon* (1020).

the designation of the "outside books" became an urgent matter. Some action in this area may have taken place c. A.D. 100, although the precise occasion, the supposed Synod of Jamnia, has been a matter of some scholarly debate (see JABNEEL). However, by the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D., the excluded literature was no longer a problem to the Jews, particularly since by that time a substantial corpus of rabbinic literature had arisen to replace it. Interestingly enough, the apocryphal writings of Judaism survived more as the result of the activities of Christians than through any serious interest on the part of the Jews.

III. The Apocrypha and Christianity. At the beginning of the Christian era, the LXX was the text of Scripture used by Greek-speaking Jews (see SEPTUAGINT). When the Christian church came into existence, its members felt no particular urge to repudiate those familiar compositions found in the LXX canon that were not represented in the Hebrew Scriptures. Although there may be instances where certain NT writers reflected the imagery or phraseology of some apocryphal compositions, they never cited them either as inspired or as sources of spiritual authority. One of the great values of the Apocrypha for the Christians was the fact that it bridged the gap between the end of prophecy and the writing of the NT books, furnishing valuable historical, political, and religious information that would otherwise have been difficult to obtain.

A. The early church. Quite aside from the possibility that apocryphal writings were reflected in the NT (cf. Heb. 1:1-3; Wisd. 7:25-27), it seems clear that they were used for instructing believers in the early Christian period. The epistle known as *1 Clement* (c. A.D. 95) included quotations from the Wisdom of Solomon, while POLYCARP of Smyrna (d. c. A.D. 156) quoted from Tobit. TERTULLIAN (d. c. A.D. 225) and IRENAEUS (d. c. A.D. 200) cited certain books of the LXX canon as scriptural and were followed in this by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, and Cyprian. JEROME (d. A.D. 420) regarded as apocryphal all those writings that stood outside the Hebrew canon, but in his Latin

translation (the Vulgate) he included them according to church practice, though not without some reservations. Jerome and Cyril of Jerusalem (d. c. A.D. 386) were the first to use the term Apocrypha for the excess of the LXX over the Hebrew canon. In his earlier writings AUGUSTINE (d. A.D. 430) accepted the traditional church view that the Apocrypha were canonical, but later he admitted to a difference between the Hebrew Canon and the "outside books." Thus in the early church the degree in which the Hebrew canon was esteemed determined the attitude adopted toward the Apocrypha.

B. The Reformation. For the Reformers the Bible was the sole and supreme authority in matters of belief and conduct, raising questions as to the status of the Apocrypha in this connection. Luther gathered the "outside books" from Greek and Latin MSS and placed them at the end of his 1534 German translation under the heading of "Apocrypha." The Roman Catholic Church responded quickly in the Council of Trent (1546) by acknowledging as canonical all of the Apocrypha except 1 and 2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh. In the 1592 edition of the Vulgate, these three works formed an appendix to the NT. Calvin and his followers explicitly rejected any authority that the Apocrypha might have claimed or received, holding that the contents were not divinely inspired. After Luther's day, translations of the Bible in various European languages segregated the Apocrypha, and after 1626 some editions of the KJV appeared without it.

C. Post-Reformation attitudes. The controversy regarding the canonicity of the Apocrypha ended in a stalemate, with the Roman Catholic Church holding that it was of equal inspiration and authority with the rest of Scripture, while Reformed tradition firmly rejected it as divinely inspired Scripture. The Church of England formularies (Article 6) recognized its use "for example of life and instruction of manners," but the *Westminster Confession* (1.3) forbade it to be "in any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings" (see P. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* [1882], 3:490-91, 602). In modern times the value of the Apocrypha for both Judaism and primitive Christianity has been amply recognized, and the discoveries at Qumran have given new zest to studies of the intertestamental period and its massive literature (though interestingly enough, the Apocrypha are not represented significantly in MS discoveries at Qumran).

IV. Contents. The works commonly viewed as part of the Apocrypha are the following: 1 and 2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the Additions to Esther, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, Additions to the Book of Daniel, the Prayer of Manasseh, and 1 and 2 Maccabees. Some LXX MSS include the quasi-historical books designated 3 and 4 Maccabees, but these belong properly to the Pseudepigrapha. (In addition to the summaries that follow, see the separate articles on each book. For an English translation of these works, see *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha,* 3rd ed., ed. M. D. Coogan [2001]. Cf. also R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* [1949]; B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* [1957]; M. E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period,* CRINT 2/2 [1984]; D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* [1999]; A.-M. Denis et al., *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique (Pseu-dépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament)*, 2 vols. [2000]; L. DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999* [2001]; D. A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance [2002].)*

First Esdras. This work (called 2 Esdras in the Lucianic recension of the LXX, and 3 Esdras in the Vulgate) furnishes a parallel account of events recorded in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, with the

addition of an old Persian tale, the Debate of the Three Soldiers (1 Esd. 3:1—5:6). Thus the book covers by selection the history of Israel from the late preexilic period to about 444 B.C., when EZRA promulgated the law in the restored Jewish state. The parallels with canonical literature are as follows: 1 Esd. 1:20, 23-25 = 2 Chr. 35:1—36:21; 1 Esd. 2:1-11 = Ezra 1:1-11; 1 Esd. 2:12-26 = Ezra 4:7-24; 1 Esd. 5:7-71 = Ezra 2:1—4:5; 1 Esd. 6:1—9:36 = Ezra 5:1—10:44; 1 Esd. 9:37-55 = Neh. 7:73—8:13.

An indication of the popularity of this type of literature in the intertestamental period is seen in the fact that JOSEPHUS preferred 1 Esdras as his authority over the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The book is not a translation of the MT of Ezra-Nehemiah, however, though it was probably based on a closely related text from a family now known, from discoveries at Qumran, to have been circulating in Judea in the immediate pre-Christian period. Nor does 1 Esdras depend on the Hebrew text underlying the LXX translation of Ezra-Nehemiah, as shown by the divergence of readings and the variation in the chronology of the Persian kings. Perhaps 1 Esdras may even have been based on a Hebrew text that rivals the MT in intrinsic value. The date of the composition is as difficult to determine as its origin, but it is certainly later than the Persian period and perhaps emerged from 2nd-cent. B.C. ALEXANDRIA. It was in circulation in the time of Christ, since Josephus employed it as a source. The work is rather fragmentary, and whether it has survived as part of a more complete book is unknown.

The purpose of 1 Esdras is also problematic, since the history of the period was already known from canonical sources, and the errors and contradictions in it would hardly commend it to a serious student of Jewish history. Certainly the inclusion of pagan folklore would depreciate its value for orthodox Jews. The book opens in the preexilic era, but it goes on to describe the captivity, the return, and the frustrations relating to the rebuilding of the temple and city walls. The central section (1 Esd. 3:1—5:6) tells of a competition between three Persian soldiers to decide the most powerful thing in the world. The winner, who held truth to be the strongest, gained as a reward the return of the temple treasures and the rebuilding of the temple itself. The remainder of the narrative deals with the religious reformation of EZRA. Clearly the book cannot be taken seriously as history, and is at best a moralizing composition glorifying truth. See further ESDRAS, FIRST.

Second Esdras in the English versions is 4 Esdras in the Vulgate; it is also known as the *Apocalypse of Ezra,* though modern scholarship usually refers to it as *4 Ezra.* This work survives mainly in Latin and is not found in the LXX (in the latter, 2 Esdras corresponds to the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah). It is a Palestinian-Jewish apocalypse (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE) to which Christian material had been added, and the resemblance of it to parts of the NT commended it to the early church. It was quoted by certain Fathers, beginning c. A.D. 200 with CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. The first two chapters, of Christian origin, can be dated c. 150, and the central apocalyptic portion was written perhaps fifty years earlier, since the writer apparently saw Jerusalem destroyed. The final two chapters may be dated c. 250 and are an appendix to the apocalypse, which is one of the latest sections of the Apocrypha.

The original work comprised seven visions, the first (2 Esd. 3:1—5:19) demanding a reason for the sufferings of Zion and continuing this theme into the second vision (5:20—6:34). The angel Uriel answers that this problem is incomprehensible to man, but that the coming age would bring salvation. The third vision (6:35—9:25) deals with the small numbers of the elect and the coming age of grace, a theme continued in the fourth vision (9:26—10:59) with the transformation of Jerusalem.The fifth vision (11:1—12:51) deals with the supplanting of Roman power by the Messiah, while the sixth

vision (13:1-58) comprises an adaptation of the Son of Man vision (Dan. 7). The final vision in 2 Esd. 14 describes legendary activities of Ezra the Scribe, continuing the theme of the first two chapters that speak of his background and work.

The dualistic and eschatological elements of the book were typical of ancient apocalyptic writers who were convinced that mankind was caught up in the inexorable struggle between good and evil. In 2 Esdras the evil will of man (cf. *Heb. yēṣer H3671)* was held to be the principal cause of human wickedness, and the only hope for humanity was the inauguration by God of a new age of grace. The presence of a Messiah in Jewish apocalyptic was considered of secondary importance, and 2 Esdras is no exception to this tendency. While the book reflects the determinism of apocalyptic thinking generally, it estimated the human situation in realistic terms and manifested a firm belief in the banishment of evil through divine intervention. For the apocalyptic writers, Israel was righteous, and therefore they did not reflect that sense of moral and ethical crisis found in the canonical prophets. While there are certain bizarre and tedious elements in the book, it does in fact constitute a theodicy, endeavoring to justify the divine workings to man. See further ESDRAS, SECOND.

Tobit is a pious romance narrating the fortunes of a righteous captive of the Israelite exile and was a popular story in the intertestamental period. It was transmitted in three Greek recensions, as well as in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Hebrew versions. Fragments of Tobit in Hebrew and Aramaic were found among the MS deposits in the Qumran caves, and these suggest an Aramaic original. However, the language of composition is unknown, as is the place. A Palestinian background is possible, but Mesopotamia seems more probable, and the time of writing is not the Assyrian or Babylonian Captivity, but most probably c. 200 B.C. The book contains certain historical and geographical errors, such as the assumption that SENNACHERIB was the son of SHALMANESER (Tob. 1:15) instead of SARGON II, and that NINEVEH was captured by NEBUCHADNEZZAR and AHASUERUS (14:15) instead of by NABOPOLASSAR and Cyaxares. Again, the writer places Rages one day's journey from Ecbatana, whereas the distance takes two weeks by camel caravan.

The story narrated the privations of Tobit in exile, which culminated in the misfortune and shame of blindness. A young Hebrew woman named Sarah who lived in Ecbatana was also ill, and the angel Raphael was sent to heal them both. He joined Tobias, son of Tobit, on a journey to Media and instructed him to preserve the heart, liver, and gall of a fish they caught in the Tigris. On returning home he anointed Tobit's eyes with the fish gall, after which his sight was restored. The tale taught fidelity to the Torah and humility and obedience toward God, as well as the importance of discharging family and social obligations properly. Although unhistorical, it gives a useful glimpse of traditional Jewish piety in the 2nd cent. B.C., and throws interesting light on the growing doctrines of angels, demons, and spirits in the pre-Christian period. See further TOBIT.

Judith was another story that was extremely popular in intertestamental times and was accorded historicity by some early church fathers. Four different forms of an early Greek version have survived, all of them based on a lost Hebrew original. The fact that the chief character was a woman added to the appeal of the work, and the courageous nature of her exploits was in the tradition of other Israelite women who had managed at various times to stave off disaster by their counsel or cunning.

The story is set in the early days of the return from captivity and tells of the overthrow of Nebuchadnezzar's armies by Judith's guile. Because Judea had not helped Nebuchadnezzar in his war against Media, the province was put under siege. Judith left her native Bethulia to visit Holofernes,

the enemy commander, on the pretext of betraying military secrets. Having aroused the amorous interests of Holofernes, she was able to behead him while they were dining alone one night. She returned to Bethulia with his head, whereupon the besieged inhabitants launched an attack on the enemy, who retreated in disorder. Hymns of praise were then sung, and the nation enjoyed a period of peace.

The story fits readily into the time of the Maccabean uprising (2nd cent. B.C.; see MACCABEE), but cannot possibly be historical because of the glaring errors it contains. Thus Nebuchadnezzar is given an impossibly long reign, as is the ruler of Media, while the Assyrians and Babylonians are hopelessly confused and the armies are made to perform impossible feats of mobility. The story was intended to show that even the most desperate circumstances warranted faith in God, and that individual courage and enterprise were never to be discounted on such occasions. Judith herself typified the legalistic Pharisaic piety of the Maccabean period, but by her behavior showed her awareness that Israel's troubles were the result of sin. Submission to the divine will alone would bring salvation, and this attitude could be readily effected by obedience to the Law.

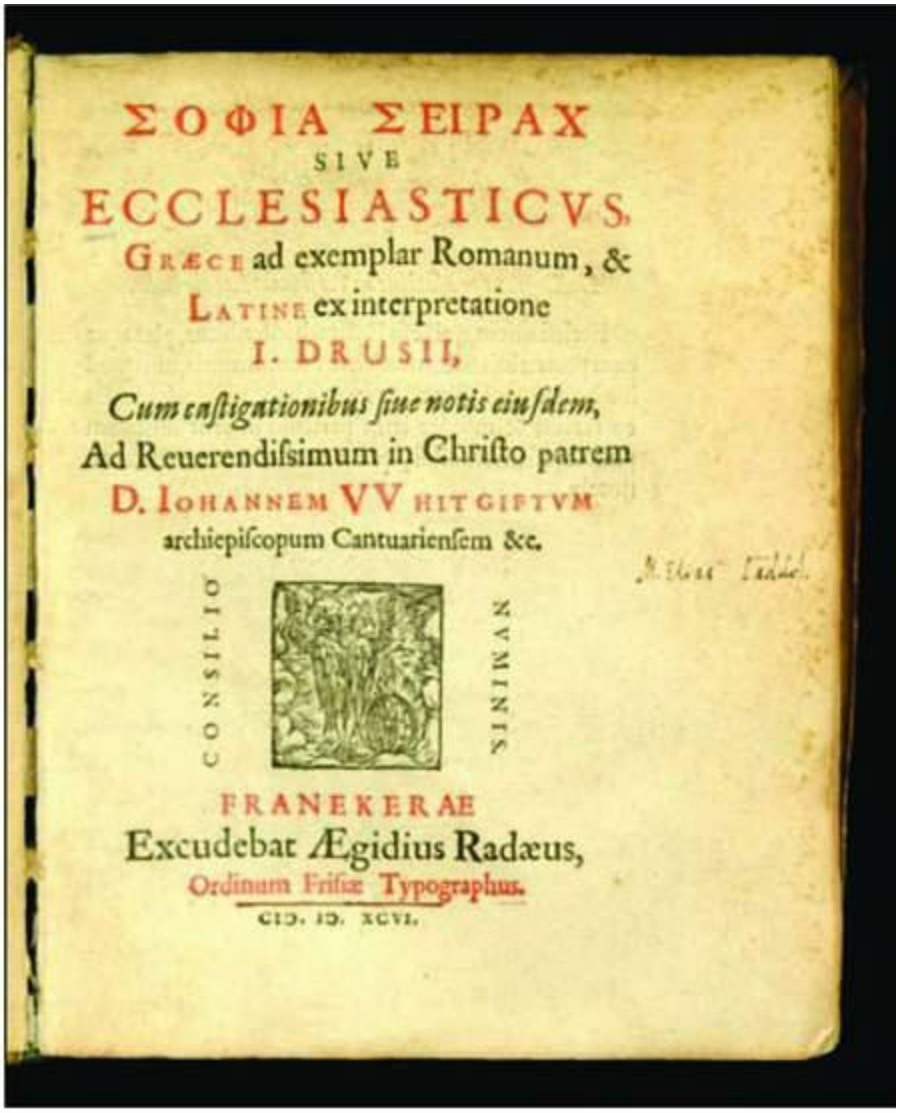
The **Additions to Esther** do not form a separate continuous narrative when taken together; they were meant to be inserted into the LXX text at various points. Of the six sections, the first, which prefixed the canonical ESTHER, deals with Mordecai's dream and his prevention of a plot against the king, while the second contains the royal edict for the destruction of Persian Jews and follows Esth. 3:13. The third consists of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther and was meant to follow Esth. 4. The fourth section describes Esther's audience with the king, supplementing Esth. 5:12, while the fifth, which follows Esth. 8:12, records the royal edict permitting Jewish self-defense. The final addition interprets the dream of Mordecai and furnishes a chronological note regarding the date when the letter concerning Purim was brought to Egypt. All the additions seem to have been written in Greek, and a diversity of authorship is quite possible. There is little likelihood that the Hebrew text was an abbreviated form of a larger book in Hebrew or Aramaic, of which the Greek was a translation, if only because the Additions contain too few Semitisms to require a Hebrew original. From the epilogue it appears that the book of Esther was translated into Greek in the 2nd cent. B.C., and presumably the Additions were prepared at that time. Contrasted with the canonical Esther, the Additions are marked by open references to God and by expressions of devotion, faith, and piety. See further ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO.

The **Wisdom of Solomon** was one of the most notable of the Hebrew gnomic compositions, having its roots deep in the teachings of the ancient Hebrew sages. Under the influence of Greek canons of thought, Wisdom of Solomon attained to a more formal presentation than other examples of this type of literature The book was valued by patristic authors and found its way into a number of languages, including Coptic (Sahidic) and Armenian. Although purporting to be written by SOLOMON, the pseudonymous character of the book was recognized from early times. Attempts at that point to identify the author caused it to be credited variously to Philo Judaeus, Ben Sira, the Essenes, and the Therapeutae of Egypt. Modern views on authorship are affected by considerations relating to the unity of the work, with some scholars maintaining that the first nine chapters are from a different writer than the rest of the book. While diversity of authorship is certainly possible, it may be that the work was composed deliberately in two halves as a bifid, with the first section dealing with the theoretical aspects of wisdom and the second showing wisdom at work in the history of Israel.

While the author is unknown, an Alexandrian origin is most probable, and a date of composition between 150 and 50 B.C. seems to suit the content of the book best. If composed at ALEXANDRIA, the original language of Wisdom was almost certainly Greek, though some scholars have argued for a

Hebrew original of the first ten chapters. This latter view seems improbable because some of the least Hebraic concepts of the entire work occur in the first few chapters. In writing the book, the author may have been trying to rekindle zeal for God and the Hebrew Torah at a time of apostasy in Judaism, and may even have attempted to influence the Gentiles against the follies of idolatry.

The book exhorts all to pursue wisdom and deals with the blessings that will result, including righteousness, immortality, humility, prosperity, and justification in the day of judgment (Wisd. 1:1—5:23). Without wisdom (hypostatized as a feminine celestial being), earthly rulers cannot govern properly, and Solomon was adduced as an example of how wisdom was bestowed through prayer (6:1—7:14). After enumerating the characteristics of wisdom, the author explains how they were communicated to the human mind (7:15—8:16). A subsequent prayer, which again hypostatizes wisdom, comprises an expanded form of 2 Ki. 3:6-9


ΣΟΦΙΑ ΣΕΙΡΑΧ
SIVE
ECCLESIASTICVS.
GRÆCE ad exemplar Romanum, &
LATINE ex interpretatione
I. DRUSII,
Cum castigationibus siue notis eiusdem,
Ad Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem
D. IOHANNEM VVHITGIFTVM
archiepiscopum Cantuariensem &c.
CONSILIO
SINIANI
FRANEKERAE
Excudebat Ægidius Radæus,
Ordinum Frisiæ Typographus.
CIↃ. IↃ. XCVI.

An early edition (1596) of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom of Sirach.

and 2 Chr. 1:8-10 (Wisd. 8:17—9:18). The remainder of the book reviews OT history to illustrate the thesis that wisdom had helped the Jews consistently, as in Egypt (10:1-21), in the wilderness (11:1-26), and against Canaan (12:1-11). Polytheism comes in for scathing denunciation (12:12—15:19), being blamed for all the vices afflicting human society. Idols occasionally brought punishment on their worshipers (16:1-14), but in general what was friendly to Israel became punitive to her enemies (16:15—18:4). The humiliation of Egypt is continued by an elaborate account of the crossing of the

Red Sea (18:5—19:19), at which the book closes without reaching a conclusion.

The Platonic concept of the preexistence of the individual soul was upheld by the author, as was the theory that matter was eternal and evil. Stoic tenets in Wisdom include the four cardinal virtues and the idea of a world-soul (see STOICS). The immortality and resurrection of the soul are taught in Wisdom also, as is the final felicity of the righteous. In the book, wisdom is consistently personified and favored with omnipotence and omniscience, being regarded as active in the creation and subsequently serving as an intermediary between man and God. There are few messianic references in Wisdom, and the work is a demonstration of the universal and constant activity of God on behalf of his people. See further WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

One of the most valued intertestamental books is Ecclesiasticus, also known as the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach. The author, commonly referred to as Ben Sira, following Jewish usage, was a scribe of the old tradition who had conducted a school in Jerusalem for many years. During this time he compiled his book, parts of which have survived in Hebrew in MSS contained in the Cairo GENIZAH (a synagogue storeroom). He instructed young men orally, after the fashion of the ancient Hebrew sages, and wrote down his teachings to give them permanence, using the canonical Proverbs as a model. His thought was orthodox, giving no hint of Hellenic culture, and was Sadducean in emphasis. He wrote c. 180 B.C., since according to a preface his grandson migrated to Egypt in the reign of PTOLEMY Euergetes (170-117 B.C.).

The book is in two parts, comprising Sir. 1-23 and 24-50 plus a short appendix, ch. 51. The first section bases a successful life on reverence for God and observance of the law, while the second praises famous men of Israel, ending with Simon II, the high priest c. 200 B.C. The characteristic themes of PROVERBS are expounded and illustrated with examples from the experience of the author. Ecclesiasticus or "the Church Book" was highly valued in the early church and was sometimes cited by the rabbis as Scripture. The book is the last great example of Hebraic wisdom literature, and its typical stress is on the identification of wisdom with the law. See further ECCLESIASTICUS.

Baruch is a brief work attributed to the friend and scribe of Jeremiah, purporting to have come from the period of captivity and addressed to the Jewish deportees. It falls into three sections: the first (Bar. 1:15—2:10) is a confession; the second (2:11—4:4) is a plea for mercy and pardon, followed by a homily on wisdom; and the third (4:5—5:9) is a section of consolation and assurance. A good deal of literary skill is evident in the work, though its dependence on sections of Job, Daniel, and Isaiah are obvious. Baruch was read widely by the Jews of the DIASPORA and became part of the synagogue liturgy (cf. 1:14), surviving into the early Christian era. Synagogue usage would suggest an original Hebrew composition, and if the book is a unity, which many scholars dispute, it could have been written by 350 B.C. If it came from diverse hands, a 2nd cent. B.C. date of composition seems more likely. See further BARUCH, BOOK OF.

The **Epistle of Jeremiah** is a typical Hellenistic Jewish attack on idolatry, in the form of a letter from Jeremiah to the Babylonian exiles. Using the original letter of Jeremiah as a model (Jer. 29:4-23), the pamphlet demonstrates the carelessness of idols and the stupidity of worshiping them. It was written after 300 B.C. in good Greek and may have had an Aramaic original. See further JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF.

The **Additions to Daniel** are found in the LXX and in the translation attributed to Theodotion (see SEPTUAGINT IV.C). To Dan. 3 were added the **Prayer of Azariah** (uttered in the fiery furnace) and the **Song of the Three Holy Children** (chanted as they walked about in the flames). Probably these compositions existed in a Hebrew original in the 3rd cent. B.C., the former perhaps originating in

Jerusalem. The Song has survived in Christian worship as the canticle *Benedicite omnia opera.* See further AZARIAH, PRAYER OF.

Prefaced to Daniel in Theodotion (c. A.D. 175), but following it in the LXX, was the story of **Susanna.** This beautiful and virtuous wife of a Babylonian Jew was caught by two elders while bathing, and they demanded that she submit to them or else be accused of adultery. Choosing the latter, she was condemned, but the youth Daniel obtained a retrial and exposed her accusers. The literary form of the story is probably from the 2nd cent. B.C. See further SUSANNA, HISTORY OF.

The tales of **Bel and The Dragon,** found at the end of the LXX Daniel, were designed to ridicule idolatry and cult worship. The first story shows Daniel exposing the priests of Bel for eating the food offerings that the god himself had allegedly devoured, as a consequence of which the king ordered the idol destroyed. The second tale recounts how Daniel was put in a lion's den for destroying a mighty cult dragon in Babylon. For six days Daniel was fed miraculously and on the seventh was released by the king. These stories comprise pious embellishments of the canonical Daniel and date from about 100 B.C. See further BEL AND THE DRAGON.

The **Prayer of Manasseh** is probably the best piece of literature in the entire Apocrypha, constituting a model of liturgical form and exuding the genuine air of religious piety. It claims to give the prayer mentioned in 2 Chr. 33:11-19, and its liturgical pattern was in existence c. 400 B.C. The ascription to King MANASSEH, however, is unhistorical, and the book may not be earlier than 250 B.C. The work lauds God's majesty (Pr. Man. 1-4), makes confession (vv. 5-10), seeks forgiveness (vv. 11-13), and concludes with a doxology (vv. 14-15). Sin was related to idolatrous practices, but repentance, forgiveness, and divine compassion were stressed. See further MANASSEH, PRAYER OF.

The book known as 1 Maccabees is a historical work covering events between 175 and 134 B.C., that is, the struggle with ANTIOCHUS IV, the wars that followed, and the achievement of Jewish independence. The period of Judas MACCABEE may have drawn on biographical material, and special sources may also underlie the traditions of Mattathias. After an introduction (1 Macc. 1:1-64), the defiance at Modein is described (2:1-70), followed by the activities of Judas (3:1—9:22), Jonathan (9:23—12:53), and Simon (13:1—16:24). The book thus describes the fortunes of a minority group struggling for independence and is of great value as a source that deals authoritatively with the turbulent history of pre-Christian Judaism. Although the book contains certain internal

Fresco representing the apocryphal story of Susanna (White Tower Museum, Thessaloniki).

inconsistencies, JOSEPHUS used earlier sections of it as source material in compiling his celebrated histories *(Antiquities* and *Jewish War)*.

In 2 **Maccabees** the reader passes from a fairly credible historical record to a work of an entirely different nature. It is a theological interpretation of some of the events of 1 Macc. 1-7, but does not continue the narrative beyond the campaigns and defeat of Nicanor, and shows how divine help for Judaism resulted consistently from timely intercession. The unknown author excerpted much of his book from a five-volume history by Jason of Cyrene, being sometimes known as the "Epitomist" in consequence. To him belong the prologue (2 Macc. 2:19-32) and the epilogue (15:37-39), and perhaps the letter to the Egyptian Jews (1:1—2:18). The dating of underlying source materials presents problems, but it seems that 2 Maccabees was in existence by A.D. 50. Internal textual disarrangements raise questions as to the integrity of the composition, and there has been much debate over the historical value of the letters and edicts that 2 Maccabees contains. There are also numerous disarrangements and discrepancies in chronological, historical, and numerical matters in the book, reflecting ignorance or confusion on the part of the epitomist, his sources, or both. The book stresses the sovereignty of God and his purpose for Judaism and reflects Pharisaic doctrines, particularly in eschatology. See further MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.

R. K. HARRISON

apocrypha, modern. This term refers primarily to a number of religious books—perhaps a dozen or more—mostly written since the middle of the 19th cent. and purporting to add to the revelation of the Bible. They claim to be based upon genuine documents of Christian antiquity, but every one has been shown by scholars to be a hoax. The supposed ancient documents upon which they pretend to be based have never been found; yet many gullible people continue to be persuaded of their genuineness. Most of them deal with the life of Christ, chiefly with the silent years. Some are written to support a particular doctrinal aberration, or to promote a hoax. Because of the fantastic claims that are made for them, Christian people should know something about them lest they be deceived. The following brief descriptions will give some idea of the nature of these fraudulent works.

The Unknown Life of Christ, published in 1894, and written by a Russian named Nicolas Notovitch, on the basis of information he said he received from the chief lama of a Tibetan monastery. It is claimed that Jesus spent the years between thirteen and twenty-nine in India, Tibet, and Persia, and then returned to Palestine to be put to death by Pilate. The monks at Tibet denied ever seeing Notovitch or knowing anything about the ancient MSS about Christ they allegedly showed to him.

The Aquarian Gospel, first published in Los Angeles in 1911. It was written by Dr. Levi H. Dowling through inner illuminations that he said came to him between two and six in the morning. The book gets its title from the strange notion that with the life of Christ the sun entered the sign Pisces and that it is now passing into that of Aquarius. Jesus is described as studying with Hillel, with the sages of India and Tibet, visiting the Magi in Persia, preaching to the Athenians, and being ordained for his work by a council of the seven sages of the world held at Alexandria.

The Crucifixion of Jesus, in the form of a letter written seven years after the crucifixion of Jesus by an unnamed Essene elder at Jerusalem to another Essene at Alexandria. It first appeared in Sweden in 1851. Joseph, John the Baptist, Nicodemus, Jesus, the angel at the tomb—all were Essenes. There was no resurrection; but Jesus was resuscitated by Essenes following his crucifixion and then lived for six more months before he died.

The Report of Pilate, by the Rev. W. D. Mahan, a Cumberland Presbyterian clergyman, first

appeared in 1879, but in 1884 the volume was enlarged to include reports of interviews with the shepherds, Gamaliel's interview with Joseph and Mary, Eli's story of the Magi, Herod's defense before the Roman senate for the slaughter of the innocents, and other similar journalistic scoops. The enlarged book was given a new title, *The Archaeological and the Historical Writings of the Sanhedrin and Talmuds of the Jews.* Later it was called *The Archko Volume* and *The Archko Library.* Scholarly investigation of the book's claims showed that Eli's story of the Magi was taken by Mahan verbatim (including typographical errors) from Lew Wallace's novel, *Ben-Hur.*

The Confession of Pontius Pilate, written originally as fiction by a Lebanese bishop in 1889. It appeared in English four years later, but without the preface, which indicated that it was intended as fiction. It tells the story of the arrival of Pilate as an exile in Vienne, of conversations he had there with an old friend about his relationship with Jesus, and of Pilate's remorse and suicide.

The Letter of Behan, published in Berlin in 1910. Behan, an Egyptian priest, wrote about Jesus to his friend Strato, once secretary to Tiberius, and told him about Jesus' training in rabbinic lore as a boy in Egypt, later returning to Palestine to be put to death. Behan himself traveled all over the Roman world and witnessed everything of note happening at that time—like the burning of Rome in 64, the fall of Jerusalem in 70, and the eruption of Vesuvius in 79.

The Twenty-ninth Chapter of Acts, published in London in 1871. It contains an account of Paul's journey to Spain and Britain, where he conferred with the Druids, who revealed to him their descent from the Jews who escaped from the Assyrian captivity in 722 B.C., and where he preached on Mount Lud, the future site of St. Paul's Cathedral. This work was composed to support the movement that circulates it.

The Letter from Heaven. This is a one-page document supposed to have been written by Jesus and found under a large stone at the foot of the cross. It appeared in Latin as early as the 6th cent. and has circulated in many languages since then, often appearing in the form of a broadside with the promise of blessing to its possessors. It has to do chiefly with the keeping of the Sabbath and commands of Jesus.

The Gospel of Josephus. This was supposedly written by Josephus just before he died and was intended by him to be the source from which all four canonical gospels were later drawn. The discoverer of the MS was an Italian, Signor Luigi Moccia, who later admitted it was a hoax; but in spite of his admission, many people continued to believe in its genuineness.

The Book of Jasher. This is a condensation of the first seven books of the OT. It was written by a Londoner named Jacob Ilive in 1751 and instantly exposed as a shameless literary forgery. This is, however, only one of many attempts to reconstruct the Book of Jashar mentioned in Josh. 10:13 and 1 Sam. 1:18.

The Description of Christ. This widely circulated document is probably as old as the 13th cent. and may have been based on the books of instruction written for the Greek miniature painters who illustrated medieval MSS. It is less than a page long and is a kind of idealized portrait of a 1st-cent. Jew. It appears in a letter supposedly written by the governor of Judea, Publius Lentulus, to the Roman senate. No official with this name is, however, listed with the Roman governors of Palestine.

The Death Warrant of Jesus Christ. This is a leaflet widely circulated in the United States, giving Pilate's warrant for the death of Jesus and enumerating the charges brought against him. It claims to be a translation from the Hebrew of a copper plate found in the Kingdom of Naples in 1810. Needless to say, no such copper plate has ever been produced.

The Long-Lost Second Book of Acts. This was written by Dr. Kenneth S. Guthrie, an Episcopalian clergyman and medical man, and published in 1904. It was written to support the claim

that the Virgin Mary and Jesus endorsed the doctrine of reincarnation. It presents Mary on her deathbed in the home of the apostle John, explaining her own successive incarnations. Jesus takes the dying Mary in his arms and tells of his own seven incarnations.

Oahspe, a huge book of 890 pages, written by Dr. John B. Newbrough in 1882. The author says it was mechanically written through his hands by some other intelligence than his own; while the publishers aver that it embraces "Evolution, Revolution, and Revelation" and claim that it is "the new American Bible."

The Lost Books of the Bible. This book, published in 1926, is claimed by the publishers to include religious books deliberately kept out of the NT by the early bishops of the church who arbitrarily decided what should be included in the NT canon. It is actually nothing more than a reprint of an edition of the apocryphal NT that had been published in 1820, and an edition of the Apostolic Fathers that had appeared in 1737.

An examination of the credentials of these books shows that all of them are forgeries. The esoteric information they pretend to provide is palpably false and almost always contradicts the teaching of the Bible. Many people, however, have been and still are led astray by their sensational claims. (Cf. E.J. Goodspeed, *Modern Apocrypha* [1956].)

S. BARABAS

Apocryphal New Testament. The collective title given to a number of documents, ranging in date from the early Christian centuries to the Middle Ages and even into modern times, all similar in form to the NT books (gospels, epistles, acts, apocalypses) but never finally received into the CANON (NT). The *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul* did enjoy a measure of temporary or local canonicity (the former is mentioned, with some reserve, in the MURATORIAN CANON; both are included in the catalog in the CODEX CLAROMONTANUS), but no others attained even to this level of recognition. The list of known apocrypha has recently been considerably increased by the discovery of a Gnostic library at NAG HAMMADI in Egypt, but not all the works it contains belong in this context.

The Greek word *apokryphos G649* means "hidden" or "secret" (cf. Mk. 4:22; Col. 2:3), and was used by the Gnostics with reference to esoteric works, the contents of which were too sacred to be imparted to the uninitiated (cf. *TDNT,* 3:996ff.; see GNOSTICISM). Thus such Coptic works as the *Two Books of Jeu* and the *Apocryphon of John* contain stern injunctions against communicating them to any unauthorized person. The church, on the other hand, recognized only those books that were openly read in public worship, and since many of the apocryphal works were frankly heretical, the term fell into disrepute. The word is thus used in several senses: (a) in the original sense of "hidden, secret"; (b) of books not suitable for reading in public worship (though they might be read in private, cf. the Muratorian Canon's comments on *Hermas);* (c) of books rejected as false and heretical. The modern use of the adjective *apocryphal in* the sense of "spurious" or "mythical," "unworthy of credence," is a further extension of meaning.

The technical modern use of the term appears to have developed on the analogy of the OT APOCRYPHA, and is in some respects unfortunate, since some of the latter do have a claim to recognition and are recognized in certain branches of the church. With the NT Apocrypha this is not the case. With the exceptions noted above, none of these works has ever been accorded recognition or authority in any branch of the Christian tradition. It is important to emphasize this point, since it is sometimes suggested that the canonical NT is the result of an arbitrary selection by the church from a large mass of documents that had an equal claim to recognition. Comparison of the apocryphal NT with the canonical books is in itself sufficient to reveal the inferiority of the former (cf. the comments

by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], xiv-xvii). As James says, it is not a matter of "any one's having excluded them from the New Testament: they have done that for themselves" (ibid., xii).

A further point to be noted is that in the course of its history the term has sometimes been applied to documents (such as the APOSTOLIC FATHERS) that strictly speaking are neither NT nor apocryphal at all. It is advisable that its use should be restricted to those writings that were not received into the canon, but which by form and content lay some claim to be in the same class with the canonical Scriptures.

Broadly speaking, the NT Apocrypha may be divided into two groups: books intended to propagate a particular kind of teaching, usually heretical; and those intended to make good the deficiencies, as they appeared to a later age, in the canonical reports of the activity of Jesus and his apostles. The significance of this literature does not lie in its content, often merely legendary and fictitious, but in the insights it provides into the popular Christianity of the early centuries, which was often on an entirely different level from the theological speculation and theorizing of the early Fathers. Authentic early historical tradition is scarcely to be expected, and is likely to be found only in the earliest documents, if at all. These writings provide a useful standard of comparison with the canonical books and show the difference between documents still controlled by authentic recollection of events and those in which inventive imagination has been given free rein.

Perhaps the best way to form an estimate of the character of these writings is to classify them according to their literary form and then to compare them with the corresponding canonical works. It should be noted that the title of a book is not necessarily an accurate description of its character and contents. The *Epistula Apostolorum,* for example, begins as a letter, but soon develops into a report of a dialogue between the risen Christ and his disciples, similar in form to several Gnostic "gospels." The same is true also of the Nag Hammadi *Letter of James.*

Reference should be made to the AGRAPHA, sayings attributed to Jesus that are not recorded in the Gospels. These are for the most part isolated sayings quoted either in the NT (Acts 20:35; 1 Thess. 4:15) or by some early Father, although collections are known, including the famous OXYRHYNCHUS Logia (POxy, 1:654-55), preserved also in Coptic in the *Gospel of Thomas.* Of the numerous agrapha known, some are pure invention, others result from the transference to Jesus of material from another source, and still others are modifications or adaptations of genuine sayings; only a few of the agrapha have any claim to be considered authentic (see J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus,* 2nd ed. [1964]).

(In addition to the summaries that follow, see the separate articles on many of these books. For an English translation, see *NTAp;* for a comprehensive bibliography, J. H. Charlesworth, *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Guide to Publications, with Excurses on Apocalypses* [1987]. See also H.-J. Klauck, *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* [2003]; F. Lapham, *An Introduction to the New Testament Apocrypha* [2003].)

I. The apocryphal gospels. These may be classified under three heads: (a) the early texts, unfortunately for the most part fragmentary, in which alone we have any real prospect of finding the survival of genuine early tradition; (b) the Gnostic gospels and related documents; and (c) the infancy gospels and other later texts. (See J. K. Elliott, *A Synopsis of the Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narratives* [2006].)

A. The early texts. To the first group belong a number of papyrus fragments, the most important being

POxy 840, which reports a discussion in the temple court between Jesus and a "Pharisaic chief priest" named Levi, and Papyrus Egerton 2, which is of special interest because it is dated c. A.D. 150 and shows Johannine elements (with the Rylands Papyrus 457, this provides important evidence for the dating of the fourth gospel).

The Jewish-Christian gospels present a problem, since the patristic sources name three different titles, the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* and the *Gospel of the Nazarenes,* and it is not certain whether these refer to one, two, or three documents, nor to which document the fragments quoted actually belong. As there are only fragments, it is difficult to form any real estimate of the character of these works, and it is dangerous to build far-reaching theories upon them. It may, however, be added that the *Gospel of the Hebrews* is always mentioned by the Fathers with a certain respect (H. Lietzmann, *Kleine Schriften* [1958], 2:71).

A *Gospel of the Egyptians* is quoted by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who did not entirely disapprove of it; but since only his quotations are available, it is difficult to assess its character. It may have been the gospel of Gentile Christians in Egypt, while the *Gospel of the Hebrews* was that of the Jewish Christians; it appears to have been rather more Gnostic in character, and certainly was used by some Gnostic sects. A completely different work with the same title was found at Nag Hammadi. A fragment of the *Gospel of Peter,* previously known only from references in EUSEBIUS, was found in 1886; it is of interest for its original and unorthodox account of the passion and resurrection of Jesus. Finally, the *Epistle of the Apostles,* already mentioned, is in some respects similar to some of the Gnostic gospels.

B. The Gnostic gospels. A common feature of many Gnostic gospels and related documents is their presentation of revelations given to the disciples by the risen Christ in the period between the resurrection and the ascension, a period extended by the Gnostics from 40 to 550 days (or 18 months). The scene is usually a mountain, often the Mount of Olives; one or more of the disciples meet with Jesus, ply him with questions, and receive his answers. The subjects discussed include cosmology, usually in the form of a Gnostic reinterpretation of the Genesis creation story; the nature and destiny of man, and the future lot of various classes of mankind. Occasionally there is some kind of visionary experience. Some of these works (such as the *Apocryphon of John)* are associated with the names of particular disciples; others, like the *Sophia Jesu Christi* or the *Pistis Sophia,* have more general titles. In point of form, and occasionally even of content, it is sometimes hard to draw a rigid distinction between these texts and some of the later works in the previous group. Another type consists of writings ascribed to the founders of heretical schools, such as Cerinthus, Basilides, Marcion, and Mani; but in most cases only the titles exist, and it is not always certain that they represent separate and independent works (e.g., Marcion's "gospel" appears to have been an expurgated version of Luke).

An important group is formed by the three "gospels" found at Nag Hammadi, the *Gospel of Truth,* the *Gospel of Thomas,* and the *Gospel of Philip.* None of these is strictly a gospel at all: the *Gospel of Truth* is a meditation on the theme of the gospel message, and the *Gospel of Thomas* a collection of sayings, while the *Gospel of Philip* appears to be composed of sayings and meditations strung together largely on a catchword principle, without much regard for coherence or systematic presentation. A more recent discovery elsewhere in Egypt is the *Gospel of Judas,* which gives a positive picture of Judas Iscariot.

From all these facts it is clear that, as already noted, the title "gospel" is no guarantee of the nature or content of these documents; and conversely, some Gnostic documents that do not bear this

title must be classed formally with the "gospels" of a Gnostic type.

C. The infancy gospels. These owe their origin to the desire, already mentioned, to make good the apparent deficiencies of the canonical Gospels and fill in the gaps in the story. In the oldest gospel tradition only those events are recorded of which the apostles were or could have been witnesses (cf. Acts 1:22-23); even in the fourth gospel, although the prologue takes us back to the absolute beginning of things, the actual story of Jesus and his mission begins with John the Baptist. Both Matthew and Luke, however, preface their accounts of the ministry by narratives of the birth and childhood of Jesus. Significantly, they differ up to the point when they begin to draw upon Mark and Q, thus showing that they have utilized separate and independent cycles of tradition. Some motifs have parallels in nonbiblical sources, but the primary interest is not narrative or imaginative, but theological and apologetic, and in comparison with later developments these narratives reveal a marked sobriety and restraint.

The infancy gospels are much more extravagant. Jesus is depicted as possessing miraculous powers even in childhood, and in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* he sometimes makes use of them in a way quite incompatible with the character presented in the canonical tradition (this work has no connection with the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas).*The *Protevangelium of James* is much less crude, and indeed its use of legendary material is comparatively restrained. This work was written mainly for the glorification of MARY MOTHER OF JESUS and carries the story back beyond the birth of Jesus to the miraculous birth of Mary herself and her upbringing in the temple. On the basis of these two documents, an extensive literature developed in later centuries, despite condemnation by the popes, and enjoyed a wide popularity. Reference may be made to the Arabic and Armenian infancy gospels, to Coptic literature relating to the birth of Mary, and to the Ethiopic *Miracles of Jesus.* A special importance attaches to the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,* dating from the 8th or 9th cent., in which much of this material was presented in a more refined form. Its significance lies in the fact that these legends thus became common property and were able to exercise influence on Christian art and literature. It has indeed been said that in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, these writings "exercised a stronger influence on literature and art than the Bible itself" (O. Cullmann in *NTAp,* 1:418).

Apocryphal accounts of the passion and resurrection of Jesus are less common. Apart from the *Gospel of Peter,* already mentioned, chief interest attaches to the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* otherwise known as *the Acts of Pilate,* which incorporates an account of Christ's DESCENT INTO HADES and his triumph over the powers of the underworld. The literature relating to PILATE had a wide circulation in various languages. Also to be mentioned here is an Arabic text examined by S. Pines *(The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity* [1966]), who claims that it goes back to a Jewish-Christian source (contrast S. M. Stern in *JTS* 18 [1967]: 34-57). At all events it shows acquaintance with apocryphal motifs.

The primary significance of all these documents is that they serve as a foil to set off the comparative sobriety and restraint of the canonical gospels and reveal what can happen when imagination and legendary embellishment are allowed free play. Often they take over and expand or elaborate canonical material, but when they are original and independent they are seldom reliable. There is, therefore, little (if any) authentic tradition about Jesus that has not already been included in the NT.

II. The apocryphal epistles. These are comparatively few and some are not really epistles. The

Muratorian Canon mentions a letter to the Laodiceans and another to the Alexandrians, "forged in Paul's name for the sect of Marcion." The extant Latin work *Epistle to the Laodiceans* is a patchwork of Pauline phrases, although it is found in some MSS of the Bible; there is some doubt concerning its identity with the letter mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. The *Letters of Paul and Seneca,* known already to Jerome, are clearly intended to enlist the prestige and authority of the Roman philosopher in support of the Christian faith. A letter from Corinth to Paul and his reply (sometimes referred to as *3 Corinthians)* are now known to have formed part of the *Acts of Paul,* although they also circulated independently. The *Epistle of Pseudo-Titus* is a lengthy treatise in praise of celibacy that makes liberal use not only of biblical but also of apocryphal material. Finally, there is the correspondence between Christ and ABGAR, king of Edessa, first mentioned by Eusebius.

III. The apocryphal acts. More extensive, and more significant, are the apocryphal acts, and especially the five major works from the 2nd and 3rd centuries attributed to Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, and Thomas. In general it may be said that these were intended to supplement, rather than to replace, the canonical Acts by providing fuller information about the deeds of the apostles and in particular about their martyrdoms. These works testify to the high regard in which the apostles were held, as guarantors of the authentic gospel message and pioneers of the Christian mission; but at the same time their use of legendary motifs and their delight in miracle for its own sake, as a means of glorifying the apostles, place them in the category of romance rather than of history. The ascetic tendencies they frequently display again reflect the ideals of a later age. Such elements of authentic early tradition as they contain are usually borrowed from the canonical Acts or other NT sources. They belong to the realm of popular literature and show certain affinities with the Hellenistic novel; one may note, for example, the place given to the journeys of the apostles, the wonders they encounter (e.g., cannibals, talking animals, even obedient bugs!), and the emphasis upon their own miraculous powers. Here the apostles are closer to the Hellenistic wonderworker (the *theios anēr)* than to the NT apostle.

The state of preservation of these works varies; the *Acts of Paul,* for example, must largely be reconstructed from the extant fragments. In most cases some sections, and especially the martyrdoms, enjoyed a separate circulation, which sometimes led to their elaboration and expansion. Sometimes versions exist in different languages, and these vary considerably from each other. The important point, however, is their popularity and their influence on later writings. They were themselves the basis of, and often a quarry for, numerous later works. In time, similar *Acts* were composed for other apostles also: Philip, Matthew, Bartholomew, Simon and Judas, Thaddaeus, Barnabas.

IV. Apocryphal apocalypses. The one apocalyptic book in the canonical NT is the Revelation of John, although apocalyptic elements are to be found in other works (e.g., Mk. 13 and parallels; 2 Thess. 2:1 –12). The early church shared to a large extent in the temper and thought world of Jewish apocalyptic and took over and adapted several of its documents, but there is a shift of emphasis: interest now centers in the return of Christ, and later on, with the delay of the PAROUSIA, in the world beyond, "heaven and its blessedness, hell and its miseries." The *Ascension of Isaiah,* for example, derives its title from a vision describing the prophet's ascent through the seven heavens; the work may date from the 2nd cent. A.D. Also from this century, since it was known to Clement of Alexandria, is the *Apocalypse of Peter,* which is significant both for the way in which it incorporates ideas of heaven and hell from non-Christian sources and also for its influence on later writing, down through the *Apocalypse of Paul* and other works to the *Divina comedia* of Dante.

It should be added that not all the works that include "Apocalypse" or "Revelation" in their titles are necessarily apocalyptic in the full sense; and, conversely, revelations of an apocalyptic character sometimes occur in writings that do not bear the title. Also to be mentioned are a few books of prophecy (sometimes neither NT nor apocryphal in the strict sense), notably the Christian portions of the *Sibylline Oracles* and the fragments of the *Book of Elchasai*. According to some scholars, Montanism stands in continuity with the early Christian prophets of the NT period, not with apocalyptic; but hostility aroused by Montanism may have carried with it an opposition to apocalyptic and to other forms of prophecy. See also APOCRYPHA, MODERN.
R. McL. WILSON

Apollo uh-pol'oh ('Ἀπόλλων). In Greek mythology, a son of ZEUS and (after Zeus himself) the most greatly revered god. Apollo's shrine in Delphi was the source of oracles that were sought after by

This marble bust of Apollo comes from Rome and dates c. A.D. 120-40.

his devotees in the ancient world. See also GREEK RELIGION. (See *DDD,* 74-77.)

Apollonia ap'uh-loh'nee-uh (Ἀπολλωνία *G662)*. There were several towns of this name, the most famous being Apollonia of Illyria, a terminal point on the VIA EGNATIA; it served as CAESAR'S base when POMPEY was encircled at Dyrrachium. The Apollonia of the NT is at the other end of the Via Egnatia, 27 mi. WSW of AMPHIPOLIS ,somewhere between the Strymon and the Axius (modern Vardar). Its site is not certain, but PAUL and SILAS passed through the town on their way between THESSALONICA and PHILIPPI (Acts 17:1). (In addition, JOSEPHUS refers to a HASMONEAN city by that name *[Ant.* 13.15.4 §395; *War* 1.8.4 §166]; it is modern)Arsuf, some 20 mi. S of CAESAREA.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Apollonius ap'uh-loh'nee-uhs (Ἀπολλώνιος). The name of several men mentioned in the books of MACCABEES, including a Syrian ruler killed in battle by Judas Maccabee (1 Macc. 3:10-12; identified as the governor of Samaria by Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.1 §287) and various other officials appointed by the Seleucids (1 Macc 10:69-77; 2 Macc. 3:5-7; 4:4, 21; 5:24; 12:2; 4 Macc. 4:2-14).

Apollophanes ap'uh-lof'uh-neez (Ἀπολλο- φάνης). A Syrian who, with his brothers Timothy and Chaereas, was slain in the fortress Gazara (GEZER) after its capture by the army of Judas MACCABEE (2 Macc. 10:37).

Apollos uh-pol'uhs (Ἀπολλῶς *G663,* prob. an abbreviated form of Ἀπολλώνιος [cf. Codex D at Acts 18:24]; Douay has Apollo, in agreement with Vulgate). A gifted, scholarly, zealous preacher in the early Christian church (Acts 18:24-28; 19:1; 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:4-6, 22; 4:6; 16:12; Tit. 3:13). Apollos was a Jew from ALEXANDRIA (Acts 18:24), and he presumably grew up in that noted center of the Hellenistic world where Gentile and Jewish learning met and interacted. He possessed a keen mind and had received thorough educational training. He was a "learned" (NRSV, "eloquent") man, possessing not only a well-stored mind but also a natural facility of speech. He had "a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures," that is, a mastery of the OT. He was proficient in their use in teaching and debate. He had also developed the valuable trait of accuracy in study and teaching (18:25).

Apollos "had been instructed in the way of the Lord," but his teacher is not known. He may have been a disciple of John the Baptist; CODEX CLARO-MONTANUS (D) adds that he had been instructed "in his native land." His knowledge, however, was limited, for "he knew only the baptism of John." He certainly knew enough to be convinced that Jesus was the Messiah. The statement that he "taught about Jesus accurately" implies that he did have a general acquaintance with his ministry and teaching but was uninformed concerning the outcome and spiritual results of Christ's mission. Yet even this limited knowledge concerning Jesus produced "great fervor" in him, and he bubbled with enthusiasm and zeal to share it with others.

Upon his arrival in EPHESUS, Apollos "began to speak boldly in the synagogue" (Acts 18:26). He had the courage to present his convictions to his Jewish audience. In the audience were two lay Christians, PRISCILLA AND AQUILA. They doubtless were impressed with the fervor of Apollos but noted his imperfect message. They brought him to their home and tactfully "explained to him the way of God more accurately." That it included instruction in the significance of Christian BAPTISM may be assumed, but Luke gives no hint that Apollos was baptized. If he had received John's baptism before Pentecost, his baptism, like that of the Twelve, would be accepted as valid.

The desire of Apollos to work in ACHAIA received the warm support of his fellow-Christians at

Ephesus, who gave him a letter of recommendation (Acts 18:27; Codex D adds the gloss that the decision of Apollos was made at the urging of certain Corinthians resident at Ephesus). The ministry of Apollos had great value for the Corinthian church, for he "was a great help to those who by grace had believed." His powerful preaching strengthened the development of uninstructed believers. Thus Apollos "watered" the work that Paul had planted in CORINTH (cf. Acts 18:1-17; 1 Cor. 3:6). His dynamic apologetic ministry also aided the church in silencing Jewish opposition in that "he vigorously refuted the Jews in public debate, proving from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ" (Acts 18:28). The ministry went beyond the confines of the church, as he, through his skillful use of the OT Scriptures, aggressively pressed the claim that Jesus was the MESSIAH.

The strong ministry of Apollos at Corinth also produced some undesirable reactions in the church. Deeply impressed with his eloquent preaching, certain Corinthians began to make him the focus of partisan loyalty for one of the four factions into which the church divided (1 Cor. 1:12). In splitting the church over their favorite preachers, they forgot that all of them were "God's fellow workers" (3:9). Paul's rebuke of their factions (chs. 1-4) was not aimed at Apollos but at the Corinthians themselves (4:6). When Paul wrote this letter, Apollos was with him at Ephesus (16:12). The Corinthians had indicated a desire to have Apollos return to Corinth. Paul had urged him to return, but Apollos had refused to do so at the time in order to avoid reviving the party spirit in the church. That he had been made the center for one of their factions doubtless was as distasteful to Apollos as to Paul.

Nothing further is heard of Apollos until Tit. 3:13. Paul instructed Titus "to help Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way."They had met Paul in some unnamed place. Since their journey was taking them through Crete, Paul apparently asked them to deliver his letter to Titus. It would seem that Apollos did not feel called to the pioneer work of planting new churches. He apparently devoted his efforts to the strengthening of those that had already been established. The apt suggestion of Luther that Apollos was the author of HEBREWS has found favor with a number of scholars. While plausible, the suggestion lacks proof.

D. E. HIEBERT

Apollyon uh-pol'yuhn (Ἀπολλύων *G661,* from ἀπόλλυμι *G661,* "to destroy"). Greek equivalent of ABADDON in Rev. 9:11.

apologetics. In the narrow sense, the term *apologetics* refers to a reasoned defense of the truth, a plea for the veracity of the character and purposes of God. In a broader sense, it means commending the faith, presenting grounds for Christian hope. Strictly speaking, the genre of apologetic writing was not developed until the 2nd cent. It became an academic discipline, under various names, in the 19th cent. However, there is considerable biblical material rightly deemed apologetical in form and substance.

It is noteworthy that the Bible nowhere presents technical theistic proofs for God's existence, as one can find in the history of philosophy. This is not to say that there are no arguments for God's truth in the Bible. The Psalmist tells us, "The heavens declare the glory of God" (Ps. 19:1). Paul's letter to the ROMANS contains a defense of God's ways in the face of the evil in the world. The absence of carefully worded demonstrations for God's existence is due to the nature of REVELATION. God discloses himself with authority to a sinful humanity. The proper response to that self-disclosure is faith in this particular God, who has a name, and who acts in history: "And without faith it is impossible to please God, because anyone who comes to him must believe he exists and that he rewards those who earnestly seek him" (Heb. 11:6). God's person and work are presupposed in

order to work out the philosophical implications, not the other way around. We are reminded of Anselm's words at the beginning of the *Proslogion:* "I do not seek to understand that I may believe, but I believe in order to understand."

I. The Old Testament

A. Background. Much of the substance of OT writing is polemical in nature. On the one hand, many different portions of the OT share certain cultural and even theological assumptions with the wider groups in the ANE. On the other hand, they often present an antithetical alternative to their worldviews. For example, Gen. 1-11 contains various parallels to texts from Mesopotamia and Egypt. Yet they can also be read as a critical commentary on the religions from those traditions.

In a similar way, the historical books, the prophets, and other writers drew on the themes from the local cultures, only to denounce their problematic side. This is an overal apologetic pattern. The men of Issachar, famously, "understood the times and knew what Israel should do" (1 Chr. 12:32; cf. Matt. 16:2-3). The prophets constantly subvert the very themes and images from the surrounding pagan cults to teach about redemption. Hosea, for example, makes considerable use of stock-farming and agricultural imagery, so prevalent in the local FERTILITY CULTS , to describe God's judgment, and then his love for his people (see Hos. 8:7-10; 9:10—11:11; 14:4-8). The Psalms often portray God's majesty using the foil of local religions. For example, Ps. 29 centers on the power, the authority of God's voice. His voice is higher than the storm, greater than the waters, able to break the cedars of Lebanon, greater than the arid desert. Besides being statements of God's sovereignty, the successive verses interact with pagan religion, which attributes ultimate supremacy to agitated waters, trees, and empty expanses.

B. The Pentateuch. In a certain way, the first five books of the Bible *are* an apologetic. They proclaim the promises of God to mankind, and then describe the repeated obstacles thrown in the way of those promises. But each time, the promises prevail and are even augmented. The Pentateuch asserts God's right to possess his people. God claims Israel to be his firstborn child, redeemed out of Egyptian slavery, emancipated from the pharaoh's usurped tutelage (Exod. 4:22-23; 14:24-31). Moreover, a slave in Israel was to be released upon demand (Deut. 15:13-14). Accordingly, the Lord requires Egypt to conform to this law. In due course Israel was to be constituted a theocratic nation, living in obedience to the Lord (Exod. 19:3-6). Even this great redemptive event was not to be an end in itself, for Israel was a light for the nations (Deut. 29:22; cf. Ps. 96:3; Isa. 56:3-8). There were provisions within the law for "aliens" who would live in the land and benefit fully from Israel's righteousness (Num. 15:14-16; cf. Josh. 8:35; 9:6-27). So apologetics to non-Israelites was in the purview right from the beginning.

The threats to God's promises occur not only against the specific oppression of the pharaoh, but against obstacles of all kinds: the constant menace of encroachment from rival religions and practices, the disbelief of the people, including leaders and patriarchs, and enemies from many corners. In answer to these obstacles, the Pentateuch sets forth an apologetic for the trustworthiness of God's promises. The first eleven chapters of Genesis give us a window on the prehistory of the world. The CREATION story is a polemic against various ANE views. "In the beginning God" is a radical statement about origins. Neither from chaos nor any preexisting matter does God create. Nor should God be confused with any creature. Placing the sun on the fourth day of the creation week, and describing it as a servant, along with other luminaries (Gen. 1:14-19), forcefully speaks against the

deity of RE, the Egyptian god. The purpose of creation of human beings is not to unburden the gods, as it is in the Sumerian and Babylonian creation stories, but to bless them and give them a high purpose (Gen. 1:26-31; 2:7-25).

Furthermore, the entire tenor of the book of Genesis contradicts the philosophy of HISTORY envisioned in many Mesopotamian accounts of origins. These generally portray a world moving toward improvement, whereas Genesis recounts a FALL from original goodness, followed by a steady decline into moral decadence, bringing judgment on the earth. Though frustrated by the fall (Gen. 3:14-19), the vocation of mankind is still to be fulfilled. The children of CAIN, generally the nonelect line, are able to raise cattle, build cities, play music, and work in metallurgy (4:19-24). However, the race of SETH will perpetuate the believing community, calling directly on God's name (4:25-26).

No absolute contrast is implied between culture and worship. But sin and corruption are such that a radical plan is set in motion: the salvation of believers through the seed of the woman. Despite BABEL, the nations would continue, and eventually produce a new humanity through Abram, the child of Terah (Gen. 11:27). Abram becomes ABRAHAM, the beginning of a new humanity. He would live in the land, and his children would be like the dust of the earth and the stars of the heavens (12:1-3; 13:16). The COVENANT with Abraham would be everlasting, ratified by God's maledictory oath (15:17; 17:1-14). Everything in his life seemed to make belief in God's promises impossible. His origins are humble. There was a famine in the new land (12:10). Canaanites were there (12:6). Though the land would be given to his descendants, SARAH, his wife, was barren (17:17-22). Various enemies threatened his tenure. Despite all of this, God's promises triumph. Abraham was found faithful. His descendants, beginning with his son ISAAC, and continuing through JACOB and the twelve tribes, would indeed become as numerous as the stars of heaven.

They too would face obstacles to God's promises. MOSES, the greatest of the OT figures, the mediator whose function was the distant echo of Jesus Christ's, gave up the riches of Egypt in order to lead his people to the promised land (Exod. 2:11-22; Heb. 11:23-28; Rev. 12:14). Through him the promises of God were fulfilled. By his name, "I am that I am," he would deliver his people (Exod. 3:14-15; 6:3). Though many obstacles would throw themselves in the way, Moses would lead the people out of Egypt and to the brink of Canaan, because the "I am" would accomplish it through him (cf. Matt. 28:20). No force of opposition, whether it be Lot's deceit, Jacob's treachery, the murderous plotting of Joseph's brothers, Israel's rebellion in the desert, can prevent the sure accomplishment of the promises.

Because of this pattern of promise and fulfillment, none of God's faithful children needs fear any obstacle, any trial. God's character is a final argument against all unbelief. God's people can therefore enjoy the assurance of God's promises and of his presence. Moses said to the Israelites, "Remember today that your children were not the ones who saw and experienced [God's mighty deeds] But it was your own eyes that saw these great things the LORD has done" (Deut. 11:2-7). If they disobey, though, dire consequences will follow (28:20-68). Nevertheless, even a disobedient people will be brought back by the grace of God, so that his promises will never be thwarted (30:1 – 10). The Pentateuch is a most powerful apologetic affirming the veracity of God's character in the face of opposition.

C. The Prophets. In a fundamental sense, the role of the PROPHETS of the OT is to remind Israel of its covenant obligations, as established in the Pentateuch. Accordingly, the normative form for a prophet was Moses, the standard for all subsequent seers (Deut. 18:15-19; 34:10). Closely tied to national affairs, they interpreted present and future events in the light of God's requirement. They were heralds

of God's Word. Very often they were called upon to denounce the unfaithful religious, political, and moral practices of Israel. Apologetics was at the heart of the prophet's task.

The content of prophecy centers on forthtelling and, in a more limited way, on foretelling. Often, their words are in the form of a law suit. Toward the beginning of Isaiah's prophecy, repentance and forgiveness are announced, despite the great corruption of the people. "Come now, let us reason together, says the Lord. Though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be white as snow" (Isa. 1:18). In effect, the Lord is calling Israel to stand trial. The verb that is translated "reason" (Heb. *yākaḥ H3519)* is used in the same sense as *šāpaṭ H9149* in 43:26, "Review the past for me, let us argue the matter together; state the case for your innocence." Throughout many of the prophets the idea is that God, the judge, challenges Israel to defend itself. The challenge is ironic, because Israel has no case to make, though it might think so (cf. Job 23:7). It is also gracious ("Come, now," carries a tone of gentle invitation; cf. Matt. 11:28). Though the Lord had the right to condemn Israel, he forgets its sins, and sends his suffering servant to take the blame on himself (Isa. 58:8-10; cf. Exod. 17:5-7).

Neither nation nor idol can save Israel, but God can. Throughout the prophets one finds devastating critiques of false dependencies. They are made by human hands and cannot speak, yet people worship them (Isa. 44:6-20). Despite the unfaithfulness of Israel, God will return to them and bring them back to a place of blessing (Ezek. 16). He will judge the nations and save his remnant (Hab. 3:16-19; Zeph. 3:8-20). His anger is turned away from the true Israel because he himself will be their all-sufficient savior, their MESSIAH (Isa. 9:6-7; Joel 2:23-32; Hos. 14:4-8). The apologetic of the prophets issues in an ultimate promise, that of judgment and mercy being centered in the Messiah, who will come to make all things right.

The form of prophecy varied. At times it was by parables or allegories (Isa. 5; Ezek. 16; 23). One of the ways prophets "subverted" the unbelief of Israel, in order to challenge it, was by the use of stories that appeared at first unconnected with the accusation. For example, 2 Sam. 12:1-14 portrays NATHAN, the prophet, confronting DAVID, who had sinned by adultery with BATHSHEBA, the murder of URIAH, her husband, and lying to his troops. Had he simply denounced the king, it is likely he would not have gotten through, such was David's stubbornness. So he told the story of a rich man with large flocks stealing from a poor man with only one ewe lamb, to make a meal with his friend. Upon hearing this, David was furious and pronounced his judgment. Nathan then only had to say that David was, in effect, the man. David saw it and repented. At other times prophets argued by "acted oracle." That is, they would use a living image and build a case for blessing or judgment upon it. For example, in 2 Ki. 13:14-20 we have the story of King Jehoash (JOASH) and the dying ELISHA . The king is anxious about the survival of Israel. The prophet directs him, first, to shoot an arrow toward the east, then to strike the ground with the remaining arrows, which he does only three times. Though he will have victory, it will be limited. In some of the more apocalyptic prophecies, visions of strange characters are vividly disclosed to the people in need of reproof or encouragement. For example, ZECHARIAH uses numerous images to uncover the sure fact that "my words and my decrees, which I commanded my servants the prophets, [did] overtake your forefathers" (Zech. 1:6). In the first chapter (vv. 8-17) he sees an angel, a figure of the messiah, mounted as a warrior on a red horse, present in the midst of myrtle, which represents God's people. His messengers, on flame-colored horses, report that the world is at rest and in peace. This is not as it should be, since Israel is attempting to return from exile, and the nations have no business being complacent. And so God will judge the nations, even as he brings real peace to Jerusalem.

D. Poetry. The poetic books of the OT put their own imprint on the biblical apologetic. In the Psalms

are often found echoes of the prophetic message, but personalized. The challenge of the nations becomes a matter of personal trust in God's purposes. Justice delayed provokes the questions, "why," and "how long, O Lord?" But justice delayed is not justice denied (Pss. 2; 46; 50; et al.). Though the faithful be persecuted, the destruction of the enemy is sure (Pss. 37; 73). The majesty and aseity (absolute self-existence) of God are constantly proclaimed, to the comfort of the believer and the confounding of the rebel (Pss. 14; 90; 93; 110).This apologetic is prayerful and emotional. The psalmist often pleads with God, praying for justice and for forgiveness of sins (Pss. 32; 69; 80; 130). He reasons that God has promised, and in the past he has proven himself faithful to the promise, so he should be counted on to come through again (Pss. 21; 34; 51; 78; 107). He knows that God is sovereign over the whole creation, and will therefore be sovereign over the life of the believer (Pss. 19; 29; 104). Fundamentally, the Lord is good and beautiful (Pss. 16:2, 6, 11; 50:2), and so, better than chariots (20:7), even "better than life" (63:2). Based on these convictions, the Psalms constantly appeal to all people, insiders and outsiders, to believe, to taste and see that God is good (34:8-11).

The WISDOM Literature is apologetic discourse *par excellence.* Here we have another case of writings that share much from the literature of the ANE. The PROVERBS, for example, have clear parallels in Egyptian *Sebayit* literature, didactic treatises that often direct a young man in the ways of the court, the rules of conversation, and the general principles for a prosperous life. The Egyptian idea of *ma(at* (roughly translated "justice," or "order") is that happiness can be achieved by conformity to a divinely established regimen in the universe. But in contrast, wisdom is an art, one that requires careful assessment of the world, the here-and-now. Whereas the ideal in Proverbs, Lady Wisdom (Prov. 1; 8-9), speaks in the first person, with a divine accent, *ma(at* is a distant deity, never speaking, only spoken about. ECCLESIASTES (Qohelet) likewise finds parallels in various ancient texts. The so-called Babylonian *Dialogue of Pessimism* (B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* [1993], 2:815-17; *ANET,* 600-601) examines the contradictions in life and questions the world's meaning, much in the same way as does Ecclesiastes. But its author ends in profound nihilism, whereas Qohelet is never finally pessimistic.

The Proverbs are a training manual for right living. One must learn to resist dame folly and cultivate lady wisdom. But wisdom cries out to the young man, or to any audience who would seek life. In other words, wisdom recommends herself, using apologetic argument. Wisdom will grace the head (Prov. 1:9); is like hidden treasure, but better than gold (2:4; 8:19); protects against folly (2:12); produces a sound mind (3:2; 4:1-8); a long life (4:10; 9:11); and ultimately leads one to God (2:5; 23:17). The source of wisdom is God himself (3:5; 9:10). Wisdom is God's intimate companion, who crafts the world (8:22-30). Unlike the Egyptian *ma(at,* which is an abstract order of justice, wisdom is personal, giving sound judgment to kings, and loving those who love her (8:14-17). Yet the ultimate proof of wisdom's superiority, the fundamental apologetic, is what she does for you (4:6-8). This is why wisdom is justified by her offspring (Matt. 11:19; Lk 7:35).

Qohelet is an apologetic that begins with the vanity of the world and its wisdom (Eccl. 1:2–11). Why be over-wise, it asks? (7:16) No one listens to the poor wise man, though he may save a city, or, like Issachar's children, may tell Israel how to behave (9:13-16). Wisdom is beyond us anyway (7:7-23). In a certain way, Qohelet is almost entirely negative. And yet, by implication, there is a brighter world on the other side, one in which meaningful life reigns (1:14). The author is a Solomonic figure, one who was once wise but then

Sixteenth-century drawing of Justin Martyr, one of the first Christian Apologists.

became apostate *(qōhelet H7738* means "assembler," and should likely not be ennobled by translations such as "Teacher" or "Preacher"). But, again, by implication, there is wisdom greater than Qohelet's, for "a greater than Solomon is here," one whose audience will be condemned by Solomon's (Matt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31). Space prohibits commenting on the SONG OF SONGS, in which a young maid chooses the authentic love of a shepherd over the powerful advances of a Solomon.

The book of JOB qualifies as one of the most powerful apologetic pieces ever written. Both in form and content, it is *sui generis*. Like Ecclesiastes, it puts into question the idealism of the rule of wisdom, which implies that the God-fearing person will always live better. But unlike Ecclesiastes, there is in Job a fundamental resolution, a THEODICY. The book is less about the pain and suffering of the innocent than about the (agonizing) theological problem of the contradiction between living righteously and being chastised by the hand of God. Job complains bitterly against his condition, but never forsakes his God. Job's friends, though full of a certain kind of wisdom, have given over to the pagan cosmologies that posit a rigid determinism in which good behavior is necessarily rewarded and evil behavior punished. Instead, when we fully recognize God's greatness over his creation (Job 38-41), as even Job himself had not, no rational answer to the contradiction is needed.

II. The New Testament

A. Background. Like the OT, the NT has strong apologetical intent. Similarly, we find the authors both influenced by and critical of local philosophies and religious views. As to content, all of the themes found in the OT are reproduced, though with a specific new focus on the presence of Christ and the life in the Spirit. The NT is a defense of the KINGDOM OF GOD, which has come and is still

being spread, because of the person and work of Jesus Christ. As such, then, apologetics is intrinsic to the presentation of the kingdom of God, whose coming is the principal message of the NT.

There are two major groupings that received the message of the first generation of Christians. First, and most centrally, the gospel was addressed to a Jewish audience, or, more accurately, to a diversity of Jewish audiences. Judaism proper begins with the fall of the southern kingdom. It includes Samaritans, the HASIDEANS (Hasidim), and their offspring, the PHARISEES, the most scrupulous adherents to Jewish law. The most significant rival party to the Pharisees was known as the SADDU-CEES. Theologically, they differed from them by denying the bodily resurrection, rewards and punishments, and predestination. Politically, they were closer to the central power than the Pharisees, up until the 1st cent. Other groups of Jews included the ESSENES, the Qumran community (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), and the ZEALOTS. Apologetics in the NT often shares assumptions with some of these groups, while at the same time challenging some of their most cherished assumptions. We may remember Jesus' dialogue with the Samaritan woman, or his and the apostles' extensive interactions with the Pharisees and Sadducees. They also postured against various political theologies.

Paganism, in its various guises, is the other major audience for apologetics in the NT. It too considered the gospel an offense, though more for its unreasonable sounding philosophy (its "foolishness") than for erroneous messianic views (1 Cor. 1:22). According to ORIGEN, Celsius the Greek could not believe because, in his view, Christ on the cross was neither helped by his father nor could he help himself. There were sophisticated forms of pagan beliefs. In addition to classical Aristotelianism and Platonism, there were the EPICUREANS, who held to a materialism that desired peace of mind, not God, as the highest good, and the STOICS, who believed God to be a world-soul, and human life to be determined by forces that should not be resisted. More popular pagan philosophies were expressed in local religions of all kinds, usually with a background in Greek mythology, expressed in temple life, and often possessing a strong belief in MAGIC. The Roman authorities who ruled over Palestine often practiced some form of pagan religion, but were expected to acknowledge that Caesar was a demigod. The apostle Paul showed himself conversant with a number of pagan philosophies, and crafted his apologetic partly in the use of their terms, partly in a critique of their worldviews (Acts 17:16-31).

B. The Gospels. Each of the four Gospels unmistakably bears the mark of apologetics. Matthew no doubt has a catechetical character, ordered as it is by an alternating sequence of Christ's miracles and his teachings. But that is interwoven with an apologetic purpose, perhaps primarily to a Jewish readership. Accordingly, skepticism about Jesus' legitimacy was answered in the infancy story; questions about Jesus' residency in Nazareth rather than Bethlehem are answered by the descent into Egypt; the resurrection account includes the bribing of the guard, which would allay worries about the disciples stealing Jesus' body. But in broader terms, Matthew is concerned to show the many ways in which Christ fulfilled the OT Scriptures. In fact, the unbelief of much of Israel is explained in terms of prophecies. For example, parables were used as a way (among other things) to sort out true believers from those described by Isaiah, as "hearing but never understanding" (Matt. 13:14). Much could be said about the use of PARABLES as apologetic discourse: they are enigmas, whose solution "subverts" the wise listener into belief. Jesus interprets the Scriptures authoritatively, and "not as their teachers of the law," because he has come to fulfill the Law and the Prophets (5:17; 7:29).

Mark's gospel seems more obviously tailored to a gentile audience. More pared-down than Matthew, he is concerned to compel the reader to focus on Christ's dramatic presence, his passion,

and the response of faith needed to reckon with him. In short, it is an evangelistic book. The pivot point is the confession of PETER at CAESAREA PHILIPPI (Mk. 8:27-30), from which the story moves relentlessly toward the events of Jesus' last week. Mark is forthright in his descriptions of people's reactions to Jesus, but he is equally explicit about Jesus' own human emotions. He often names him the SON OF MAN, no doubt a reference to Dan. 7:13. No one can remain neutral before Mark's portrait of Jesus Christ.

Luke's gospel is clearly meant to defend belief in the KINGDOM OF GOD as universal. He announces his purpose at the beginning, in words resembling the historian's determination to get all the salient facts down and give an "orderly account" of the events everyone is discussing (Lk. 1:1–4). He wants his reader, the gentile Theophilus, to have a certainty about the contents. Like its second volume, the book of Acts, the Gospel of Luke is meant to prove that Christianity was not subversive, but is a true successor to the synagogue. This may be why he records that PILATE pronounced Jesus not guilty three times (23:4, 14, 22). He spends far more time than the other writers on the infancy of Jesus, which he compares at some length to JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Luke shows at every turn that divine intervention is the only explanation for all that happens. Like Matthew, he is concerned to show Christ in relation to the OT, but unlike him, Luke stresses the events as fulfilling Scripture, thus proving its universal truth, and is less concerned for various hermeneutical questions that could be raised (24:26-27). The child in SIMEON's arms is "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel" (2:32). The same prophet tells Mary, "This child is destined to cause the falling and rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign spoken against, so that the thoughts of many hearts will be revealed" (2:34-35). Jesus' very presence probes the heart and provokes a response.

John's gospel is in a category by itself. Like Luke, though, he announces his purpose in writing it: the signs that he records are written "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name" (Jn. 20:31). John is concerned throughout that the reader be assured of the veracity of all he records: "we have seen his glory," he tells us up front (1:14). This becomes especially so in the passion narrative. Mary is entrusted to John (19:26-27); he personally witnessed the flow of blood and water at the piercing of Jesus' side (19:35); he went into the tomb and saw the burial cloth (20:8). John writes that he saw many miracles not recorded in this gospel (20:30); but all that he does write is true (21:24-25).

John also is a careful theologian, noting many links of Jesus' teaching and miracles to the OT. From Jn. 1:1–3 (compared to Gen. 1:1), to NATHANIEL's confession that Jesus is the fulfillment of Jacob's vision (1:50-51), to the temple discussions, on through to the many detailed ways in which OT texts can be applied to Jesus' death, this gospel functions clearly as an apologetic for the mirror of the OT in the NT. Furthermore, here Jesus often proclaims his divine origin and mission in the strongest terms. The famous "I am" passages are more than descriptions of his ministry; they are part of Jesus' ongoing claims to be identified with the "I am that I am" beheld by Moses at the burning bush (Exod. 3:14).

C. Acts. Jesus warned his disciples that they would be brought before the synagogues, rulers, and authorities for their faith. Yet he promised that a "defense" would be given to them by the HOLY SPIRIT in that hour (Matt. 10:19; Mk. 13:11; Luke uses the verb *apologeomai G664,* "to speak in defense," Lk. 12:11; 21:14). The book of Acts (sometimes using the cognate noun *apologia G665)* records numerous occasions when that warning became a reality (Acts 19:33; 22:1; 24:10; 25:8, 16; 26:1-2, 24). These opportunities for defense were all in connection with the apostolic proclamation

of the gospel of the kingdom from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth. The narrative moves from events in Jerusalem, with preaching to largely Jewish audiences, to the spread of the gospel to an increasingly gentile audience, ending in arrival of the apostle Paul in Rome, the quintessential gentile city.

Accordingly, the messages vary in their approach. Sermons geared to Jews argue more directly from Scripture than those aimed at Gentiles, though not exclusively so. Peter's first sermon explains the events of PENTECOST in terms of Joel's prophecy, and calls for faith and repentance to the Jews, but assures them that the promises are for them and those who are called from faraway (Acts 2:39). STEPHEN's speech to the SANHEDRIN is a recital of OT history as fulfilled in Christ, concluding with a prophetic accusation of the unbelief of the Palestinian Jews, earning him martyrdom (7:1-53). In the ensuing persecution, the church gradually spreads out to Samaria and to places far from Jerusalem.

PAUL, the newly converted Pharisee, could appeal to his training under the renown GAMALIEL as evidence that he knew "the law of our fathers" (Acts 22:3). In his defense before the Sanhedrin, he affirmed the resurrection of the dead, to the consternation of the Sadducees (23:6-8). But then he drew opposition from all Jews by claiming that the entire OT points to Jesus Christ. Indeed, much of the NT is a polemic against legalistic Judaism. The Messiah should not have had to die, and so Christ was a "scandal" to the Jews (1 Cor. 1:23). In a similar way, when he testified before rulers he adapted the message to fit the circumstance. Before FELIX, whose wife was Jewish, he spoke about "the Way" (24:10-21). Before Agrippa (see HEROD VIII) and FESTUS he spoke of the impossibility of opposing the risen Christ (26:2-29).

While offered "to the Jew first," Christianity eventually appealed more and more to Gentile audiences. Naturally, the message took on a different character. Preaching in LYSTRA (Acts 14:14-18) and in ATHENS (17:22-31), Paul's message was adapted to a pagan audience. Rather than building on OT redemptive history, he appealed to revelation that they could recognize, for example, the patience and beneficence of God as attested in the natural world (14:15-17; 17:25), or the inner contradiction between worshiping gold, silver, stone, and the altar "to an unknown god" (17:23, 29). While fully conversant with their local philosophies, even quoting poets like Epimenides and Aratus, he challenges their inconsistent philosophy of history (17:28). Ultimately, he calls them to recognize the living God, the one whose Son would judge the world (14:15; 17:30-31). Such messages to pagans are consistent with Paul's basic worldview, as set forth in Rom. 1:18-25. (See N. B. Stonehouse, *Paul before the Areopagus and Other New Testament Studies* [1957].)

D. The Epistles and Revelation. The authors of the letters were aware of their calling as defenders of the faith. To the Philippians, Paul says he is in prison "for the defense of the gospel" (Phil. 1:16; cf. 1:7). His life was bound up with defending the truth (2 Tim. 4:16). He exercised a ministry of *persuasion (peithō G4275;* see 2 Cor. 5:11; Acts 13:43; 26:28), aiming at *conviction (plērophoreō G4442,* Col. 4:12; cf. 1 Cor. 2:6, 10). Because of that, he and his coworkers "demolish arguments and every pretension that sets itself up against the knowledge of God, and we take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ" (2 Cor. 10:5). The author of Hebrews insists that his readers "pay more careful attention" to the binding finality of the gospel message (Heb. 2:1-4). James warns his readers of the seductive reasoning that blames God for evil (Jas. 1:13-15).

At the same time, this apologetical tone is meant to encourage the believing community to face opposition and remain faithful. No doubt the *locus classicus* of apologetics is 1 Pet. 3:15, which tells believers to reverence Christ and always to be prepared "to give an answer to everyone who asks you to give the reason for the hope that you have." Peter is paraphrasing Isa. 8:12-13, which tells

Israel not to fear the conspiracy of the Assyrians, but to fear the Lord. Peter names Christ and then enjoins his readers to expect questions from outsiders about their hope. Not a formal, legal defense, this apology is in response to any inquiry (1 Cor. 9:3; 2 Cor. 7:11). Their *reply (apologia)* is a reasoned speech that gives an account of their deepest motive. Done in gentleness and humility, it carries the irony that one day (sooner than later, it is hoped) the outsiders, shamed into confession, will have to give account to Christ for their unbelief (3:16).

Finally, the Revelation is an apologetic in the apocalyptic mode. From beginning to end, it tells Christians of their ultimate victory in Christ, using veiled language from the OT and from highly symbolic metaphors. No doubt this was in part to keep Christians from being troubled by authorities. It is also because the language used is accessible to faith. The text is full of arguments for the assured reign of Christ despite all appearances to the contrary. It is attested by John with the same conviction as the Gospel of John (see Rev. 1:1-3, 9-19; 4:1-2; 5:1-6; 6:1, 12; 7:13-14; 10:1-11; 22:8-10). (See further F. F. Bruce, *The Defence of the Gospel in the New Testament* [1959]; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* [1961]; J. M. Frame, *Apologetics to the Glory of God: An Introduction* [1994]; S. B. Ferguson, *The Pundit's Folly: Chronicles of an Empty Life* [1995]; K. S. Oliphint, *The Battle Belongs to the Lord: The Power of Scripture for Defending Our Faith [2003]; ABD,* 1:302-7.)
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apophthegm ap'uhf-them' (ἀπόφθεγμα, "a terse saying," from ἀποφθέγγομαι, "to state an opinion plainly"). A term used by NT scholars to designate short stories in the Gospels that culminate with an important saying of Jesus (e.g., Mk. 2:23-28). Other terms used are *pronouncement story, paradigm,* and *chreia.*

apostasy. The abandonment of one's religion. The word is rarely found in the English Bible (e.g., Jer. 2:19 NRSV, where KJV and NIV have "backsliding"), and the Greek word from which it comes *(apostasia G686)* occurs only in Acts 21:21 and 2 Thess. 2:3. But the reality expressed by the word is found frequently. Israel's history was one of continual apostasy as the people deliberately turned away from the God who had redeemed them out of Egypt, and followed false gods and sinful ways. Consequently, God judged them and sent them into exile, although he never finally gave them up as a people, and left the way of repentance open to the nation. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

In the NT apostasy occurs when people turn aside from following Jesus (Jn. 6:66) and deny him after having previously confessed him as Lord. It manifests itself in falling away from faith under persecution (Matt. 24:9-13), denying the DEITY OF CHRIST (1 Jn. 2:22), or living a life of open sin that denies the faith (2 Pet. 2:20). It is characteristic of the last days (2 Thess. 2:3; 1 Tim. 4:1; 2 Tim. 3:1, 5; 4:3-4; see ESCHATOLOGY). Many scholars restrict apostasy to the temporary backsliding of true believers or to the falling away of nominal believers from an outward profession, but others hold that alongside the statements on the eternal security of the believer must be placed others that seem to warn true believers against the possibility of failing to find entrance to the kingdom of God (Heb. 6:4-12; 10:26-39). (Cf. further G. C. Berkouwer, *Faith and Perseverance* [1958]; E. M. B. Green, *The Meaning of Salvation* [1965]; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God* [1969]; S. Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke* [1969]; B. J. Oropeza, *Paul and Apostasy: Eschatology, Perseverance, and Falling Away in the Corinthian Congregation* [2000]; D. **Kim,** *An Exegesis of Apostasy Embedded in John's Narratives of Peter and Judas against the Synoptic Parallels* [2004].) See also PERSEVERANCE.

apostle. This term (Gk. *apostolos G693,* "one sent out") functions as a title given to Jesus' twelve disciples and to others in the NT.

I. Background and usage. In classical Greek this term (derived from the verb *apostellō G690,* "to send off") typically refers to a "naval expedition, squadron," and less frequently it means "messenger, ambassador." It occurs in the SEPTUAGINT only in 1 Ki. 14:6 (part of a textually dubious passage), where it is used in a nontechnical sense to represent the Hebrew passive participle *šālûaḥ* (from the verb *šālaḥ H8938,* "to send"; cf. the Aramaic form *šĕlîaḥ* in Ezra 7:14). The idea of God sending his servants the prophets is frequent in the OT, and this Hebrew verb is normally translated by *apostellō* in the LXX.

In later JUDAISM the noun *šālîaḥ* ("sent one, deputy") was used to refer to those who acted as representatives or agents for others. (The MISH-NAH says regarding someone who makes an error reading the benedictions: "if he was the agent of the congregation it is a bad omen for them that appointed him, because a man's agent is like to himself" *[m. Ber.* 5:5].) In particular it referred to accredited agents, often sent out in pairs, going from the authorities in Jerusalem to the DIASPORA. These men had authority for only a limited commission and were in no sense missionaries. (On the origin of the "apostle-concept," see the review of research by F. Agnew in *JBL* 105 [1986]: 75-96.)

In the NT, Christ himself is described as an "apostle and high priest" in Heb. 3:1, where the phrase may imply a superiority to MOSES in the first role and to AARON in the second. The idea of the Son's being sent from the Father is prominent in John, where *pempō G4287* ("to send") is used almost interchangeably with *apostellō.* The word "apostle" can be used in a general sense, as in a proverb that occurs only in this gospel (Jn. 13:16). It is used also to refer to messengers from the churches on two occasions (2 Cor. 8:23; Phil 2:25). There is also an interesting use of the word to describe God's messengers to Israel (Lk. 11:49).

Altogether the word occurs ten times in the Gospels, twenty-eight in Acts, thirty-eight in the epistles, and three times in Revelation. In the majority of cases it refers to men appointed by Christ for a special function in the church. The Twelve and Paul are frequently in mind, but there are some instances where others are called apostles. James, the Lord's brother, seems to be one (Gal. 1:19; 2:9; cf. 1 Cor. 15:7 and see JAMES II). BARNABAS is described as an apostle in Acts 14:4, 14, and he is associated with PAUL in the argument of 1 Cor. 9:6, but he is distinguished from the Jerusalem apostles (Acts 9:27). Silvanus (SILAS) and TIMOTHY can be associated with Paul under that title (1 Thess. 2:6). ANDRONICUS and JUNIAS (possibly Junia, a woman) also can be called apostles (Rom. 16:7).

II. The apostles and Christ. Jesus had a large, if fluctuating, number of disciples during his ministry, but not all of them were apostles. The Twelve were chosen out of a wider group (Mk. 3:13-19) and were to be with Jesus as disciples, but they were also sent out to preach and exorcize as apostles. Jesus gave them the title of "apostles" (Lk. 6:13), though at this stage the term may have been understood as neither exclusive nor permanent (cf. Matt. 10:2; Mk. 6:30). The apostles were able to act in the name of Christ (Mk. 9:38-41). Twelve were especially chosen because of the twelve patriarchs of Israel (Matt. 19:28), though there is some uncertainty about the exact list of names. Luke describes them regularly as "the apostles" (Lk. 9:10; 17:5; 22:14; 24:10), using terminology appropriate to the time of writing (cf. his use of "the Lord" in the gospel), while John avoids the

technical term completely, perhaps in order to avoid magnifying the office as opposed to the reality for which it stood.

The sources all agree that the Eleven (perhaps with others) were commissioned by the risen Christ to go forth with a mission to the world (Matt. 28:19-20; Lk. 24:48-49; Jn. 20:21-23; Acts 1:6-8; cf. Mk. 16:14-15). One of the first tasks was to find a replacement for the traitor JUDAS ISCARIOT, and MATTHIAS was chosen by lot to make up the number to twelve (Acts 1:15-26). Emphasis is laid on the divine choice (1:24). The apostleship of Paul was also due to the divine choice, and he was often at pains to point this out, both to emphasize the wonder of the grace of God and to maintain the authority of his own message (Gal. 1:1, 11-12, 15-17; cf. Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 1:1; 9:1; 15:8). There could be no substitute for a personal call from Christ to this service.

III. The apostles and the gospel. When the Twelve were sent out by Jesus during his ministry,

Mary anoints Jesus as the apostles are looking on. Painting from the Church of Lazarus in Bethany.

one of their tasks was to preach *(kērykssō G3062,* Mk. 3:14). This is one of their most prominent activities in Acts, and the basic form of the apostolic preaching is known as the KERYGMA (Gk. *kērygma G3060).* The qualifications for inclusion among the Twelve are laid down in Acts 1:21-22. It was necessary to be with Jesus from the time of John's baptism until the ascension and to be a witness of the RESURRECTION. This is the essential period of the saving events. The Gospels have John's baptism as their basic starting point (Matt. 3; Mk. 1; Lk. 3; Jn. 1), with some historical preliminaries in the case of Matthew and Luke and a brief theological introduction in the case of John. This was presumably also the starting point of the *kerygma* (Acts 10:37; 13:24). The Gospels close with Christ's departure (Matt. 28:16-20; Lk. 24:50-53; Jn. 20:17; cf. also Mk. 16:19), though this is not made fully explicit in John. The *kerygma* goes on past the ascension to speak of the presence of the HOLY SPIRIT (Acts 2:33 et al.), the knowledge of whose activity in the church seems to be assumed by the written Gospels. While it was necessary to have been present during all that period, particular stress is laid upon being a witness of the resurrection (Acts 2:32; 3:15; 13:31).

Paul could not be numbered among the Twelve, for he had not fulfilled all the conditions laid down. However, he had been a witness of the resurrection (Acts 26:16-18; 1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8), and the way in which he describes the appearance of Christ to him has suggested to some that he had a unique objective experience really belonging to the period before the ascension (most scholars, however,

would reject that inference). James, the Lord's brother, had likewise seen the risen Christ (1 Cor. 15:7), as had more than 500 others (v. 6). It was necessary for those who had not been among the disciples during the ministry to rely on the common tradition (*paraadosis G4142)* of the apostles concerning the events of that period. Paul, while claiming authority directly from Christ, nevertheless shows his dependence upon the tradition (1 Cor. 11:23-26; 15:1-5). This emphasis shows that he was concerned about the historical Jesus.

The apostles were not simply witnesses of facts, they were also interpreters of them. God had sent men to interpret his saving acts in the OT, particularly Moses, who had been a witness of and participant in the exodus (Ps. 103:7; Mic. 6:4). So there was a common apostolic teaching, and appeal was made to that even against the foremost apostles (Gal. 2:11). The preaching and writing of the apostles and their companions taken together therefore provide both the basic historical evidence and the norm of interpretation through which alone future generations could reach the facts about Christ.

IV. The apostles and the Spirit. The apostolic witness could be accomplished only in the Spirit. Their missionary journeys depended on him (Lk. 24:49; Acts 1:8). Their proclamation of forgiveness was effective through him (Jn. 20:22-23). They realized their full apostolic vocation only at Pentecost. It was the Spirit who was to teach them and remind them of Jesus' words (14:26). He was to lead them into all the truth about Jesus (16:13-15). The direct witness of the Spirit on the existential level was closely connected with the witness of the apostles on the historical (15:26-27).The ministry of the gospel is a ministry of the Spirit (2 Cor. 3).

Various forms of ministry, of which the apostolate was first, were gifts of the Spirit to the church (1 Cor. 12:28). The work of a true apostle was accompanied by signs and wonders and mighty works (2 Cor. 12:12), though such things are regarded as peripheral compared with Christian converts (1 Cor. 9:2). It is through the laying on of the apostles' hands that special manifestations of the Spirit come upon groups of people at significant stages in the missionary advance of the church (Acts 8:14-19; 19:1-7). There is no suggestion that these manifestations are permanent, and on one important occasion the outward signs are shown without the laying on of apostolic hands (10:44-48). (Cf. also C. K. Barrett, *The Signs of an Apostle* [1970].)

V. The apostles and the church. The apostolate was God's gift to the CHURCH and has a place of preeminence among the ministries (1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). The church could be said to be founded upon the apostles and prophets (Eph. 2:20). They were given authority (*exousia G2026,* Mk. 6:7) and power *(dynamis G1539,* Acts 1:8) to be used not only in proclaiming the gospel to outsiders, but also for use in the church (Acts 4:33; 2 Cor. 10:8; 13:10). Besides their preaching, their functions were to teach (Acts 2:42), to heal (5:12), and to undertake certain administration (4:37, though with limits, 6:1-4). Their authority was shown in the exercise of DISCIPLINE (5:1-11; 1 Cor. 5:1-5) and of oversight (Acts 15:36; 1 Cor. 4:15-16). Major decisions that had to be made in the church were reached by a council of apostles and elders (Acts 15:6).

Paul tells us how areas of work were allotted, with his mission field being the Gentiles and that of James, Peter, and John being the Jews (Gal. 2:7-10). At first the Twelve stayed in Jerusalem (Acts 8:1), but in due course some at least seem to have gone further afield. There is no reason to suppose that the areas were strictly kept, as Paul was accustomed to preach first to the Jews (13:5 et al.), and Peter was the first to preach to Gentiles (ch. 10). As traveling representatives of Christ and of the universal church, they sought to open up new places to the gospel (Rom. 15:14-24). James, the Lord's

brother, seems to have had a resident ministry that distinguished him from others called apostles.

VI. Conclusion. It was through the apostles that Christ continued much of his work. Their position was unique and normative, and many of their functions were not transmissible. There is no evidence that their numbers were to be made up as the original loyal apostles died (Acts 12:2), nor that Paul should have taken the place of Judas, and James, the Lord's brother, the place of James son of Zebedee. They appeared at a turning point in history: through the Spirit, they both founded the church and, with their companions, left the NT for us. It is through them that we have to go to find the historical Jesus. It is to them that the appeal has been made with varying degrees of justification for "Catholic" order, "Evangelical" faith, and "Pentecostal" life.

(See further J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the the Galatians,* 10th ed. [1890], 92-101; K. E. Kirk, ed., *The Apostolic Ministry* [1948], esp. 113-82; W. Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church* [1969]; C. K. Barrett, *The Signs of an Apostle* [1970]; J. A. Kirk in *NTS* 21 [1975]: 249-64; M. Lohmeyer, *Der Apostelbegriff im Neuen Testament: Eine Untersuchung auf dem Hintergrund der synoptischen Aussendungsreden* [1995]; A. C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective* [2001]; *TDNT,* 1:407-47; *NIDNTT,* 1:126-37.)

R.E.NIXON

Apostles, Epistle of the. An apocryphal letter addressed by the eleven apostles (including NATHANAEL, and with Cephas distinguished from PETER) to the churches of the four regions of the world. The work is also known as *Testament of Our Lord in Galilee.* Nowhere mentioned in early Christian literature, it was completely unknown before the discovery in 1895 of a badly mutilated Coptic MS (the primary version where available). We also now have an Ethiopic version complete, as well as fragments in Latin.

Following an introduction, the document makes an emphatic affirmation of faith in Jesus as Lord and Savior, then gives a summary account of several incidents from the Gospels, including the story of Jesus and the teacher recorded in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (see THOMAS, GOSPEL OF). The report of the resurrection appearance to the disciples develops into an extended discourse by Jesus, interrupted by questions from the disciples to which he replies. This discourse includes a prophecy of the conversion and missionary work of Paul (chs. 31ff.) and a curious interpretation of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (chs. 43ff.), with admonitions regarding Christian conduct. For example, a man should admonish his neighbor without respect of persons if he sees him sin, or he is himself liable to judgment.

The revelation conveyed in the form of a postresurrection discourse is similar in type to some Gnostic documents (see, e.g., JOHN, APOCRYPHON OF), which present the same pattern of a dialogue between the risen Jesus and one or more disciples. Despite affinities with GNOSTICISM, however, this is not a Gnostic document; it expressly warns against the "false apostles," Simon and Cerinthus, "the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ" (chs. 1, 7), and emphasizes the reality of Christ's body, in particular of his risen body (chs. 11-12). On the other hand, it stands at some distance from the NT and primitive Christianity. See also APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.

The author was familiar with the gospel tradition, giving a special place to John, but his free handling of the Gospels and his use of nonevangelical material suggest that they have not yet reached full canonical status. The absence of evidence for knowledge of Pauline theology is remarkable in view of the place given to Paul. All this points to a 2nd-cent. date. C. Schmidt *(Gespräche Jesu*

[1919]) thought it was composed in Asia Minor between A.D. 160 and 170, but others argue for Egypt. M. Hornschuh *(Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum* [1965]) notes parallels with the Qumran literature, and dates it to the first half of the 2nd cent. (English trans. and introduction in *NTAp,* 1:249-84.)

R.McL. WILSON

Apostles, Gospel of the Twelve. A work first mentioned by ORIGEN *(In Luc.* hom. 1) immediately after the *Gospel of the Egyptians* and before those of Basilides, Thomas, and Matthias. Commenting on Lk. 1:1, Origen remarks that the church has four Gospels only, while the heretics have several. This statement, with the context in which it appears, sufficiently indicates the heterodox character of the book. Origen's testimony is echoed by several later writers, including Ambrose, Jerome, and Bede. The document is commonly identified with the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* of which fragments are preserved by Epiphanius. If this identification is incorrect, we know nothing about the work. (For details and literature, see *NTAp,* 1:374.)

The name is given also in various sources to a number of other works: (a) the *Kukean Gospel of the Twelve,* which may possibly be the Ebionite Gospel (see *NTAp,* 1:375); (b) a Manichean document, otherwise unknown; (c) a late Syriac document published by J. Rendel Harris. (The alleged *Gospel of the Twelve* published by E. Revillout in 1904 is simply a collection of Coptic fragments.) See also APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.

R. McL. WILSON

Apostles' Creed, the. A statement of Christian faith used in the Western church and consisting of brief positive affirmations with no proofs and no explanations. Like other ancient creeds, the Apostles' Creed falls into three sections, following the Trinitarian order customary in baptismal rites (a catechetical device of almost universal use in the catholic church; cf. John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion).* It is probably based structurally on Matt. 28:19 and speaks of God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The major portion of the creed deals with Christ, followed by a series of clauses setting forth the work of the Holy Spirit. In contrast to some modern emphases, this ancient and universal creed says nothing about the life and teachings of Jesus, but it reflects the basic verities of the apostolic church.

The affirmations of the creed can be supported by NT evidence (contra A. Harnack, *The Apostles' Creed* [1901]), but the formula itself is not, of course, of apostolic origin. Its title is first found c. A.D. 390, and about this time the legend that it was the joint composition of the apostles appeared. The legend is a quaint one (comparable to that of the writing of the LXX), assuring that each of the twelve apostles contributed a special article. Thus Peter, it was reported, under divine inspiration began, "I believe in God the Father Almighty"; and Andrew (or was it John?) added, "and in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord"; James the Elder continued, "who was conceived by the Holy Ghost," and so it went throughout.

Many NT scholars now find creeds in germ in the NT record (cf. Matt. 28:19), and one may be reasonably certain that there were requirements laid down regarding the convert's grasp of the new faith. Paul stated that "no one can say, 'Jesus is Lord,' except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:3), and he wrote of a "form of teaching" to which new converts were "entrusted" (Rom. 6:17). Timothy was reminded of his "good confession in the presence of many witnesses" (1 Tim. 6:12), and this point is immediately related to "Christ Jesus, who while testifying before Pontius Pilate made the good confession" (6:13). Thus one may speculate that confessions existed and were made publicly. As to total content, there are only hints (cf. 2 Tim. 2:8; 4:1).

Early Christian writers and apologists show additions and variations to the baptismal formula of Matthew, but by the middle of the 2nd cent. the confession at baptism had begun to crystalize with certain freedoms of expression in IRENAEUS, TERTULLIAN, Novatian, ORIGEN, and others. The so-called Roman Form prevailed with time and took on new importance with the rise of controversies and heresies. It assumed more the character of a formal creed. It became known as the "Rule of Faith" and was created and formalized to check the license of heretical speculations on the Scriptures. The creed was to witness to the common faith as that faith arose out of the Scriptures.

The Received Form of the creed as it is known today is not its oldest or original form. There was a shorter and a longer form. The shorter form became known as the Old Roman Form, going back surely to the middle of the 2nd cent. (c. A.D. 140; a short form can be traced in England up to the time of the Norman conquest). The longer form is of much later date and its history is more obscure, probably because its increasingly wider usage gave rise to variance in wider areas of the church. For those acquainted with the Received Form today, the short or Old Roman Form is of interest as a stage in growth: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Only Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary; crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried; the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost; the holy Church; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; the life everlasting." (This form is quoted from the Greek of Marcellus of Ancyra, A.D. 341. The last clause is omitted in the Latin form preserved by Rufinus, A.D. 390.)

The Received Form appears throughout the centuries in a variety of interpretations, with additions and refinements; for example, the phrase "maker of heaven and earth" first appears in Greek in the year 650. By and large, however, the present form of the creed had been established by Faustus of Reiz c. 460. It moved to Ireland by the end of the 7th cent. and to England (possibly from the court of Charlemagne) by 850. By the 10th cent. it had largely replaced the shorter Old Roman Form. An 8th-cent. writer was the first to quote the creed exactly in its present form, but it did not hold its structure until later. The creed's history in other lands followed the same obscure pathway of tradition and practice. Such phrases as "he descended into hell" struggled even into modern times for an established place (see DESCENT INTO HADES). Variants such as "the resurrection of the body" for

"the resurrection of the flesh" became fixed in time, and the use of "Holy Christian Church" (most frequent Lutheran usage) continues to struggle with "Holy Catholic Church." One may say, however, that by the 12th cent. the Received Form was everywhere used at baptisms in the West, and the practice of reciting the creed in daily services had become common. Both usages continue to this day. (See P. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* [1877], 1:14-23; 2:45 –55. A very important treatment is to be found in vol. 1 of J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et moyen-âge,* 2nd ed. [1949]; more recently, L. H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* [2002].)
A. H. LEITCH

apostolic age. The period of early church history during the life and work of the original apostles, extending from the day of PENTECOST (c. A.D. 30 or 33; Acts 2) to the death of JOHN THE APOSTLE (c. A.D. 100). The main sources for the period are the book of Acts and the NT letters.

I. The inauguration of the apostolic age. The success of Christianity in the apostolic age is due to the initial effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT upon Christ's 120 disciples at the Jewish Feast of Pentecost in fulfillment of the prior divine promises (Joel 2:28-32; Matt. 3:11; Jn. 14:26; 16:7-11; Acts 1:8). The Holy Spirit became the "other self of the Christ" at Pentecost (H. Chadwick), indwelling the disciples for the completion of the work begun by Christ himself (Acts 1:1-2, 8). An analysis of this historic event (2:1-4) reveals a fourfold divine provision, as suggested by the symbolism employed: (1) "the blowing of a violent wind"—divine power (v. 2; cf. 1:8), (2) "tongues of fire"—divine purification (2:3; cf. Deut. 4:24; Isa. 6:5-8; 10:16; 30:27-30; Matt. 3:11-12; 5:22; Acts 15:1-9; Heb. 12:29); (3) "all of them were filled"—divine possession (Acts 2:4a); and (4) "began to speak in other tongues"—divinely inspired proclamation (v. 4b).

The advent of the Spirit at this time was most opportune. The importance of the Jewish temple in centralizing and unifying Hellenistic with Palestinian Judaism in the 1st cent. is emphasized by the vast patronage of the DIASPORA Jews. While JOSE-PHUS's estimate of three million attending a single Passover is likely an exaggeration (F. R. Crown-field, *An Historical Approach to the New Testament* [1960], 230), it nevertheless points up the cultural and spiritual unity of all Judaism. Through the Spirit-animated witness of the apostles, 3,000 Jews, mostly Hellenists, were converted to Christianity (Acts 2:41), with an increase to at least 5,000 soon after (4:4). The genuineness and influence of this spiritual occurrence is attested by the quality of its converts (2:41-47; 4:32-37). With the return of the Hellenist converts to their respective locations (2:5-11) following Pentecost, they carried their witness with them and thus disseminated widely the gospel to such outlying centers as Damascus, Antioch of Syria, Cyprus, Cyrene, and even Rome (11:20). There were doubtless many other locations of which those recorded are representative.

II. The martyrdom of Stephen. At the outset, Christianity was recognized as only a new-life movement within JUDAISM. The Christians continued worshiping in the temple and observed the regular Jewish ceremonials (Acts 3:1). Little opposition was manifested by the Jews until Christianity was recognized as a distinct religion and the Hellenists, especially STEPHEN, began to suggest that Christianity was universal and that it would supplant Judaism, for which insinuations he became the first Christian martyr (ch. 7; 8:1). The full fury of Jewish persecution broke upon the Christians, but especially upon the Hellenists following Stephen's martyrdom, and consequently the gospel spread afar through the witness of these dispersed Hellenist disciples (8:1, 4). Thus it was the martyrdom of Stephen that shattered the bars of legalistic Judaism and set Christianity free for its

universal mission. The apostles and Jewish Christians remained to constitute the Jerusalem mother church (8:1) and afford a central nucleus and base of authority for the church until the Roman siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 68.

III. The conversion of Saul. In the first stage of the apostolic age, Peter and Stephen dominated the scene (Acts 1:1—8:1); in the second, PETER, PHILIP, and BARNABAS were prominent (9:27; 12); but in the third, it was PAUL (chs. 13-28). With the conversion of Saul, the archenemy of Christianity (9:1-2), a new era dawned upon the young church. From vicious persecutor of the church because of the universal implications of its message, Saul became the great apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1:23). A period of peace and spiritual prosperity for the church followed Saul's conversion (Acts 9:31). Paul (his Roman name), himself a Hellenistic Jew with Roman citizenship from TARSUS in CILICIA, was educated in Jerusalem under the relatively liberal-minded GAMALIEL (22:3), and was thus better able to understand and appreciate the Hellenist stance than were the other apostles. Paul was present at the martyrdom of Stephen and approved his death sentence as well as that of other Christians (7:58; 8:1; 22:20; 26:10). He was possibly one of those from Cilicia who could not cope with Stephen's "wisdom or the Spirit by whom he spoke" (6:9-10). He was never able to free himself from the influence of Stephen's message and martyrdom. All of his recorded addresses reflect the influence of Stephen's arguments. With the conversion and subsequent leadership of Paul, the Christian gospel passed into its worldwide Gentile mission.

Early traditions place the stoning of Stephen in the area of what became known by the late 1890s as the Garden Tomb. Photo taken c. 1905.

The generous attitude of Rome toward the Christians was due to the allowance of freedom granted all approved religions within the empire. Judaism was such a religion, and since Christianity had flowered from Judaism, Rome appears not to have distinguished between the two initially (Acts 18:1-2, 12-17). Actually Christianity enjoyed the protection of Rome until about the time of Paul's first imprisonment under NERO, at which time the distinction between Judaism and Christianity became clearer, and the Christians became convenient scapegoats for Nero. The martyrdom of James under Herod Agrippa (12:1 –5) should probably be understood in the light of Herod's Jewish connections and his desire to curry favor with the Jews, rather than as a hostile act of Rome toward

Christianity (see HEROD VII).

IV. The Council at Jerusalem. The first general council of the Christian church occurred between the first and second missionary journeys of Paul (Acts 15). The principal issue was the condition required of the Gentiles for membership in the church. The decision reached by the council was one of the most momentous of all church history, as it saved the young movement from a Jewish-Gentile schism. It also established salvation by grace without legalism (for a fuller treatment of this subject see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM).

V. The mission to the Gentile world. (1) Whatever social, economic, political or other implications the gospel may have had, the primary and distinctive aim of the 1st-cent. Christians was to make Christ known to all the world as Savior and Lord. Christ's universal lordship is linked inseparably with his saviorhood (110 times in Acts his lordship is emphasized).

(2) For the apostolic Christians the uniqueness of Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord was absolute (Acts 4:12).

(3) The responsibility for the universal witness was obligatory upon each believer, and not just upon the apostles and leaders.

(4) Apostolic methods were considered means to make Christ known, and never ends in themselves. Important items were: (a) personal witness to Christ through social intercourse; (b) miraculous acts of God that inspired faith in Christ as Savior; (c) preaching; (d) itineration; (e) charities; (f) church organization and supervision; (g) training of promising converts; (h) planting of the gospel in strategic centers; and (i) writing and circulation of Christian letters, from which all of the NT epistles came.

(5) Simplicity characterized Christianity in the apostolic era. There were no church buildings as such (Rom. 16:5; 1 Cor. 16:19; Phlm. 2), government was at a minimum, and generally WORSHIP was patterned after the informal synagogue.

(6) Christianity was considered to be a spiritual life movement rather than an organization or an institution. Christians were the people of the Way, "the new and living way" (Heb. 10:20).

(7) The full extent of the gospel outreach in the 1st cent. cannot be determined with certainty. However, some idea can be gained from the representatives of the fifteen nations mentioned as present at Pentecost, which included most of the Middle E and Rome (Acts 2:7-11). Paul's missionary journeys took him through Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and on to Rome. He further mentioned Illyricum (Rom. 15:19), and it is possible that he traveled to Spain (v. 24). Peter may have reached Babylon (1 Pet. 5:13), and there is a strong tradition that Thomas went to India. Paul boldly wrote to the Romans within thirty years of Pentecost: "…your faith is being reported all over the world" (Rom. 1:8), and to the Colossians: "All over the world this gospel is bearing fruit and growing" (Col. 1:5-6).

C.W.CARTER

Apostolic Constitutions and Canons (Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων). A late 4th-cent. collection of instructions that purports to have been written by Jesus' twelve disciples, James the brother of the Lord, and Paul (6.14). They were sent out by Clement "our fellow-minister" (6.18), with Barnabas and others. The work was probably compiled in SYRIA; its tendency is Arian and legalistic (shaving, mixed bathing, and the reading of pagan books are condemned in book 1).

The *Constitutions* are made up of eight books. The first six are similar to the DIDASCALIA APOS-

TOLORUM, though the amount of revision and change varies. The *Didascalia* is almost certainly a 3rd-cent. product. The author seems to have lived in the Syria-Palestine area. He may have been a bishop, and the work has subordinationist tendencies. The bishop is compared to the Father, the deacon to the Son, the deaconess to the Holy Spirit (2.26). The seventh book begins with reminiscences of the DIDACHE, with mention of the "two ways," followed by moral rules, the rules for worship, prayer formulas, and instructions about baptism. The major part of the eighth book is based upon the document now known as the APOSTOLIC TRADITION of Hippolytus, and concerns the qualifications of the clergy and procedures in worship. It closes with the eighty-five Apostolic Canons. These last were drawn from diverse sources, including synods and councils. (English trans. in *ANF,* 7:385-508.)
P. WOOLLEY

Apostolic Council. See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.

Apostolic Fathers *(Patres Apostolici).* A collection of early Christian writings (also referred to as Post-Apostolic or Sub-Apostolic) produced by authors thought to have been associated with the apostles.

I. Meaning of the term. Although apparently used by Severus, a Monophysite patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518, the modern use of the term goes back to J. B. Cotelier, who published an edition of these writings in Paris in 1672, and to L.T. Ittig, who used the exact term in his Leipzig edition of 1699. Cotelier included in his edition the supposed writings of Clement of Rome, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp, three writers who belong to this group without question. He also brought into his volume the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd of Hermas.* The status of these is not certain, for their authorship and exact date are more difficult to determine, but they are normally included in the group. The *Martyrdom of Polycarp,* a closely contemporary document, and the fragments from Papias, who flourished about 100-130, should also be recognized as properly within the collection. Finally, the *Didache,* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,* recovered in the 19th cent., is, as far as present knowledge goes, rightly a member of the group.

E.J. Goodspeed, in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers (1950), included the *Doctrine of the Apostles,* found in a Latin version (1899), as an independent document, but it is perhaps better to consider it a basically Jewish source for the *Didache,* equipped with a Christian conclusion. In 1956 J. A. Fischer published a new edition of the Apostolic Fathers limited to Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, but with the addition of the fragment *of the Apology* of Quadratus. The addition was unfortunate. Quadratus may better remain with the apologists, persons whose purpose was distinctly apologetic and who were often writing at a later date than most of the Apostolic Fathers. The *Address to Diognetus* has usually been included with the Apostolic Fathers since the middle of the 18th cent. It too, however, has an apologetic purpose and is probably of later date. It is best omitted from the group.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers are, then, constituted of the following documents. (1) The so-called epistles of Clement: *1 Clement,* written in Rome c. A.D. 95; *2 Clement,* which is really a sermon by a different author, perhaps originating in Rome c. 140. See CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF. (2) The epistles of IGNATIUS, written c. 115 to six churches and one individual: *Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans, Polycarp.* (3) Two documents concerned with POLYCARP: his letter to the *Philippians,* c. 115, and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp,* c. 160. (4) The DIDACHE, probably from Syria c. 90. (5) The so-called *Epistle of Barnabas,*

Codex Sinaiticus, a 4th-cent. MS of the NT that includes two books from the Apostolic Fathers.

probably from Egypt, c. 130. See BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF. (6) The *Shepherd of Hermas,* from Rome, c. 150. See HERMANS, SHEPHERD OF. (7) The quotations from PAPIAS of Hierapolis, c. 125. (See separate articles on these writings. Recent and valuable editions include M. W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations,* 3rd ed. [2007, a revision of the 1891 work by J. B. Light-foot and J. R. Harmer]; and B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2 vols., LCL [2003].)

II. Characteristics. Aside from having been written in Greek, the only common bonds between the writings of the Apostolic Fathers are their relatively early date and their general agreement with majority opinion as it developed in the church. There are, however, certain characteristics that may be mentioned as widely applicable. (1) The writings are primarily directed to Christians rather than to outsiders. (2) They are to a considerable extent concerned with questions of a practical nature, having to do with the state, church government, morality, and the sacraments. (3) A high view of the divine person of Christ is pervasive. (4) Eschatology is not neglected or depreciated.

On the other hand, the form of the writings varies widely. There are (1) letters, both official and personal, (2) revelations, (3) a formal exhortation in the form of a letter, (4) a sermon, (5) a historical account, (6) moral and practical advice, and (7) exegetical fragments.

III. Significance. The first factor to note is that these writings follow immediately in time sequence after the writings included in the CANON (NT). Although some of them are found in certain MSS, such as CODEX SINAITICUS, which contain canonical books, there was never any widespread opinion that they were canonical writings. They help to close a gap between the NT and later writers.

In addition, the Apostolic Fathers provide information about the Christian church in the period immediately after the apostles. The subjects to which one or another refer include the officers of the church, its form of worship, its sacramental observances, its treatment by the civil government, its system of discipline, its ethical teaching, and its ultimate source of authority. The information needs, of course, to be subjected to the usual critical tests before its value can be ascertained.

IV. History of texts and their use. Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp have not disappeared completely from sight at any time, though their use has varied. (1) *1 Clement* is the only document bearing Clement's name that we can declare with assurance to be the work of Clement of Rome in the last decade of the 1st cent. It was used by IRENAEUS toward the end of the 2nd cent. and was available for centuries thereafter. Little use was made of it during the later Middle Ages, but the Reformation brought it back into wider circulation.

(2) Ignatius's letters were referred to with some frequency until the 5th cent. The Monophysites tried to support their cause with quotations from them. By the 6th cent. forged letters and interpolations in the genuine writings had appeared. It was not until James Ussher (1581-1656) worked on their text that the genuine was distinguished once more from the spurious, although the discussion has continued into modern times.

(3) *Barnabas* and *Hermas* were neglected for centuries in the medieval period, though there is a Greek MS containing *Barnabas* dating from the 11th cent. A printed Latin *Hermas* appeared at Paris in 1513. *Barnabas* was printed at Oxford and in France in the mid-17th cent.

(4) The *Didache* appears to have dropped out of sight in the medieval period. Its Greek text was first printed in 1883 and made something of a sensation at the time.

V. Use of the Bible. References to the OT in the Apostolic Fathers often imply the use of a Greek version. Books that are not in the Hebrew canon are quoted as Scripture by Clement and Barnabas. As for the NT, Clement knew some of Paul, Hebrews, and probably Acts. Ignatius knew a collection of Pauline Epistles to which he constantly referred. Polycarp used all of the thirteen Pauline Epistles except Philemon, and possibly 1 Thessalonians and Titus. He referred to Ephesians as Scripture (Pol. *Phil.* 12.1). Material contained in all of the Gospels was used or referred to by one or more of the Apostolic Fathers, but it is not always clear whether oral tradition or a written gospel is being used. Barnabas certainly used Matthew.

VI. Theology. The Apostolic Fathers share the basic tenets of Christian theology. God is the Creator and the Redeemer. He will be the Judge of all men. Knowledge of God and salvation are through Christ, who is the Son of God. The strong Pauline emphasis on grace is missing. The blood of Christ was "poured out for our salvation" *(1 Clem.* 7.4). It is "incorruptible love" (Ign. *Rom.* 7.3). Clement used a trinitarian form: "as God lives and as the Lord Jesus Christ lives and the Holy Spirit" *(1 Clem.* 58.2). For Clement, the Holy Spirit was concerned with inspiration. The Spirit spoke in the OT, apostles were "equipped with the fullness of the Holy Spirit" (42.3), and Clement wrote "through the Holy Spirit" (63.2). Ignatius also employed a trinitarian form, "that…you may prosper…in the Son and the Father and the Spirit" *(Magn.* 13.1). Christ was born of the Virgin Mary *(Eph.* 18.2; 19.1); he rose on the Lord's Day *(Magn.* 9.1).

In Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp the theology stands largely in the apostolic tradition. However, in Clement particularly the influence of classical pagan tradition is strong. The ethical tradition of paganism is visible. In Ignatius's letters and in *2 Clement* Gnostic terminology is used, but this does not prove the writers to be Gnostics. The influence of Judaism is stronger in *Barnabas,* the *Didache,* and *Hermas.*

VII. Impact. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers are not abstruse treatises but are closely connected with the actual problems of the church and its members in the 1st and 2nd centuries. Two subjects appear in the foreground: the government of the church and the personal morality of the

individual members.

In the area of government, apostles were disappearing from sight, and attention was paid particularly to bishops, elders, and deacons, to the meaning of these terms, and to the duties and relationships of the individual officers. The maintenance of the unity of the church was a highly important element in this connection. There was a strong emphasis on the bond of Christian love. The teaching of Scripture was often applied in this area by allegorical methods. The author of *2 Clement* (14.2) interpreted Gen. 1:27 as referring to Christ and the church. Christ is the male, the church the female. Papias seems to share this view.

In the area of ethics, personal duties were stressed. There was little, if any, attention to social problems. In the *Didache* much attention was given to worship and the sacraments, but this feature was not general throughout the other writings.

P. WOOLLEY

Apostolic History of Abdias. See ABDIAS, APOSTOLIC HISTORY OF.

Apostolic Tradition. A 3rd-cent. document containing an extensive description of Christian rites (particularly ordination and baptism). Originally composed in Greek, it is extant primarily in a Latin translation. At one time the document used to be known as the *Egyptian Church Order,* but R. H. Connolly *(The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* [1916]) argued that its author was Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170 to c. 236). Although this view has been widely adopted, some scholars believe that the work is a composite of diverse traditions. (See P. F. Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary,* Hermeneia [2002].)

apothecary. KJV term for Hebrew *rāqaḥ H8379,* a word that modern translations usually render with "perfumer" (e.g., Exod. 30:25).

See PERFUME.

Appaim ap'ay-im (אַפַּיִם *H691,* possibly "little-nosed" or "big-nosed" or "angry"). Son of Nadab and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:30-31).

apparel. See DRESS.

apparition. The appearance of any visitor from the spiritual and supernatural world. In biblical context it refers to the appearance of a dead and disembodied person, a rare occurrence that mostly reflects popular belief. The dead SAMUEL uniquely appeared to SAUL (1 Sam. 28:13; see DIVINATION). The storm-tossed disciples thought Jesus was a "ghost" (*phantasma G5753)* when he appeared to them walking on the water (Matt. 14:26; Mk. 6:49). They feared that he was a spirit or ghost (*pneuma G4460)* when he joined their gathering after his resurrection, but Jesus pointed out that, unlike a spirit, he had flesh and bones (Lk. 24:37-39). There is no biblical evidence to support belief in the existence of ghosts as commonly understood.

N. B. BAKER

appeal. In ordinary speech, an appeal might be any resort to another party for an opinion or judgment in one's favor. A man, for example, appealed to Jesus to persuade his brother to divide an inheritance

with him (Lk. 12:13). The OT provided no legal process of law for such a situation. There was only a division of jurisdiction in the hearing of easy and difficult cases (Exod. 18:26; Deut. 17:8-13).

In the NT attention is centered on the formal and legal appeal to CAESAR by the apostle PAUL. After Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, he was transported to CAESAREA, where he was held by FELIX the governor until FESTUS succeeded him. The Jews pressed charges against Paul, implying that he had acted against Caesar's interests. Unconvinced, Festus asked Paul if he would go to Jerusalem for trial. Paul, knowing that this hostile environment might be prejudicial to his interests, appealed to Caesar (Acts 25:11). Older Roman law had provided for appeal from one magistrate to another, or to a tribune of the people. This form of appeal had later been transferred to the emperor *(appellatio ad Caesarem)*. Paul, as a Roman citizen, was entitled to appeal (cf. Acts 22:25-29). The procedure of PLINY the Younger, governor of BITHYNIA, may be cited *(Ep.* 10.96.4). In a letter to Emperor TRAJAN, he wrote of sending Christian citizens to Rome for a hearing in a time of persecution. Galba, however, when he was governor in Africa, did not honor the appeal of even a Roman citizen, but crucified him on the spot (Suetonius, *Galba* 7).

In the case of Paul, Festus was embarrassed. Paul had not been tried or convicted. He appeared innocent. What charges should he record for the appeal (Acts 25:25-27)? Festus laid the problem before King Agrippa, who visited him at this time, and another hearing was arranged for the king (see HEROD VIII). After Paul had pled his case at length, King Agrippa was so profoundly impressed that he declared Paul undeserving of sentence and said that he "could have been set free if he had not appealed to Caesar" (26:32). But Paul's appeal had removed the right of decision from Festus's jurisdiction, and Paul was sent to Rome. Once made, the appeal evidently could not be revoked.

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appetite. This term appears a few times in English versions of the Bible (e.g., Job 38:39 KJV; Num. 11:6 NIV), usually as a rendering of Hebrew *nepeš H5883* (a word that can be translated in a variety of ways, such as "soul, life, person, desire, hunger," et al.). See also DESIRE.

Apphia af'ee-uh (Ἀπφία *G722,* meaning not known, but inscriptions indicate it is probably a native Phrygian name). A lady included in the salutation of Paul's letter to PHILEMON, designated "our *[lit.,* the] sister," probably in the Christian sense, indicating that she was a member of some prominence in the church (Phlm 2; KJV, following the TR, reads "our beloved Apphia"). Some have argued that she was Philemon's wife; others have suggested that she was his (biological) sister. If she was a member of the household, she would have been directly involved in the decision concerning ONESIMUS. Tradition says she was stoned to death under NERO, along with Philemon and ARCHIPPUS. November 22 is sacred to her memory in the Greek Orthodox Church.

D. E. HIEBERT

Apphus af'uhs (Ἀπφους). An epithet applied to Jonathan MACCABEE, the fifth son of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2:5). The exact meaning of the word is not certain, but it is sometimes taken to mean "dissembler," perhaps because of the way Jonathan had deceived the tribe of Jambri, who had killed his brother John (1 Macc. 9:37-41). Others suggest the nickname means "favorite."

S. BARABAS

Appian Way ap'ee-uhn. The *Via Appia* was the first of the paved roads that were the supreme

engineering achievement of ROME. It was named after Appius Claudius Caecus, the censor, one of the first clear-cut personalities of Roman history. Begun in 312 B.C., the Appian Way ran from Rome to Capua, with a later extension to Beneventum and Brundisium. The road reached the latter town in 244 B.C., when a Roman colony was founded there. The width was 15 ft., the length 350 mi. The Appian Way is still traceable for many miles S of Rome and forms a striking memorial of Roman engineering skill. Long stretches of the paving are still intact. The first reaches of the highway were flanked with memorial structures and tombs, ruins of which survive. Christian sanctuaries that survive include the "Domine Quo Vadis?" chapel, near the junction of the road with the wall of Rome, the catacombs of St. Callixtus, and the basilica of St. Sebastian. PAUL must have traversed a part of the Appian Way on his journey from PUTEOLI to Rome (Acts 28:13-16).

A portion of the Appian Way, S of Rome. (View to the S.)

The FORUM OF APPIUS, a market town on the Appian Way, almost 40 mi. S of Rome, a staging post mentioned in the same story, was also a foundation of Appius Claudius, the builder of the highway. (Cf. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads* [1976]; I. Della Portella, ed., *The Appian Way: From Its Foundation to the Middle Ages* [2004].)
E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Appii Forum. See FORUM OF APPIUS.

Appius. See FORUM OF APPIUS.

apple, apple tree. To determine whether the fruit in question is truly an apple, the Hebrew word *tappûaḥ H9515* must be considered carefully, for it is also used as a name (see TAPPUAH). From the relevant passages (Prov. 25:11; Cant. 2:3, 5; 7:8; 8:5; Joel 1:12), it will be seen that the fruit was sweet, attractive, had a pleasing fragrance, was gold in color, had silvery leaves (or possibly this should read "silvery flower petals"), while its juice had rejuvenating properties. The tree that bore this fruit was tall and large enough to give plenty of good shade. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why so many writers and versions have identified the fruit as an apple. Apples are not indigenous to

Palestine, and the description given does not fit the rather small acid apples that were grown in other parts in those days.

The fruit could have been an orange *(Citrus sinensis,* but again this is not indigenous, though it grew in biblical days in India and China), for in Prov. 25:11 the description is "apples of gold in settings of silver," and the orange does produce fruits and flowers simultaneously, and so the gold in silver is seen. It might have been the citron *(Citrus medica),* but this fruit is very acid and could not be described, therefore, as "sweet." Those who say the fruit was a quince *(Cydonia oblonga)* are surely wrong, because though the quince is apple-shaped and golden, it is very acrid. The Arabs, however, enjoy the quince's fragrance, which they say restores their strength.

The only fruit that fits the complete picture is the apricot *(Prunus armeniaca).* It grew in Palestine in OT days; the fruits are golden and nicely perfumed, the leaves are pale, and in Cyprus apricots are called "golden apples." The apricot will grow to a height of 30 ft., and so gives good shade. The flowers are white with a pink tinge, and the pale leaves have their undersurfaces covered with down—hence "silvery." (Cf. *FFB,* 92-93.) See also APPLE OF THE EYE; FRUIT.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

apple of the eye. An English idiom denoting the pupil of the eye, which is precious and, therefore, most carefully guarded. In this phrase, the word "apple" normally renders the Hebrew word *)îšwōn H413,* which etymologically may indicate "little man," perhaps referring to the small image one sees when looking into another's eye. The phrase is used of God's care of his people (Deut. 32:10; Ps. 17:8; Zech. 2:8; in the last passage, the Heb. word is *bābâ H949,* perhaps "gate") and of the preciousness of the divine law (Prov. 7:2). The KJV uses the phrase also in Lam. 2:18, which refers to the literal eye.

S. BARABAS

apples of Sodom. A nonbiblical term sometimes applied to "the vine of Sodom" (Deut. 32:32). See VINE.

apricot. See APPLE.

apron. Where occurring in the English versions, this word refers to a brief covering material for the lower front of the body which ties around the waist. ADAM and EVE sewed fig leaves together and made aprons for themselves (Gen. 3:7; Heb. *ḥăgwōrâ H2514,* "girdle, belt"; NIV, "coverings"). The other five times the same Hebrew word is used in the OT, it clearly signifies a form of girdle. Handkerchiefs or aprons were conveyed from PAUL's body to heal the sick (Acts 19:12; Gk. *simikinthion G4980).* The Greek term, used only here in the NT, is borrowed from the Latin *semicinctium,* meaning "half girdle." A large variety of workmen would wear such aprons to protect their clothes and perhaps to wipe their hands. Paul would wear an apron while working on tents (cf. 18:3). Because of the number of aprons suggested in Acts 19:12, it is probable that people brought their own handkerchiefs and aprons for contact with Paul and then took them away (rather than that the apostle was prepared to furnish as many as might be wanted).

N. B. BAKER

Aqabah, Gulf of ah'kuh-bah. Also Aqaba. The NE arm of the RED SEA bounded on the W by the SINAI Peninsula and on the E by the Land of MIDIAN (Arabian Desert). The Hebrew name yām *sûp*

H3542 + H6068 ("Sea of Reeds") is used not only to refer to the Bitter Lakes region in the Nile Delta but also to refer to the Gulfs of Suez and Aqabah and possibly even to the RED SEA as a whole. A number of biblical references appear to refer to the Gulf of Aqabah under this name. SOLOMON's seaport city of EZION GEBER (see also ELATH) situated on the Gulf is said to be on the Red Sea (1 Ki. 9:26).

During the wilderness wanderings, the Israelites were ordered to go from KADESH BARNEA into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea (Num. 14:25; Deut. 1:40; 2:1). This would most naturally refer to the Gulf of Aqabah, and the circumstance of the earth swallowing KORAH and the other rebels fits with the geological phenomena of the ARABAH stretching N of the Gulf (see G. Hort in *Australian Biblical Review* 7 [1959]: 2-26). Similarly, after a second stay at Kadesh Barnea, Israel went by way of the Red Sea to go around EDOM, which lay E of the Arabah (Num. 21:4; Jdg. 11:16). The association of TEMAN in Edom with the Red Sea is probably another usage of the term for the Gulf of Aqabah (Jer. 49:21); Exod. 23:31 may provide another example.
H. G. ANDERSEN

Aqedah. See ISAAC III.

Aqiba. See AKIBA.

aqueduct. SENNACHERIB of NINEVEH seems to have been the first to build an aqueduct. He carried a great irrigation canal across a tributary of the Atrush-Gomel, near modern Jerwan, on a 90-ft. bridge of five pointed arches over 30 ft. high. It was built of 20-inch cubes of stone with a channel sealed by mortar. The SILOAM tunnel, built by HEZEKIAH, was an aqueduct that showed a similar standard of engineering. Polycrates of Samos and the 2nd-cent. B.C. engineers of Hellenistic PERGAMUM also built efficient aqueducts, but of all ancient peoples the Romans produced the greatest hydraulic engineers and the finest aqueducts.

Remains of these great waterworks are to be found in all parts of the old domains of the empire.

Aerial view of an ancient aqueduct leading into Rome.

The Roman aqueduct bridges were built on a simple pattern. On a row of tall piers of stone or brick rose a series of small round arches. Above these lay the water channel of concrete, with an arched roof above it. Where the conduit crossed a deep depression, as at Segovia, Tarragona, or Smyrna,

two or three rows of arches were superimposed. The famous Pont du Gard at Nimes (ancient Nemausus) has three such arcades (see G. Hauck, *The Aqueduct of Nemausus* [1988]). These arcades or bridges were, of course, only part of the total system. They were conspicuous and have tended to survive, but tunnels and channels carried the water over most of its course. Only 30 mi. of Rome's 260 mi. of aqueducts that functioned in the 1st cent. were thus elevated. The rest ran in low conduits or underground. Nearly all of the Aqua Appia, the first of Rome's aqueducts, built by Appius Claudius Caecus (builder of the APPIAN WAY) was subterranean. It was begun in 312 B.C. and carried the water of the Anio 10 mi. into Rome.

Estimates of the volume of water delivered by aqueduct into imperial Rome vary, but a reasonable figure would be 200,000,000 gallons a day, a generous supply for 1,000,000 inhabitants. Costs were high, as an estimate of PLINY the Younger, governor of BITHYNIA in A.D. 112, shows. Pliny *(Ep.* 10.37) reported to TRAJAN that the city of Nicomedia, after spending "an immense sum" on an aqueduct, had been forced to abandon the work. Pliny suggested a reasonable alternative, efficient and soundly financed. In Palestine may be seen a considerable section of aqueduct used to supply CAESAREA with water, and a few traces of the aqueduct PILATE built in Jerusalem are left. He financed the scheme from the CORBAN fund and clashed seriously with the Jewish authorities (Jos. *War 2.9.4).* (See P.J. Aicher, *Guide to the Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* [1995]; A.T. Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply,* 2nd ed. [2002]; D. Amit et al., eds., *The Aqueducts of Israel* [2002].)
E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Aquila and Priscilla. See PRISCILLA AND AQUILA.

Aquila's Version ak'wi-luh, uh-kwi'luh (Ἀκύλας, "eagle"). This Greek translation of the OT is known from quotations in Jewish and Christian writings. Fragmentary remains can also be found as marginal notes in some MSS of the SEPTUAGINT, and a few continuous texts have come to light in palimpsests and other old MSS. ORIGEN included this version as the third column of the Hexapla and was in part guided by it in his asterisked additions to the LXX text. Aquila is said to have been the Emperor HAD-RIAN's brother-in-law, who from paganism moved to Christianity and thence to Judaism. He is identified by some with Onkelos, author of an Aramaic TARGUM, but this is not proven. Allegedly a pupil of Rabbi AKIBA, Aquila is thought by some scholars to exemplify the close adherence to the letter of Scripture inculcated by that Jewish sage. Recent scholarship, however, sees Aquila's work as the culmination of a translation technique that had been developing for a century or more. He accordingly used his wide learning in both Greek and Hebrew to produce a rigidly literal rendering in which every significant feature of Hebrew had a conventional equivalent. Words of the same root were rendered by words of the same Greek root, even where this decision was foreign to Greek usage. See also SEPTUAGINT IV. A.

J. N. BIRDSALL

Ar ahr (עָר *H6840,* possibly "city"). A city in MOAB,E of the DEAD SEA. Two biblical statements (Num. 21:14-15 and 28) indicate that Ar was near the ARNON River, which may be the "boundary" mentioned in Deut. 2:18 (cf. also Num. 22:36). The SEPTUAGINT reads *Ēr* in Num. 21:15, but in v. 18 mistranslates with *heōs G2401* ("until," evidently reading *ʿad H6330);* in Deuteronomy it has *Sēir* (Deut. 2:9, 18, 29); finally, in Isa. 15:1 the LXX omits the name altogether (as well as the sister city of KIR). The Hebrew name has the same radical letters as the common word for city (ʿîr *H6551;* cf. IR-

MOAB). The suggestion that Ar was the capital of the Moabites is worth noting. Several passages (Num. 21:15; Deut. 2:9, 28) present the possibility that the term could refer to a larger region within Moab. Among various proposals, the modern site of el-Misnaʿ is a plausible suggestion for Ar's location, though J. M. Miller argues for Khirbet Baluʿ (see *JBL* 108 [1989]: 593-95).
R.L.ALDEN

Ara air'uh (אֵרָא *H736,* possibly "lion"). Son of JETHER (1 Chr. 7:38), listed among the "heads of families, choice men, brave warriors and outstanding leaders" of the tribe of ASHER (v. 40).

Arab (city) a'ruhb, air'uhb (אֲרַב *H742,* possibly "ambush"). A city in the hill country of the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:52); the site is uncertain, but it is usually identified with modern Khirbet er-Rabiyeh, 8 mi. SW of HEBRON.

Arab (people group). See ARABIAN.

Arabah air'uh-buh (עֲרָבָה *H6858,* "wilderness"). When this word is used with the definite article, as it most frequently is, it refers to the great rift valley running S from the Sea of Galilee, including the JORDAN Valley and the DEAD SEA, and extending all the way to the Gulf of AQABAH. As such, it forms a major geographical area of the land of the Bible and certainly the most important feature of the relief of the land. In the KJV, the word is rendered as the proper name "Arabah" only in Josh. 18:18, elsewhere as "desert," "plain," "wilderness." Modern translations more consistently take it as a proper name.

Without the Hebrew definite article, the term can be used to refer to desert steppe land in general (e.g., Job 24:5; 39:6; Isa. 33:9; Jer. 17:6). In the plural it could refer to certain desert sections within

The Arabah.

the Arabah as a whole. Thus, for example, we have the *"plains* of Jericho" (Josh. 5:10; 2 Ki. 25:5; Jer. 39:5), indicating a section of the Arabah near that city; the *"plains* of Moab" (Num. 26:3; 31:12; 35:1; 36:13), meaning those parts of the Arabah belonging to MOAB; the *"fords* of the wilderness" (2 Sam. 15:28; 17:16), meaning the sections of the Arabah that coincide with parts of the wilderness of Judah. The Dead Sea is sometimes also referred to as the "Sea of the Arabah" (Deut. 4:49; Josh. 3:16; 12:3; 2 Ki. 14:25). The modern terms used are *Ghor* ("depression") for the Jordan Valley portion of the Arabah and *ʿArabah* or *Wadi el-ʿArabah* for that portion S of the Dead Sea. (On Amos 6:14, see ARABAH, BROOK.)

I. Geography. The Arabah as a whole is over 200 mi. in length and falls naturally into three geographical regions, namely, the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea region, and the area S of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqabah.

(1) The Arabah is well below sea level for much of its distance. Beginning at about 686 ft. below sea level at the Sea of Galilee, it slopes down to about 1,292 ft. below sea level at the Dead Sea. This is then the lowest spot on the face of the globe. The northern half of this part of the Arabah is about 12 mi. wide, forming a fairly fertile and well-watered plain, the water being provided by a

number of small streams, tributaries to the Jordan. The valley narrows for about 5 mi. just S of the halfway mark and for this stretch is infertile. From here the valley widens again, descending between steep scarps which, at JERICHO, are about 12 mi. apart. Then it gradually narrows again to a width of about 6 mi. at the N end of the Dead Sea. A number of fairly large streams contribute to the Jordan below the arid constriction, and it courses through fairly dense jungle at the bottom of a deep cut. The surrounding land is again very fertile, and PLINY the Elder mentions that besides many other products, more than forty-nine varieties of figs grow there.

(2) The Dead Sea region of the Arabah is some 50 mi. in length and about 10 mi. wide. There is just sufficient room for a road on each side of the Sea directly below the steep escarpments. The famous sites of Khirbet Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) and MASADA are found on the W scarp, Qumran to the N and Masada some 30 mi. S opposite the peninsula of salt which extends into the Sea.

(3) The region to the S of the Dead Sea occupies a length of about 110 mi. For 6-8 mi. immediately S of the Sea there are large mud flats deposited by

A section of the Arabah, just N of the Gulf of Aqabah. (View to the NE.)

a number of streams cutting their way down the steep slope from the S. The plain of mud is known as the "Sebkah" while the slope itself is probably that referred to as the ascent of AKRABBIM (Josh. 15:3; NIV, "Scorpion Pass"). The streams are especially erosive during the rainy season, though considerable amounts of vegetation still flourish there. The floor of the valley continues to rise beyond the ascent of Akrabbim, reaching sea level at about 38 mi. from the Dead Sea. The highest point of the entire Arabah is reached about 18 mi. further to the S near the same latitude as that of the famous site of PETRA to the E. By this time the valley has broadened considerably, being 25 mi. wide in some places. As the floor of the valley descends again toward EZION GEBER, its width also decreases averaging perhaps 6 mi. A kind of funnel effect is thereby created for the winds that blow down the valley and that were used in the blast furnaces of the copper smelters at the head of the gulf. This long southern slope is generally very arid with only an occasional oasis, but in NABATEAN times it was partially irrigated and some agriculture was practiced there.

II. Geology. Geologically, the Arabah is but a portion of an enormous fault in the crust of the earth that extends from northern SYRIA southward between the LEBANON and ANTILEBANON mountains,

through the RED SEA and to the southeastern coast of Africa. For the portion of the Arabah that is below sea level, the W side is bordered more or less continuously with limestone cliffs rising 2,000 or 3,000 ft. above sea level. On the E side, however, sandstone and granite rocks border the valley to a height of 2,000 or 3,000 ft. and are then capped with limestone corresponding to that on the W side. Thus, a shift of from 2,000 to 3,000 ft. has occurred between the geological strata on opposite sides of the Arabah for this distance. (For more on the geology of the Arabah, see G. F. Wright in *ISBE* [1929], 1:212-13.)

III. Trade and commerce. The portion of the Arabah N of the Dead Sea was crossed by a number of roads, especially in the N half, where the tribe of MANASSEH held territory on both sides of the Jordan. The N–S roads in this area tend to run on the hills above the Arabah rather than in the valley itself. South of the Dead Sea, the Arabah was important commercially chiefly because of its port city, Ezion Geber. This was the main entrance to the land of Canaan and allowed trade with Arabia, India, and Africa. The road went N from Ezion Geber and had branches to the main highways of Canaan as well as to the KING'S HIGHWAY to the E.

While, as already noted, several parts of the Arabah did have some agricultural potential, its main economic asset was the presence of iron and copper, the only such deposits in all of Canaan. (For the locations of these deposits, see Y. Aharoni et al., *The Carta Bible Atlas,* 4th ed. [2002], maps 11 – 12.) It must have been the Arabah that the writer had more particularly in mind when he spoke of "a land where the rocks are iron and you can dig copper out of the hills" (Deut. 8:9). F. Frank and N. Glueck have discovered the ruins of a number of mines and refineries in the Arabah S of the Dead Sea. Many of the slag heaps are still discernible. While the refineries are impressive for the advanced engineering they display, the majority of the work was done by slave labor for at least part of the time. The mines were evidently operational as early as the time of Abraham, though their real wealth seems not to have been exploited until Solomon's time. The copper smelter and manufacturing center built by Solomon at Ezion Geber is the largest so far discovered. (Cf. N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* [1970], chs. 3–4; *Rivers in the Desert: A History of the Negev* [1959], 153-63 and passim; B. MacDonald et al., *The Southern Ghors and Northeast ʿArabah Archaeological Survey* [1992].)

IV. History. While the geographical features of the Arabah would seem to make it a natural border, it did not ever serve as a genuine social or political boundary. The territory of Edom stretched across the Arabah into the area S of the NEGEV proper and was the scene of constant conflict with Israel, most probably because of the wealthy mines. In later times (after the 3rd cent. B.C.), the Nabateans controlled both sides of the Arabah. Rome's *Palestina Tertia* included Areopolis, Rabbath-Moab, and Petra to the E, Beorsaba (Beersheba) and Elusa to the W.

The southern Arabah figures largely in the accounts of Israel's wanderings before entering the Promised Land. The Israelites seem to have journeyed from Kadesh Barnea down to Ezion Geber through a considerable portion of the Arabah and then turned N again to skirt the holdings of MOAB and EDOM (Deut. 2:8), having been refused passage through these domains (Num. 20:14-21; Jdg. 11:17). On the other hand, the list of desert stations given in Num. 33:37-49 refers to a direct route right through Edom and Moab, and the implication is that the Israelites crossed the Arabah some 20 mi. S of the Dead Sea. This may possibly refer to an earlier route.

The Arabah N of the Dead Sea included ABEL SHITTIM, the place of Israel's harlotry with the daughters of Moab (Num. 25). In this area also, MOSES did his final work (Deut. 1:1; Num. 32-36)

and JOSHUA crossed the Jordan and set up the first Israelite sanctuary in Canaan at GILGAL, a town in the Arabah. In later times too, ABNER fled through the Arabah N of the Dead Sea to MAHANAIM (2 Sam. 2:29); the murderers of ISH-BOSHETH went by way of the Arabah to bring the victim's head to DAVID at HEBRON (2 Sam. 4:7); and when ZEDEKIAH was taken by the Babylonians, he was fleeing toward the Arabah from Jerusalem (2 Ki. 25:4; Jer. 39:4). The Arabah also figures somewhat in the promises of the prophets. Thus Ezekiel declares that a stream will flow from the temple E and S and will make both the Dead Sea and the Arabah fresh and highly productive (Ezek. 47:1-12; cf. Joel 3:18; Zech. 14:8).

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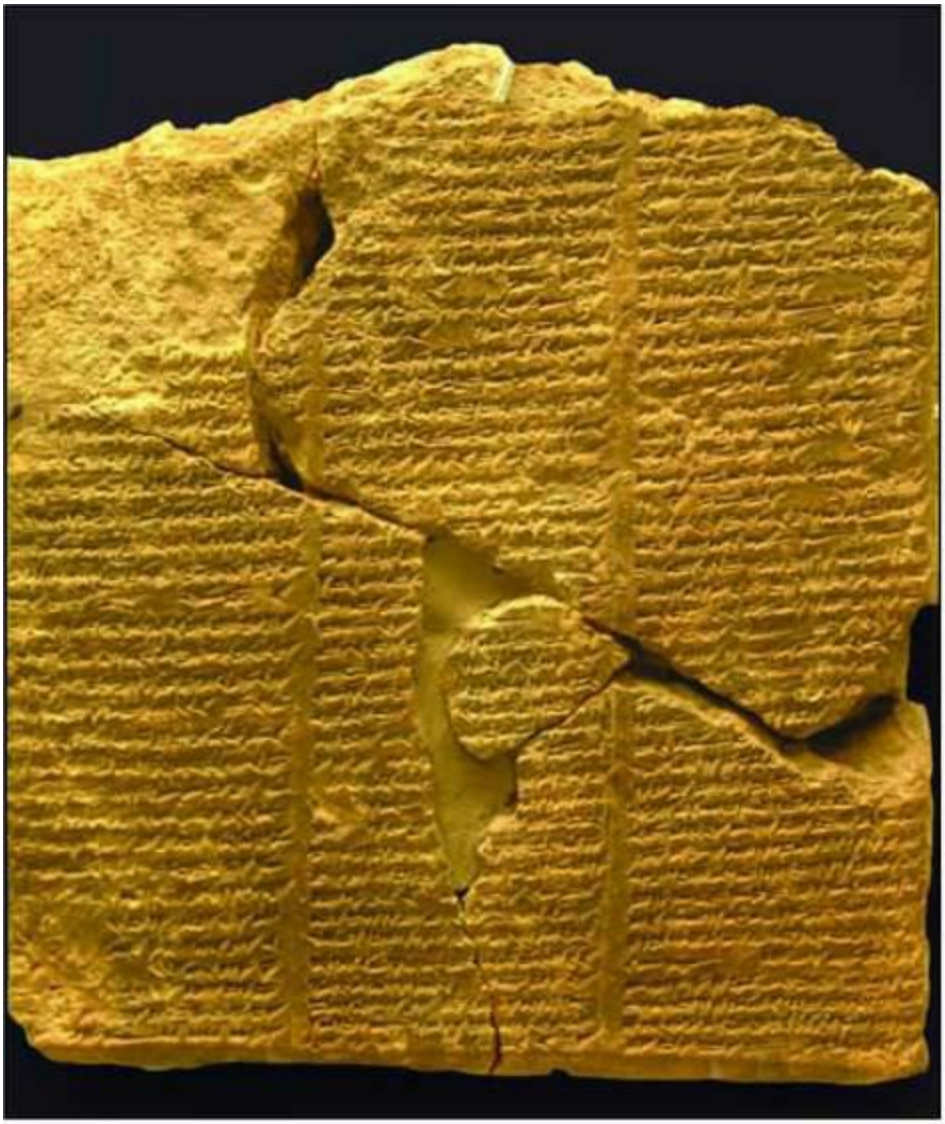
Arabah, Brook (Wadi) of the. The prophet AMOS predicted that the Lord would send a nation to oppress Israel "all the way from Lebo Hamath to the valley of the Arabah" (Amos 6:14 NIV). The Hebrew expression *naḥal hāʿărābâ* is rendered variously: "the river of the wilderness" (KJV), "the Brook of the Arabah" (RSV), "Wadi Arabah" (NRSV, NJPS). The name is evidently intended to mark a southern limit (LEBO HAMATH being a northern boundary). Some scholars have identified the phrase with *naḥal hāʿărābîm,* "wadi of the willows/poplars" (Isa. 15:7), which is thought to be Wadi el-Ḥesa, on the SE end of the DEAD SEA (see ZERED and cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 344). Others argue that "the Arabah" in Amos must refer to the low-lying area NE of the Dead Sea and that therefore it should be identified either with Wadi Qelt (which however is W of the JORDAN, just below JERICHO) or with Wadi Kefren (which runs E–W and is known as Wadi Abu Gharaba when it flows into the Jordan c. 3 mi. N of the Dead Sea; cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27* [1997], 122, 136). See also WILLOWS, BROOK (WADI) OF THE.

Arabattine air'uh-bat'uh-nee KJV Apoc. form of AKRABATTENE (1 Macc. 5:3).

Arabia uh-ray'bee-uh (עֲרָב *H6851,* "desert"; Ἀρα- βία *G728).* A large peninsula of SW Asia. See also ARABIAN, ARAB.

I. Biblical references. The term in Isa. 21:13 and Jer. 25:24 refers to the desert or steppe of the N, but elsewhere (2 Chr. 9:14; Ezek. 27:21; also 1 Ki. 10:15 and Ezek. 30:5, where MT has *ʿēreb,* "mixed people") it includes the S also. NW Arabia is also called "the land of the east" (Gen. 25:6), that is, the country E of Palestine.

The term appears several times in the APOCRYPHA. Arabia in Jdt. 2:25 seems from the context to



Cuneiform tablet from Nineveh containing the Annals of Ashurbanipal, which gives an account of this king's military campaign against Arabia and Elam.

be near DAMASCUS. In 1 Macc. 11:16 it refers to the kingdom of the NABATEANS, E and S of Palestine. "The dragons of Arabia" (2 Esd. 15:29) is probably a figurative expression for the Arabians who fought under Odenathus of Palmyra against the Sassanid Persians in the 3rd cent. A.D.

In the NT, PAUL uses this term twice. In Gal. 1:17 it is taken by most to refer to the Nabatean kingdom S of Damascus. Some think that Mount SINAI is intended, but this would probably have been stated more specifically. Paul follows the geography of his time by including Mount Sinai in Arabia (Gal. 4:25). The kingdom of SHEBA in S Arabia is called "the South" in Matt. 12:42 and Lk. 11:31.

II. Location and size. The peninsula of Arabia is bounded on the W by the Red Sea, on the S by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, on the E by the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, and on the N by the Syrian Desert. Since it is surrounded on three sides by water, the Arabs call it *Jazīrat al-ʿArab,* "the island of the Arabs." Arabia is the largest peninsula in the world. It covers about one million square miles, about one third the area of continental United States. The peninsula is roughly rectangular. The length of the W coast is about 1,450 mi., and the S coast is about 1,250 mi. long.

III. Divisions of Arabia. Greek and Latin geographers, following Ptolemy of Alexandria (2nd cent. A.D.), divided Arabia into three parts: (a) Arabia Petrea, named after the main city, PETRA, and

including E TRANSJORDAN, MOAB, EDOM, and Sinai; (b) Arabia Deserta, including the Syrian Desert; and (c) Arabia Felix, "Fortunate Arabia," the SW portion. The Arab geographer Yaqut (13th cent. A.D.), in his dictionary called *Muʿjam al-buldān,* gives five divisions: Tihamah (the plain along the W coast), al-Hijaz (the mountains E of Tihamah), Najd (the central plateau), al-ʿArud, also called al-Hasa (the plain along the E shore), and Yemen (in the SW).

The following modern states now occupy the Arabian peninsula: Saudi Arabia covers most of the peninsula, especially the N, the W, and the central portions; Yemen is in the S; Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman occupy portions of the E. Some areas in the NW included in ancient Arabia are now parts of Syria, Jordan, and Israel.

IV. Physical features

A. Geology. The rocks of Arabia are of three main types and periods: the igneous and metamorphic rocks of the mountains of the W; the later sedimentary rocks (limestone, sandstone, shale) in the NE; and the comparatively recent lava beds in the NW. Under the sedimentary rocks of the NE is about one third of the world's known supply of petroleum, first extracted in 1932 on the island of Bahrain and soon thereafter on the NE shore of the mainland.

B. Geography. Much of the coastline on the W and E is sandy, and there are no river mouths. Therefore, there are few good natural harbors, such as Aden in the SW and Muscat in the SE. SEPHAR (Gen. 10:30) is thought by some to be a harbor on the S coast. The most striking promontories are the Peninsula of Sinai (the scene of the Israelites' wandering), Bab al-Mandab in the SW corner, Ras al-Hadd at the SE corner, Ras Musandam in Oman, and Qatar projecting into the Persian Gulf. The rim of mountains on the W and S coasts intercepts rainclouds, leaving the interior dry. The traditional Mount Sinai is 7,500 ft. high; mountains in MIDIAN rise to 9,000 ft.; the highest mountain in Yemen is 12,336 ft.; and al-Jabal al-Akhdar in Oman reaches 9,900 ft. above sea level.

Some mountains in the NW are extinct volcanoes, whose last eruption took place in medieval times. Some scholars interpret the smoke, fire, and earthquake of Exod. 19:18 as signs of an eruption, and therefore they wish to locate Mount Sinai in the volcanic area E of the Gulf of AQABAH. But the traditional Mount Sinai W of the Gulf of Aqabah is not a volcano. Some suggest that the Hebrew term *ḥărērîm H3083* ("parched places," Jer. 17:6) may refer to lava beds, which are called *ḥarrah* in Arabic. The mountains of the W coast are cut by many valleys, along which the caravans used to travel. Some of these valleys drain E into deserts, and the evaporation of freshets has left "salt flats" (Job 39:6; cf. Ps. 107:34; Jer. 17:6) in many parts of NW Arabia. Job 6:18 refers to the deserts of Arabia as "the wasteland."

The deserts include the stony Syrian Desert in the N, the semi-arid central plateau called Najd, and sandy deserts. The Arabs call the sandy desert in the N al-Nufud, and that in the S al-Rabʿal-Khali, "the Empty Quarter," which covers about 230,000 sq. mi., the largest sand area in the world. Oases with occasional springs in the desert made possible the caravan trade. Some oases mentioned in the Bible are DEDAN, DUMAH, and TEMA. (Cf. R. H. Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula* [1954].)

C. Meteorology. Arabia is dry and hot. Only in the SW, the S near the coast, and the SE is there enough rainfall for regular agriculture. Places in al-Rabʿ al-Khali may go rainless for as long as ten years. The average temperature on the W coast is about 90° F, but nights are chilly on the high central

plateau. Violent winds (Job 1:19) or whirlwinds (27:20-21), carrying dust (Isa. 17:13), are a terror to Arabians.

D. Water. Since rain is rare and irregular, there are no large lakes, except for Umm al-Jibal, about three-quarters of a mile long in central Arabia, and there is only one short river that always has water, Wadi Hajar in the S. Following occasional cloudbursts, torrents may sweep down the valleys; but these streams soon disappear, and those who seek water in the valleys are usually disappointed, like the Arab merchants of Job 6:13-20. Water from these sudden rains remains in the subsoil of some valleys, and Arab travelers dig to it with sticks, just as the Israelites did as they passed through Moab (Num. 21:16-17). Also the subterranean water sometimes comes to the surface in oases. In ancient times the scant rainfall was more efficiently preserved than at present by dams, reservoirs, canals, and terraces, most of which have now fallen into disrepair.

E. Mineral products mentioned in the Bible. GOLD is often mentioned as a product of Arabia (1 Ki. 10:2, 10, 15, 22; 2 Chr. 9:1, 9, 14, 21). The following places in Arabia are named as sources of gold: OPHIR (1 Ki. 9:28; 10:11; 22:48; 1 Chr. 29:4; 2 Chr. 8:18; 9:10; Job 22:24; 28:16; Ps. 45:9; Isa. 13:12); HAVILAH (Gen. 2:11-12); SHEBA (Ps. 72:15; Isa. 60:6; Ezek. 27:22); RAAMAH (Ezek. 27:22); and PARVAIM (2 Chr. 3:6). SILVER is also said to come from Arabia (1 Ki. 10:22; 2 Chr. 9:14, 21). The precious stones from Arabia (Ezek. 27:22) included ONYX from Havilah (Gen. 2:12). According to the *Letter of Aristeas* 119, there were COPPER and IRON mines in Arabia, probably in Edom. CORAL is mentioned (Job 28:18; Lam. 4:7), and the coral imported through Edom to Tyre (Ezek. 27:16) probably came from the reefs off the W shore of Arabia. The Great Pearl Banks off the NE shore of Arabia were the most important ancient source of PEARLS (Job 28:18; Matt. 7:6; 13:45; 1 Tim. 2:9; Rev. 17:4; 18:12, 16; 21:21).

V. Plants of Arabia mentioned in the Bible. FRANKINCENSE and other PERFUMES were the most valued products of Arabia in ancient times. These aromatic gums were carried by Arab traders (Gen. 37:25) from such places in Arabia as Havilah (2:11) and Sheba (1 Ki. 10:1-2, 10; 2 Chr. 9:1, 9; Isa. 60:6). The most important Arabian fruit tree is the DATE palm, whose fruit is a staple of Arabian diet and whose leaves, branches, fiber, and wood are also useful. The Israelites, as they wandered in the wilderness of Sinai, found seventy date palms at the oasis of ELIM (Exod. 15:27). Some have suggested that the MANNA (ch. 16) was the juice of the common Arabian tree, the TAMARISK, extracted and dropped by insects, but the biblical references imply a much larger quantity than the usual droppings from the tamarisks. The "shittim wood" (KJV) used in building the TABERNACLE and its furniture (Exod. 25:5, 10, 13, 23; 26:15, 26, 32; 27:1, 6; 30:1, 5) was from the ACACIA tree, which is common in Sinai. Mallow, broom, and nettles (Job 30:4, 7 NRSV) are typical desert plants of Arabia. "Thickets" (Isa. 21:13) of bushes are found at oases. According to the usual understanding of Ezek. 27:19, WINE was a product of UZAL, located probably in Arabia, but ancient Arabia imported rather than exported wine. ALMUG wood (1 Ki. 10:11-12) and EBONY (Ezek. 27:15) are said to come from Arabia, but these products of India and Africa were simply passed on by Arabian merchants.

VI. Animals of Arabia mentioned in the Bible

A. Domestic animals. The CAMEL is certainly the most important animal to the Arabians, who ride it, load it with goods to be transported, drink its milk, eat its meat, make leather from its skin, and weave

its hair into cloth. In the Bible the camel is often associated with Arabs and with places in Arabia: the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37:25; 1 Chr. 27:30); the Midianites (Jdg. 6:5; 7:12; 8:22, 26); the Amalekites (1 Sam. 15:3; 30:17); the QUEEN OF SHEBA (1 Ki. 10:2; 2 Chr. 9:1); the Hagrites (1 Chr. 5:21); Kedar (Jer. 49:29); and Hazor in the desert (Jer. 49:32). Arab nomadic shepherds, and particularly the princes of Kedar, sold SHEEP and GOATS to Tyre (Ezek. 27:21). CATTLE were owned by the Midianites (Num. 31:33, 38), but as these verses show, they were less common among the Arabs than sheep and goats. Asses (see ASS, DONKEY) are used by the Arabs for riding and for carrying smaller burdens, and they were among the possessions of the Midianites (Num. 31:28, 30, 34, 39) and the Hagrites (1 Chr. 5:21). The Arabian HORSE is famous for its speed, and it is described in Job 39:19-25, much as in Arabian poetry. Among Solomon's imports from Ophir were pet monkeys (1 Ki. 10:22; see BABOON), which may have been brought from India or Africa.

B. Wild animals. The section in Job 38:39—39:12 describes the following wild animals of NW Arabia: the LION (no longer found in Arabia), the mountain goat, the WILD ASS, and the WILD OX (now extinct). The Bible also refers to the following desert animals found in Arabia: the JACKAL and the HYENA (Isa. 34:13-14, in Edom); the WOLF (connected with Arabia by the LXX of Hab. 1:8 and Zeph. 3:3); the GAZELLE (Isa. 13:14); poisonous SERPENTS (Num. 21:6); and the flying serpent (Isa. 14:29; 30:6). This last is also located in Arabia by HERODOTUS *(Hist.* 2.75) and may be the Arabian *aym,* a viper that springs into the air. The ELEPHANT is not native to Arabia, and so the IVORY from Ophir (1 Ki. 10:22; 2 Chr. 9:21) and from Dedan (Ezek. 27:15 MT; NIV and NRSV have "Rhodes," following LXX) came originally from Africa or India and was transferred by Arabian traders.

C. Birds. Birds of Arabia mentioned in Job 38 and 39 include the RAVEN, the OSTRICH (last seen in Arabia in the wild state in 1941), the HAWK, and the EAGLE. Other birds are connected with Arabia in the Bible as follows: migratory QUAIL (which the Israelites ate in Sinai, Exod. 16:13; Num. 11:31), the OWL, and the KITE (both located in Edom, Isa. 34:15). The PEACOCKS brought by Solomon from Ophir (1 Ki. 10:22 KJV, NRSV) may have come originally from India, but the word may mean "baboons" (NIV, NRSV mg.), which are found in the mountains of SW Arabia.

D. Insects. NW Arabia is often the source of LOCUSTS, which attack countries to the W, such as Palestine (Joel 1; 2). Note that locusts in the time of Moses were carried into Egypt by an E wind, perhaps from Sinai (Exod. 10:13).

E. Marine animals. ONYCHA used in making the holy INCENSE (Exod. 30:34) was derived from a shellfish of the Red Sea. The leather used as one of the coverings of the tabernacle (26:14, "ram skins") and to make shoes (Ezek. 16:10) is thought by some to have come from the dolphin or the dugong (SEA COW) of the Red Sea. On coral and pearl oysters see IV. E above. See also FAUNA.

VII. Caravan routes. The main CARAVAN route for the transport of Arabian incense and products of Africa and India went through the mountains of W Arabia. Beginning in Sheba or Yemen (1 Ki. 10:1-13), the caravans went N from oasis to oasis, past Mecca, Medina, al-ʿUla (called Dedan in the Bible), Madaʾin Salih, and Tabuk to Maʿan near Petra. From there some caravans turned N to Damascus, and others went W to Gaza or Egypt. Other routes branched E to Iraq, like the one going from Madaʾin Salih and passing through Taymaʾ (called Tema in the Bible). From al-Jawf (called

Dumah in the Bible) a caravan route went NW via Wadi Sirhan to Transjordan.

VIII. Places in Arabia mentioned in the Bible. The Bible refers to many places in the ancient Arabia Petrea (see III.A above), which included Sinai, Edom, Moab, and E Transjordan. The following biblical places can be located with more or less probability in the peninsula of Arabia: Buz, DEDAN, DUMAH, EPHAH, HAVILAH, HAZARMAVETH, HAZOR (Jer. 49:28), MASSA, MESHA (Gen. 10:30), MIDIAN, OPHIR, PARVAIM, RAAMAH, SABTAH, SEBA, SEPHAR, SHEBA, TEMA, UZ, and UZAL.

(See further F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* [1933-38], 1:288-98; J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* [1934]; R. H. Kiernan, *The Unveiling of Arabia* [1939]; R. H. Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula* [1954]; I. Eph(al,*The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [1982]; *L'Arabie préislamique et son environment historique et culturel,* ed. T. Fahd [1989]; D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity* [1990]; K. A. Kitchen, *Documentation for Ancient Arabia, 2* vols. [1994-2000]; R. G. *Hoyland, Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam [2001]; ABD,* 1:324-31; *CANE,* 2:1335-69.)

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Arabian, Arab uh-ray'bee-uhn, ar'uhb (עֲרָבִי *H6861;* Ἄραψ *G732).* In the Bible, this term refers to the NOMADS who live in the deserts of ARABIA, especially in the northwestern part. They are also known by the general term "eastern peoples" (Jdg. 6:3, lit., "children of the east"). Some Arabian tribes mentioned in the Bible are the following: Amalekites, Buzites, Dedanites, Hagrites, Ishmaelites, Kadmonites, Kedarites, Kenites, Meunim or Meunites, Midianites, Naamathites, Sabeans, and Shuhites.

I. History of the Arabs in relation to the Bible

A. In the time of the patriarchs—Arabian tribes. The Arabs first appear in the Bible in the Table of NATIONS in Gen. 10 and in other early genealogies. Among the descendants of CUSH (10:7), the following are located in Arabia: SEBA, HAVILAH, SABTAH, SHEBA, and DEDAN. The descendants of JOKTAN, who was of the line of SHEM, include the following names that have been attached to places in Arabia: HAZARMAVETH, UZAL, SHEBA, OPHIR, and HAVILAH (10:25-29). The names of some of the descendants of NAHOR are associated with tribes or areas in N Arabia: Uz, Buz, KESED (the sing. of the name whose pl. is rendered Chaldeans; see CHALDEA), and HAZO (22:20-23). Of the descendants of ABRAHAM by KETURAH (25:1-4), Sheba is usually associated with S Arabia and the following with N Arabia: MEDAN, MIDIAN, SHUAH, and DEDAN. Most of the names of the descendants of ISHMAEL (25:13-16) refer to tribes or places in NW Arabia, namely: NEBAIOTH, KEDAR, DUMAH, MASSA, TEMA, and KEDEMAH. The Arab genealogists also trace their own ancestry back to Ishmael and Abraham.

The earliest biblical incident involving Israelites and Arabs is the selling of JOSEPH by his brothers to Arab merchants, who took him to Egypt and sold him there (Gen. 37:25-28; 39:1). These merchants are called Ishmaelites, which is a general name for Arabs, and they also are called Midianites (37:28), their specific Arab tribe (cf. Jdg. 6:1; 8:24).

B. In the time of Moses—the Midianites. MOSES, after killing an Egyptian, fled to MIDIAN, an area and a tribe in NW Arabia, and stayed there many years (Exod. 2:15). There he married ZIP-PORAH,

the daughter of Reuel (also called JETHRO), the priest of Midian. As a typical Arab, Reuel had flocks (2:16), and Moses adapted to Arab life by tending these flocks (3:1). After the exodus, the Israelites in the wilderness had to fight Arab tribes such as the Amalekites (17:8-15; see AMALEK).

At REPHIDIM, Jethro came to visit Moses and acknowledged: "the LORD [Yahweh] is greater than all other gods" (Exod. 18:11). That he participated in sacrifice to Yahweh and a sacred meal (18:12) is not sufficient evidence to prove, as some have held, that Yahwism was derived from the Midianites (or from the Kenites; see below). Jethro did advise Moses to appoint subordinate administrators and judges to hear ordinary cases, presumably as was done among the Midianites (18:13-23). Therefore, the administrative and judicial organization of Israel had an Arab model.

HOBAB, the son of Reuel, finally consented to accompany the Israelites to guide them through the wilderness (Num. 10:29-32). Hobab and his descendants among the Israelites are called KENITES (Jdg. 1:16; 4:11), a tribe, perhaps of metal workers, associated with the Midianites. Later Midianites joined with the Moabites in opposing the passage of the Israelites through TRANSJORDAN (Num. 22:4). PHINEHAS, a priest, killed COZBI, a Midianite princess, and the Israelite who had taken her into his tent (ch. 25). The Israelites defeated the Midianites and killed their five kings (31:8).

C. In the time of Gideon—Midianite raids. The Midianites, with Amalekites and "eastern peoples" (that is, people of the Arab country E of Palestine), made raids in Israel with camels (Jdg. 6:1-6). As in the later Arab *ghazw,* or *razzia* ("raid"), the Midianites seized animals and produce and then returned to the semi-desert land E and S of the Jordan. GIDEON and his band chased the Midianites away and killed two of their princes (7:25) and two of their kings (8:21). The two princes OREB and ZEEB had animal names ("raven" and "wolf," respectively), which were common among pre-Islamic Arabs.

D. During the United Kingdom of Israel—Sheba. Both SAUL (1 Sam. 15:1-33) and DAVID (30:1-20) defeated the Amalekites, who were making raids into southern Palestine. It was natural that David should choose an Arab, OBIL, to take care of his camels and another Arab, Jaziz the Hagrite, to superintend his flocks (1 Chr. 27:30).

In the 10th cent. B.C. the S Arabian kingdom of Saba, biblical SHEBA, controlled the trade between Arabia and the countries of the eastern Mediterranean. The SABEAN trading caravans carried not only the spices of Arabia but also products of Africa and India. The capital of Sheba was Marib. Since Palestine was a natural northern terminus for the Sabeans' trade, SOLOMON had important commercial relations with Arabia. From EZION GEBER he sent out fleets to Ophir, perhaps in S Arabia. These trading vessels returned with gold, almug wood, and precious stones (1 Ki. 9:26-28; 10:11).

The QUEEN OF SHEBA (named Bilqīs in Arab tradition) visited Solomon (1 Ki. 10:1-13), not only to hear his wisdom, but also to trade. The spices, gold, and precious stones she brought on camels were typical Sabean merchandise. The text says that she "gave" these things to Solomon, but she received things in return, and therefore it amounted to a commercial transaction except in name. Assyrian sources refer to several Arabian queens, who evidently occupied an important place in Arabian society. Solomon received tribute in gold and silver from "the kings of Arabia" (2 Chr. 9:14), probably chiefs in the northwestern part of the peninsula. (See A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqīs (Marib)* [1962].)

E. During the kingdoms of Judah and Israel—Kedar. An Arab king, Gindibu, provided a thousand

warriors on camels to help King AHAB of Israel and others in resisting the Assyrian invasion at the battle of Qarqar in 854 B.C. This battle, not mentioned in the Bible, is described in the annals of SHALMANESER III of Assyria *(ANET,* 278-79). JEHOSHAPHAT king of Judah (873-849 B.C.), like Solomon, had a fleet at Ezion Geber for trade with Arabia (1 Ki. 22:48). The same king received tribute from the Arabs in the form of sheep and goats (2 Chr. 17:11). The MEUNITES, who some think were Minean Arabs, joined with the Moabites and Ammonites in an unsuccessful expedition against Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. 20:1 NIV, following LXX; MT has "Ammonites"). Arabs, with PHILISTINES and Ethiopians (see ETHIOPIA), attacked JEHORAM, king of Judah (849-842 B.C.), and carried away his treasures, his wives, and most of his children (21:16-17). UZZIAH, king of Judah (785-734 B.C.), defeated the Arabs of GUR BAAL and the Meunites (26:7). MEUNIM in 1 Chr. 4:41 NRSV is another spelling of Meunites, but some translate the word here as "dwellings" (cf. JB). Some of these Meunim were living in Transjordan and were wiped out by Simeonites in the reign of HEZEKIAH of Judah in the latter part of the 8th

These Assyrian panels from a palace in Nineveh (c. 640 B.C.) depict Arab soldiers in flight.

cent. B.C. At the same time other Simeonites went to Mount SEIR (Edom) and killed and replaced Arab Amalekites living there (1 Chr. 4:42-43).

Conquests of N Arabian tribes by the Assyrians is implied in Isa. 21:13-17. Records of several Assyrian kings (TIGLATH-PILESER III, SARGON, and SEN-NACHERIB), tell of their victories over the Arabs and tribute from them. During the period of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, KEDAR was the dominant Arab tribe in N Arabia (21:16). In the Assyrian records of this period "Arabs" and "Kedarites" are interchangeable. The Kedarites made raids in Palestine-Syria, but ASHURBANIPAL, king of Assyria (669-627), repulsed them. Jeremiah predicted that NEBUCHADNEZZAR, king of Babylonia (605-562 B.C.), would subjugate Kedar, and recently discovered portions of the Babylonian Chronicle record this conquest of N Arabia (Jer. 49:28-29).

F. Persian Period—Kedar, Mineans, Qataban, Ḥaḏramaut. According to Xenophon *(Cyropaedia* 7.4.16), CYRUS king of Persia subdued the Arabs, and there were Arab soldiers in Cyrus's army, which took Babylon in 539 B.C. (7.5.13; cf. Dan. 5:30-31).The BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION of DARIUS I lists Arabia as one of the Persian provinces. Arabs furnished camel-riding troops for the expedition against Greece organized by XERXES I, the Ahashuerus of the book of Esther (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.86).

In the time of NEHEMIAH, GESHEM the Arabian tried to prevent the Jews from rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 2:19; 6:1-2, 6). At el-Ula, biblical Dedan, deep in northern Arabia, an inscription is dated in Geshem's time. An inscription on a silver bowl from Tell el-Maskhuṭah, near the northeastern border of Egypt, calls Geshem the king of Kedar, a title implying suzerainty over northwestern Arabia (see F. M. Cross, "Geshem the Arabian," in *BA* 18 [1955]: 46-47).

During the Persian period the economic and political dominance of Saba (biblical Sheba) in S Arabia came to an end, and other kingdoms rose to power and controlled the spice trade. About 400 B.C. the Mineans, perhaps the biblical Meunim, were dominant in S Arabia. Their capital was Qarnaw, now called Maʿīn. Another kingdom in S Arabia was Qataban, whose capital was Timnaʿ. The kingdom of Ḥaḍramaut, corresponding to Hazarmaveth in Gen. 10:26, extended along the southern coast of Arabia. Its capital was Shabwat, present-day Shabwah. (See G. Caton-Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut)* [1944]; W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba* [1955]; J. Pirenne, *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qataban et sa datation* [1961]; R. L. Cleveland, *An Ancient Arabian Necropolis, Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in the Timnaʿ Cemetery* [1965].)

G. Hellenistic and Roman periods. The NABATEANS were the dominant tribe in northwestern Arabia from the 4th cent. B.C. until the 1st cent. A.D. The statements in Obad. 7 and Mal. 1:3-4 probably reflect the expulsion of the Edomites from SELA (later called PETRA by the Nabateans). Arabs helped in the defense of GAZA against ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Arrian, *Anab.* 2.25.4). Alexander went on to subdue Arabia, that is, the NW portion (Livy, *Hist.* 15.9). According to Polybius *(Hist.* 5.71), Arabs helped ANTIOCHUS III to win Palestine from the Ptolemies in 198 B.C. (cf. Dan. 11:15-16).

In the APOCRYPHA, Nabateans (1 Macc. 5:25) and Arabs (5:39) are often synonymous. The Arabs sometimes sided with the Jews in their struggle for independence (9:35), but at other times with the Syrians (5:39; 2 Macc. 12:31). The first known king of the Nabateans was ARETAS I, who refused asylum to JASON the runaway Jewish high priest about 169 B.C. (2 Macc. 5:8). In 145 B.C. an Arabian prince, Zabdiel, cut off the head of Alexander Balas, who had held the Seleucid throne for five years (1 Macc. 11:17). Another Arab, Imalkue, brought up Alexander Balas's son, Antiochus VI (11:39-40).

The Nabateans frequently clashed with the later Maccabean rulers of the Jewish state (see MACCABEE; HASMONEAN). About 90 B.C. the Nabatean king Obedas I defeated Alexander Jannaeus at GADARA in GILEAD when the latter was trying to conquer Arab territory (Jos. *Ant.* 13.13.5). Under Aretas III (87-62 B.C.) the Nabatean kingdom reached its greatest extent. He forced Alexander Jannaeus to give him Moab and Gilead (13.14.2), took over Damascus (13.15.2), and intervened in Jewish affairs, supporting Hyrcanus II as the Jewish ruler against the latter's brother, Aristobulus II (14.1.4; 14.2.1-3). The Nabateans opposed the Roman intervention in Palestine under POMPEY, and a Roman general, Scaurus, blockaded Aretas in Petra until he paid money to the Romans (14.5.1). In 31 B.C. HEROD the Great fought battles against the Arabs and finally defeated them (15.5).

During much of NT times Aretas IV (9 B.C. to A.D. 40) was the Nabatean king. Herod Antipas married the daughter of this Aretas, but divorced her to marry HERODIAS (Jos. *Ant.* 18.5.1; Matt. 14:3). Because of this and a disputed boundary between their dominions in the country of Gamalitis, Aretas attacked and defeated Herod Antipas. The Arabians who heard PETER at PENTECOST (Acts 2:11) were probably Jews from Nabatean areas, SE of Palestine. The governor of Damascus under Aretas set guards at the city gates to seize PAUL, probably at the request of Jewish leaders, but the apostle escaped over the city wall (2 Cor. 11:32-33). During the second half of the 1st cent. A.D., the

Romans gradually took over the areas that had been controlled by the Nabateans. The Romans forced Malichus II, the Nabatean king (A.D. 40-70), to give up control of Damascus. Malichus also was obliged to contribute Arab soldiers to help the Romans in suppressing the Jewish revolt in A.D. 67 (Jos. *War* 3.7.9). (Cf. also J. Starcky, "The Nabataeans: A Historical Sketch," in *BA* 18 [1955]: 84-106; N. *Glueck, Deities and Dolphins: The Story of the Nabataeans* [1965].)

II. Arab culture and the Bible. The Arabs speak Semitic languages, as suggested by their descent from Shem (Gen. 10:25-30). The angular S Arabic script developed from the Sinaitic ALPHABET, and the earliest datable Sabean inscription comes from the 8th cent. B.C. From S Arabic the following scripts developed: Lihyanic, beginning in the 7th cent. B.C.; Thamudic, beginning in the 5th cent. B.C.; and Safaitic, beginning about A.D. 100. The Nabatean script was derived from ARAMAIC and led to the N Arabic that prevails today. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.B; WRITING.

According to Gen. 16:12, Ishmael would be "a wild donkey of a man" (alluding to the Ishmaelites' wandering in the Syrian desert to the E) and his hand would be "against everyone" (perhaps referring to the many raids of the Arabs on the fertile lands bordering the Syrian desert). Among the cultural features of the Arabs mentioned in the Bible is that they lived in the wilderness, the semi-desert plateau of NW Arabia (Jer. 3:2). Their homes were tents (Pss. 83:6; 120:5; Jer. 49:29). They used camels for riding and carrying baggage (Gen. 37:25). From S Arabia their merchant caravans brought spices, gold, and precious stones (1 Ki. 10:2); they sold sheep and goats from N Arabia to the Phoenicians (Ezek. 27:20-22); they transferred products of Africa and India to Mediterranean lands (1 Ki. 10:22); and they also dealt in slaves (Joel 3:8). Jeremiah, like HERODOTUS(*Hist.* 3.8), mentions that they cut the corners of their hair, leaving a tuft on top as bedouins still do (Jer. 25:23; 49:32). The Midianites wore gold earrings (Jdg. 8:24), like some bedouins today, and hung crescents on the necks of their camels (v. 21). The crescent always has been popular in Arabic art and has become the symbol of Islam.

The Arabs, called "the men of the East" in 1 Ki. 4:30, were famous for their WISDOM. The wise sayings of AGUR and of LEMUEL, two kings of Massa in N Arabia, are preserved in the last two chapters of Proverbs. The homes of JOB and his friends and most of the animals mentioned in that wisdom book are located in NW Arabia. The sons of HAGAR, that is the Ishmaelites, are called "seekers of wisdom" in Bar. 3:23.

Recent excavations have uncovered impressive monuments illustrating the material culture of S Arabia. Noteworthy are the great temple of the Sabean moon-god Ilumquh at Marib, large dams and canals for irrigation, statues in stone and bronze, and jewelry. On the stone monuments of S Arabia are carved thousands of memorial, historical, and religious inscriptions. The Nabateans carved spectacular tombs and temples in Greco-Roman style from the colored sandstone at PETRA. Some of their pottery was remarkably thin and beautifully painted. Their inscriptions are found on rocks in many parts of NW Arabia.

III. Ancient Arab religion. The general Arabian word for "god" was *)il* (like Heb. *)el H445)* or *)ilah* (like Heb. *)ĕlôah H468),* but the ancient Arabians were polytheists. One of their most important deities was the moon-god called Ilumquh by the Sabeans, Wadd by the Mineans, (Amm by the Qatabanians, and Sin by the Ḥaḍramautians. The moon-god's consort was the sun-goddess Shamsi, and their son was (Athtar, the morning star. The gods of Adumatu (biblical Dumah) in the 7th cent. B.C., as noted by the Assyrians, were Atarsamaim, Dai, Nuhai, Ruldaiu, Abrillu, and Atarquruma.

Atarsamaim is perhaps the same Arabian goddess called Alilat ("the goddess") by Herodotus *(Hist.* 1.131), and *hanilat* (also meaning "the goddess") in a 5th-cent. Kedarite inscription. According to the Babylonian TALMUD *(b. Ta(an.* 5b), the Kedarites also worshiped water. This comment may refer to the veneration of sacred wells, such as Zamzam at Mecca. Deities of the Nabateans included Dushara, the supreme god; Allat, the mother goddess; Hadad, the storm-god; Atargatis, the fish-goddess; and Gad, the god of luck. Gods in Safaitic inscriptions include Dushara, Allāt, Gad-(Awidh, and Ba(alsamīn. Pagan Arab gods mentioned in the Koran are al-Lāt, al-(Uzza, and Manāh, considered as three daughters of Allah, the supreme god (53.19-20) Wadd, Suwā(, Yaghūth, Ya(ūq, and Nasr (71.23). Arabians fear demons called jinn (72).

Some of the religious practices of the ancient Arabians were similar to those of the Hebrews. Both people practiced CIRCUMCISION and pilgrimage. The Arab priest *(kāhin),* like his Hebrew counterpart *(kōhēn H3913),* not only performed sacrifices, but also used the sacred lots (cf. URIM AND THUMMIM) to learn the divine will and the future. Some think that the *lw)* who served in the temple at Dedan is related in name and function to the biblical Levite. The Arabian *mslm* ("sacrifice") is from the same root as the Hebrew *šelem H8968* ("peace/fellowship offering"). The Arabian incense used in worship included several spices, like the sacred incense of Exod. 30:34. A pillar before the temple at Sirwah was called *knt,* "firmness," like the pillar called JAKIN, "it is firm," in front of Solomon's temple (1 Ki. 7:21).

(For further information, cf. J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* [1934]; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques* [1951]; G. W. Van Beek, "Recovering the Ancient Civilization of Arabia," in *BA 15* [1952]: 2–18; S. Moscati, *Ancient Semitic Civilizations* [1960], 181-219; G. W. Van Beek, "South Arabian History and Archaeology," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East,* ed. G. E Wright [1961], 229-48; I. Eph(al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [1982]; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* [1983]; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs: From the Earliest Times to the Present,* 10th rev. ed. [2002]; J. Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* [2003].) See also ARABIA.
J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

Arabic Gospel of the Infancy. One of the later infancy gospels (see APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT I.C). It combines into one account various stories about the birth of Jesus, the flight into Egypt and the events that took place there, and the miracles wrought by the boy Jesus. The birth story (chs. 2-9) is based on the *Protevangelium of James,* the section about the miracles (chs. 36-53) on the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (see JAMES, PRO-TEVANGELIUM OF; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF). The narrative of the flight into Egypt (ch. 9) begins from Matt. 2:13-14, but the miracles of this section have no canonical basis, although the description of the demoniac in ch. 14 draws upon Mk. 5:1-5. These wonders in Egypt and in Bethlehem are wrought through contact with the child, his clothes, or even his bath water; a notable feature is the prominent role played by Mary. Part of the book is contained in Syriac in the *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (ed. E. A. W. Budge [1899]), and it is possibly of Syriac origin. Its translation into Arabic made these legends available to Muslims, and some passed into the Koran. (English trans. in *ANF,* 8:405-15; extracts in *NTAp,* 1:460-61.)
R. McL. WILSON

Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter. See JOSEPH THE CARPENTER, HISTORY OF.

Arabic language. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.B.

Arabic versions. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT IV. F.

Arad (city) a'rad, air'ad (עָרָד *H6866,* possibly "wild ass" or "fugitive"). A city in the NE NEGEV some 17 mi. S of HEBRON. Arad occupied an excellent strategic position in the middle of a wide, gently rolling plain. The city was a center of civilization as early as the fourth millennium B.C. and again in Abrahamite times (some argue, however, that this Canaanite Arad should be identified with Tell el-Milḥ, c. 8 mi. SW of Tell ʿArad; see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 201). The archaeological evidence also implies that it was built of stone and brick, with defensive walls by the 10th cent. B.C. Near the NW corner of the fortress stood a sanctuary whose design was similar, but not identical, to that of the nearly contemporary Solomonic TEMPLE.

The city of Arad is mentioned only four times in the OT (Num. 21:1; 33:40; Josh. 12:14; Jdg. 1:16), though there is versional evidence for it in another passage (Josh. 15:21); see EDER (PLACE) #2. In the KJV it is twice taken incorrectly for the name of a king (Num. 21:1; 33:40). According to Num. 21:1-3, the "king" (or chieftain) of Arad joined

Arad.

Aerial view of ancient Arad (looking N). The Early Bronze (2600 B.C.) lower city is encompassed by a massive wall. The Israelite fortress is situated on the upper area of the tell.

battle with the Israelites, the latter being victorious and calling the place Hormah ("destruction"). (Cf. Z. Herzog et al. in *BASOR* 254 [Spring, 1984]: 1-34; D. Ussishkin in *IEJ* 38 [1988]: 142-57.) Numerous fragmentary OSTRACA in Hebrew and Aramaic, dating from the 10th to the 4th cent., have been discovered at the site; they provide significant paleographical data and make intriguing, but uncertain, historical allusions (see Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions [1981]; ABD,* 1:336-37; *NEAEHL,* 1:75-87).

Arad (person) a'rad, air'ad (עֲרָד *H6865,* possibly "wild ass" or "fugitive"). Son of Beriah and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:15).

H. G. ANDERSEN

Aradus air'uh-duhs (Ἄραδος). The Greek name of the OT city of ARVAD on the coast of PHOENICIA (1 Macc. 15:23).

Arah (person) air'uh (אָרַח *H783,* possibly "he wonders" or "ox"). (1) Son of Ulla and descendant of ASHER, included among the "heads of families, choice men, brave warriors and outstanding leaders" (1 Chr. 7:39-40).

(2) Head of a family that returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:5; Neh. 7:10; 1 Esd. 5:10 [KJV, "Ares"]). The numbers of those who returned vary in these passages. He is possibly the same person identified as the father of Shecaniah (Neh. 6:18).

Arah (place) air'uh (עָרָה *H6869,* perhaps "bulrush"). Possibly a Sidonian city (Josh. 13:4). The MT reading, *mĕʿārâ* (MEARAH, KJV, NRSV), should perhaps be vocalized so as to read *mēʿārâ,* "from Arah" (so NIV; cf. LXX *enantion Gazēs,* "before Gaza," apparently reading *mēʿazzâ).* No city by the name of either Arah or Mearah is known.

Aram (country), Aramean air'uhm, air'uh-mee'uhn (אֲרָם *H806,* "high, exalted"; gentilic אֲרַמִּי *H812).* Also Aramaean. Some English translations, including KJV, follow the SEPTUAGINT *(Syria*

G5353, Syros G5354) and render the Hebrew terms with "Syria" and "Syrian." Contrast ARAM (PERSON). The Arameans were an important Semitic ethnic group living in the regions of MESOPOTAMIA and SYRIA in various tribes and settlements (2 Sam. 8:5-6; 1 Ki. 20:20-21; 1 Chr. 2:23; 19:10, 12, etc.; Amos 1:5; 9:7; Isa. 7:2, 4-5, 8; 9:12; 17:3; Jer. 35:11; Ezek. 16:57; 27:16). The name Aram is used also to refer to the land of the Arameans (Num. 23:7; 2 Sam. 15:8; Hos. 12:12; it may be used of the people and their land together, especially in reference to kings or gods of Aram, as in Jdg. 10:6; Isa. 7:1; et al.). The land area thus designated is quite indefinite geographically, referring to whatever area was most heavily populated by the Arameans at any time. In the OT, the area covered generally begins NE of Israel, includes DAMASCUS and a large portion of what is now Syria, and extends into the upper Tigris-Euphrates Valley. In patriarchal times, Aram referred to the Mesopotamian region, while during the monarchy it referred more specifically to Damascus and surrounding areas. The word is used frequently in compounds that indicate more precise localities (e.g., Aram Naharaim and Aram Maacah in 1 Chr. 19:6; see also PADDAN ARAM).

I. Earliest references. The word *Aram,* as the name of a region or of a state, first appears in the 23rd cent. before Christ, in a cuneiform inscription of the Akkadian King Naram-Sin. The interpretation of this inscription is not absolutely certain; however, in the following centuries the term appears in various cuneiform tablets.

As early as the 3rd millennium B.C. there is evidence of nomads called Sutû coming from deserts of N ARABIA and raiding the civilizations of Mesopotamia. The Sutû are also mentioned in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters, along with the Ahlamû (Akhlamu), and make their debut in Assyrian sources at the time of Arikden-ili (1319-1308 B.C.). The Aḫlamû are mentioned in an Amarna letter alluding to the king of Babylon. During this same period their presence is attested in or near Assyria, at Nippur and even at Dilmun. Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) defeated the HURRI-ANS and their HITTITE and Aḫlamû allies, while Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.) claimed that he conquered MARI, Hana, and Rapiqu on the Euphrates and "the mountains of the Aḫlamû." There seems to be some connection of the Sutû with the Aramu, Kaldu, and Ahlame, but the precise relationship is not clear. The terms Aḫlamû and Aramean are juxtaposed in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 B.C.) in which he recorded his encounter with the Aḫlamû-Arameans who came from the desert areas *(ANET,* 275a). Like other Semites, the Arameans made their first appearance in history as NOMADS.

Aramean funerary inscription dated to the 7th cent. B.C.

In the Table of the NATIONS (Gen. 10), Aram is listed as the son of SHEM and the father of Uz, Hal, Gether, and Mash. The Bible refers to NW Mesopotamia as ARAM NAHARAIM (Gen. 24:10) and PADDAN ARAM (25:20; 28:5). The OT associates the patriarchs with the Arameans (24:3 –10; 25:20; 27:43; 28:2-5; Deut. 26:5), and references to cities like HARAN and NAHOR (Gen. 24:10) connect the patriarchs with the Balikh Valley in northwestern Mesopotamia.

II. Aramean States. The area of Aram never developed into one great empire but rather consisted of several small, independent states in Syria and N Palestine. Some of these are mentioned in the OT (2 Sam. 10: 6-8), and the most outstanding

Aram.

was DAMASCUS, a state that eventually embraced most of Syria except for the Phoenician coast. This state was conquered by DAVID, but it won independence before the end of SOLOMON's reign and became, in relation to Israel, the most important Aramean kingdom. It is commonly referred to in the OT simply as Aram.

By the 12th cent. B.C., Arameans are mentioned by name among other W Semitic tribes living W of Assyria, between the W bank of the Euphrates and Palmyra in the Syrian desert. They had apparently established a number of strongholds, which suggests they had been there for some time. During the 12th cent. B.C., the ANE underwent significant shifts of power, with the result that the Hittite empire broke up into smaller kingdoms; the Egyptian power and influence in Syria and Canaan declined; and the MITANNI kingdom slowly disintegrated. This situation gave the Arameans their opportunity, and they streamed into border areas of the Mesopotamian kingdoms and moved westward to settle throughout northern and southern Syria, where they settled especially around Tadmor (Palmyra) and Damascus. Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077) fought a series of campaigns against

them, but could not prevent their taking possession of whole areas of his dominion.

By the 11th cent. the Arameans had succeeded in establishing small kingdom states, and from the 10th cent. originated the earliest texts in ARAMAIC. The Arameans attained their highest degree of political importance in the 11th and 10th centuries B.C., thanks to the decline of the Assyrian empire during that period. Adad-apal-iddina (1067-1046 B.C.) was an Aramean raised to the throne of Babylon by the Assyrians, perhaps in the hope of diverting the Aramean influx toward southern Iraq. On the other front of Aramean expansion, to the W, there arose at this time in CILICIA the state of Sam)al. Other states were founded around ARPAD and ALEPPO, at Hama, and to the S on the borders of the Hebrew kingdoms. Thanks to the OT there is considerable information on two of these, Zobah and Damascus, which were conquered by David but regained their independence after the kingdom divided.

Despite the force of their expansion, the Arameans were never able to organize their conquests, or even, in general, their own states. The Arameans never attained an effective political unity, and their divisions into little local kingdoms, which was further determined by the multitude of heterogeneous elements with which they came into contact, was the decisive element of their weakness. Saul, David, and Solomon fought against the Aramean kingdoms that lay across the northern frontier of Israel: Aram ZOBAH (Ps. 60, title), BETH REHOB (2 Sam. 10:6), ARAM NAHARAIM (Ps. 60, title), GESHUR (1 Chr. 2:23).

III. Aram, Israel, and Assyria. After the decline of Solomon's empire, hostilities continued between Israel and the Syrians (Arameans) some 150 years. In general, Aram-Damascus was able to take advantage of the division between Israel and Judah. The strength of Aram was largely retained by BEN-HADAD II of Damascus, who absorbed the satellite kingdoms into a single united Aram-Damascus. He initiated two unsuccessful campaigns against Israel, then reached an agreement with King AHAB, who joined the anti-Assyrian coalition formed of twelve kingdoms of the area. This alliance, however, needed an imminent threat from Assyria to hold it together. When that danger seemed to have lessened, the Syria-Israel alliance collapsed and Ben-Hadad II attacked again and inflicted a decisive defeat on the combined forces of Israel and Judah (852 B.C. at RAMOTH GILEAD, 1 Ki. 22:1-35).

Assyria attempted to clear the invaders out of Mesopotamia, and during the first half of the 9th cent. the Assyrian kings waged war against the strongholds of Aramean power in Mesopotamia. SHALMANESER turned his attention to Syria and, after a series of incursions, inflicted in 841 B.C. a severe defeat upon a coalition of Aramean states with which the king of Israel had allied himself. The defeated states apparently did not lose their independence for some decades to come.

Adad-Nirari III (810-783 B.C.) launched new campaigns against Aram, and in 802 B.C. the city of Damascus was besieged and the king was forced to pay tribute to the Assyrians, along with Israel. By the time the Assyrians were forced to turn their attention to events nearer home, the back of Aram's strength was broken and decline followed. Damascus fell an easy prey to JEROBOAM II (786-746 B.C.) of Israel. Later it became independent under the new Aramean king, REZIN (c. 740-732 B.C.), but he could not restore its old supremacy.

In the 8th cent. B.C., Assyria once more took up the offensive. In 743 B.C. Arpad, which the inscriptions found at Sujin reveal was opposed to Assyria, fell to TIGLATH-PILESER III (744-727). Next it was the turn of Sam)al, where a certain Azriyau had seized power and was raising an anti-Assyrian coalition. This usurper was conquered and put to death in 738, and the throne was restored to the legitimate king, Panamuwa II (his son Bar-Rekub records these events in his inscriptions).

Further S Damascus was reduced to the state of an Assyrian province in 732. Hana, after a last attempt at rebellion, was overthrown by SARGON II (721-705).

For almost two centuries the northern kingdom of Israel and the Aramean state of Damascus were in close relationship—for good or evil—but Assyrian power, which for over a half century had begun to loom as a threat to Syrian independence, finally overwhelmed both nations. By this time, however, the Arameans had won a linguistic victory, inasmuch as the Aramaic language had become widely spread throughout the FERTILE CRESCENT. Some Assyrian kings employed Aramean scribes, and during the siege of Jerusalem by SENNACHERIB (c. 701 B.C.) Aramaic could be used as a diplomatic mode of exchange by non-Arameans. Inscriptions in Aramaic from this period have been found in widely scattered places.

Many Aramaic documents were found in ELEPHANTINE in Egypt, where a Jewish colony flourished in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Beginning with the 4th cent. B.C., Aramaic was adopted by some Arabs and evolved into NABATEAN, which was used at PETRA. A Palestinian form of the language was used by Jesus, and other dialects, including Syriac, were spoken throughout the ANE in Roman times. Aramaic has had a continuous tradition to the present time.

IV. Significance. The Arameans, whether merchants, peasants, shepherds, soldiers, or bandits, were originally nomads and contributed nothing really significant to the ANE civilization except their language. It appears from their inscriptions that they worshiped both Sumerian-Akkadian and Canaanite deities, such as Adad, El, Sin, Anat, and others. They apparently lacked originality in the field of arts and simply followed the traditions of the countries where they settled. The kings of Damascus employed Phoenician sculptors and ivory carvers, and Sam)al under its new masters retained all the features of a Neo-Hittite city. Archaeological excavations at Tell Halaf (Guzana) revealed the palace of an Aramean ruler who probably lived at the beginning of the 9th cent. B.C. This palace was a structure decorated with orthostats, perhaps cruder than the contemporary sculptures of northern Syria, and with strange-looking, almost morbid statues that, on analysis, display a mixture of Mesopotamian, Hittite, and Hurrian influences, as would be expected in such an area as this, where three cultures converged. A feature of the palace was the colonnaded portico. The entrance gateway was flanked by two great lion figures, and there were many sphinxes. Also found at Tell Halaf were a collection of statues, and pylons carved in relief. Aramean art, before the Hellenistic period, had a rough provincial aspect. Although it possessed a few features of its own, it may generally be classified within the artistic tradition of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Aramean art work can be frequently identified by its custom of representing the human face with the beard shaved above and below the lips.

The significance of the Arameans for biblical research is great, however, when one considers the Aramean background of the patriarchs as well as the close relations of the northern kingdom of Israel with the Arameans of Damascus. (Cf. M. F. Unger, *Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus* [1957]; M. Sokoloff, ed., *Arameans, Aramaic, and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* [1983]; W. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* [1987]; P. E. Dion, *Les araméens à l'âge du fer* [1997]; E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* [2000]; P. M. M. Daviau et al., eds., *The World of the Aramaeans* [2001]; S. Hafthórsson, *A Passing Power: An Examination of the Sources for the History of Aram-Damascus in the Second Half of the Ninth Century B.C.* [2006].)

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Aram (person) air'uhm (אֲרָם *H806,* "high, exalted"). (1) One of the five sons of SHEM and the

father of Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash in the Table of the NATIONS (Gen. 10:22-23; cf. 1 Chr. 1:17); regarded as the ancestor of the Arameans. See ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEANS.

(2) Son of Kemuel and grandson of NAHOR, ABRAHAM's brother (Gen. 22:20-21).

(3) Son of Shemer and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:34).

(4) Son of Hezron, included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:3-4 KJV, NRSV; Lk. 3:33 KJV [NRSV, "Arni"]). Here the name represents the Greek *Aram G730* [not in NIV], which however refers to Ram (Heb. *rām H8226;* see Ruth 4:19 and 1 Chr. 2:9-10). See RAM (PERSON). Accordingly, NIV reads "Ram" in both NT passages, but the Lukan genealogy is textually uncertain at this point, where many scholars prefer the reading ARNI (thus NRSV).

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Aramaic language air'uh-may'ik. The term *Aramaic (ʾărāmît,* from *ʾărāmî H811,* 1 Ki. 18:26 = Isa. 36:11; Ezra 4:7; Dan. 2:4) is derived from the pre-Hellenic name of SYRIA; see ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEANS. (The NIV uses the term also to render Gk. *Hebraisti G1580,* Jn. 5:2 et al., because Aramaic was the primary language of the Hebrews in NT times.) Aramaic belongs to the NW branch of the Semitic languages, in contrast to E Semitic (e.g., Assyrian) and S Semitic (e.g., Ethiopic). Within the NW branch it is distinguished from Canaanite (e.g., Hebrew, Phoenician, Ugaritic). See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE.

The periods and dialects of the language may be summarized as follows: (1) *Old Aramaic,* preserved in inscriptions from the 9th to the 7th cent. B.C. (2) *Imperial (Official) Aramaic,* the language of the Persian Empire (6th–4th cent. B.C.), attested in the papyri from ELEPHANTINE and other documents discovered in Egypt and Palestine; biblical Aramaic (portions of Ezra and Daniel) probably belongs in this category as part of a developing Babylonian literary dialect. (3) *Middle Aramaic,* from the 3rd cent. B.C. to about A.D. 200, including Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions, the Aramaic texts from Qumran, and Targums Onkelos and Jonathan; some scholars place biblical Aramaic (esp. the portions in Daniel) during this period. (4) *Late Aramaic,* from the 3rd to the 13th cent. of our era; during this period many scholars have distinguished a "Western" form (including the Jewish Aramaic of the Palestinian Targums and of Talmud Yerushalmi) and an "Eastern" form (e.g., Syriac, Mandaic, and the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud). (5) *Modern Aramaic,* still spoken primarily by some Christian groups in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran.

I. History. Already in Abraham's time (2000 B.C.) the Arameans controlled HARAN and the surrounding area of PADDAN ARAM, and there the family of TERAH became Aramaic-speaking. Even after ABRAHAM had migrated to CANAAN and adopted the language of that region, it was an Aramaic-speaking REBEKAH whom ISAAC married; the same was true of LEAH and RACHEL, the wives of JACOB. Their father LABAN ("the Aramean," Gen. 25:20) is quoted as giving to the rock-cairn of Gilead the Aramaic name JEGAR SAHADUTHA, "rock-pile of witness," while Jacob called it GALEED, a Canaanite/Hebrew name that has the same meaning (31:46-47). Thus the Hebrews had close contact with Aramaic language and culture even in patriarchal times.

Although the Arameans never possessed a mighty empire, they enjoyed the privilege of imposing their language on the whole ANE. This was no doubt partly due to the fact that they used the alphabetic system of WRITING in contrast to the cumbersome CUNEIFORM (syllabic) system used in writing Akkadian. As early as the 8th cent. B.C., the Aramaic language competed with Akkadian and thereafter gradually spread throughout the ANE. About the middle of the 1st millenniun B.C., when the Achaemenian monarchs of PERSIA looked for a tongue that could be understood by all their

subjects, they chose Aramaic, which became the lingua franca of their vast empire. Aramaic attained its maximum diplomatic prestige in the Persian empire, where it was used as the interprovincial language from India to Egypt between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C.

The civilization of the Arameans was basically nothing more than a clearing house for the cultural productivity of the stronger states about them, and their language was the instrument of a work of cultural assimilation and dissemination, which went far beyond the limits of their local history, and became an element of ANE civilization. The Greeks and Romans were familiar with the ANE to a great extent through the Aramaic sources, and it was to a significant degree that Babylonian, Persian, and Hebrew elements were transmitted to Christianity via Aramaic, and through Christianity to the W. At the same time Aramaic was instrumental in transmitting Greek culture to the E, especially philosophy, which became known to many Arabs through the medium of Aramaic. It was during the Hellenistic period that the differences between the various popular Aramaic dialects became more pronounced, and some of these later became distinct literary languages.

Samaritan contract for the sale of a Hebrew slave; written in Aramaic in black ink on a papyrus scroll (375-335 B.C.). From a cave in Wadi Daliyeh, E of Samaria.

After the EXILE, the Jews used the Aramaic script in the writing of their Hebrew language (see ALPHABET) and also used the Aramaic language itself more than previously. Eventually Aramaic replaced Hebrew to such an extent that the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic became necessary. These translations into Aramaic were made orally in the synagogues, and their oral preservation led in due course to the written TARGUM. Aramaic then soon became the common language of postbiblical JUDAISM, as reflected in the MISH-NAH, MIDRASH, and TALMUD.

Christianity arose in an Aramaic milieu, a fact reflected even in some features of NT Greek (see GREEK LANGUAGE). The churches of Asia, such as the Nestorian, produced a vast literature in Syriac, a form of Aramaic. Paganism also survived in an Aramaic environment; thus the MANDEANS of Babylonia preserved their holy books in their own Aramaic dialect. Finally, the Islamic Conquest in the 7th cent. A.D. doomed Aramaic. Since then Arabic has generally displaced the Syriac-Aramaic dialects, which are now spoken by only a few thousand persons (many of them known as Assyrian Christians) in the Middle East and in some North American immigrant communities.

II. Early Aramaic literature. One of the oldest extant Aramaic inscriptions is that of King Zakir

(Zakkur) of HAMATH, written about 820 B.C. on the pedestal of a statue dedicated to the god Iluwer. The early-8th-cent. inscription of Panammu, king of Ya)udi (i.e., Sam)al, modern Zenjirli) shows such "Canaanisms" as *)nk* (rather than *)nh)* for the pronoun "I" and *ntn* (rather than *yhb)* for the verb "to give." Some have deduced that even in the 9th and 8th centuries words were freely borrowed from Canaanite in the Aramaic of that period and that therefore borrowing could take place in the reverse direction, from Aramaic into Hebrew, long before the time of the exile and restoration (if so, no sound argument as to lateness of composition of any purportedly preexilic book of the OT can be based on the mere presence of Aramaisms in the text). It is also true, however, that in these early centuries the linguistic distinctions among NW Semitic languages were less obvious than in the later periods.

From Panammu's son, Bar-Rekub (in the late 8th cent.), comes a short autobiographical inscription, where the author speaks of himself as king of Sam)al. He emphasizes his loyalty to the Assyrian emperor, TIGLATH-PILESER III, and also speaks highly of the fine palace he has built or renovated for the benefit of his own dynasty. From Sudshin (or Sujin) near Cilicia comes a longer inscription (the Sefire stelae, over four columns in length), likewise from the 8th cent., celebrating the prowess of a King Mati(el, and containing a suzerainty treaty. It includes a number of peculiarities in spelling, such as the use of "Canaanite" *šin* instead of *tau* in certain words (e.g.,)šr, "place").

In 1993, an Aramaic inscription dating to c. 800 B.C. was discovered at Tel Dan; this find created great interest because it appears to refer to "the house of David" and to "the king of Israel," although some have questioned this claim (cf. G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation* [2003]). Other recent discoveries include the bilingual (Aramaic and Neo-Assyrian) Fakhariyah inscription from the 9th cent. B.C., written in a script that sheds light on the development of the alphabet, and the DEIR (ALLA texts from the 8th cent. B.C., which record a vision of BALAAM in a dialect that some however regard as Canaanite rather than Aramaic.

In the 7th cent. we have an interesting letter written around 650 B.C. from the city of ASSHUR in Assyria by a certain Bel-etir to his brother Pirawur, discussing the provisions to be furnished to certain slaves, and also alluding to political developments during this period when Shamash-shum-ukin, as king of Babylon, was rebelling against his brother ASHURBANIPAL, king of Assyria. On a bas-relief discovered in Nerab near ALEPPO, an inscription was recorded by a priest named Sinzirban, containing the customary curse upon anyone who would tamper with this monument to the deceased. It too uses *shin* for *tau* in *)šrk* ("your place"), as well as *ṣadde* for *ṭet* in the verb *nṣr* ("preserve").

By far the largest body of nonbiblical Aramaic literature from the pre-Christian era was discovered at the island of ELEPHANTINE in the extreme S of Egypt. Apart from a fragmentary Aramaic version of the BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION and the Tale of AHIQAR, virtually all of these documents—letters, wills, contracts, conveyances of property—were composed by a military colony of Jews stationed on this island outpost (then known as Yeb), beginning with the reign of DARIUS I of Persia in the first half of the 5th cent. (the earliest dated document is from 497 B.C.). No document bears a date later than 400 (A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.* [1923], 129, text no. 35), but some of the undated or fragmentary instruments undoubtedly came from the 4th cent.

These papyri afford a fascinating picture of what life was like for a Jewish colony maintaining their community life and customs so far away from their ancestral homeland. Even at that early date there seem to have been serious episodes of anti-Semitism on the part of the local populace, notably when a detachment of Egyptian militia destroyed completely the temple to Yahweh that the Jews had built on Yeb (Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri,* no. 30). Much to their distress, moreover, the hierarchy in

Jerusalem showed no sympathy or interest when they were appealed to for assistance in restoring this sanctuary; they apparently felt that there could be no legitimate sanctuary outside of Jerusalem.

Linguistically the Elephantine Papyri belong to the same dialect of Imperial Aramaic as do the passages in Ezra and Daniel that some scholars date much later than the 5th cent. There are some regional differences, however, such as the tendency in biblical Aramaic to defer the verb until later in the clause than was true in Egypt and the W. In the matter of the shift from *zayin* to *dalet* (coming from original *dhal),* the Elephantine documents definitely favor retention *of zayin;* but there are already a fair number of examples of the shift to *dalet* in such words as *)ḥd* ("seize") and *dky* ("clean, innocent"). Thus we see the transition to a change that had apparently taken place already in Eastern Aramaic in the late 6th cent. B.C., judging from Daniel and Ezra.

A precisely dated funerary inscription (455 B.C.) was found at SARDIS in ASIA MINOR, composed in somewhat ungrammatical Aramaic on a funerary stela erected by the family of Mani, and invoking the curse of Artemis "of Coloë and of the Ephesians" upon any who would disturb the family tomb. Another interesting 5th-cent. inscription comes from TEMA in N Arabia, memorializing the piety of a certain Salm-shezib, who introduced the worship of an image of the god Salm into Tema and set aside valuable date-palm groves for the support of his sanctuary.

III. Biblical and postbiblical Aramaic. Not all of the OT was written in Hebrew. Most of Ezra 4-7 and all of Dan. 2-7 were written in Aramaic. In addition there is one verse in Jeremiah entirely in Aramaic (Jer. 10:11). In NT times a Palestinian dialect of Aramaic was spoken by the Jews, especially in GALILEE. Several brief Aramaic quotations from Jesus have been preserved in Greek transcription, especially in the Gospel of Mark, such as *Talitha koum* ("Maiden, arise," Mk. 5:41) and *Ephphatha* ("Be opened," 7:34). Best known is the cry from the cross, *Elōi elōi lema sabachthani* ("My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" 15:34; cf. Matt. 27:46), a quotation from Ps. 22:1, indicating that even when the Bible was quoted, it was common to use an Aramaic translation rather than the Hebrew original.

Other Aramaic expressions occur outside the Gospels, notably MARANATHA (i.e., *māran)ātā,* "Our Lord has come," or else *māranā tā,* "Come, O Lord!") in 1 Cor. 16:22, and ABBA (*)abbā),* "Father!") in Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6. Apart from direct quotations there are many statements quoted from the Lord in Greek that show an Aramaic background (cf. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts,* 3rd ed. [1967]), and some have thought that the grammatical eccentricities of Revelation are best explained as the result of a literal translation from an original Aramaic text.

In regard to Dan. 2-7, the reason for the composition of this material in Aramaic rather than Hebrew seems to be found in their subject matter. Since he was a high public official in Babylon, rather than a resident of Palestine, Daniel's prophetic writings were of general public interest, especially those that pertained to the affairs of the Babylonian Empire and its future destiny. It is only natural that these six chapters should have been couched in a language serving as the *lingua franca* of the capital and of the empire generally. The subject matter of the other chapters, on the other hand, was of special relevance to the Jewish people, or else was of such a nature as to be kept confidential from the Gentile public. Therefore this material was kept in Hebrew. As far as the Aramaic chapters of Ezra are concerned, they consist largely of international correspondence originally composed in Aramaic. Since Ezra's Jewish public was perfectly conversant with Aramaic after their long captivity in Babylonia, there was no need to translate these communications into Hebrew.

It is highly significant that the Aramaic material in Daniel contains about fifteen words of probable Persian origin, largely pertaining to administration and government, yet it does not contain a

single loanword from Greek except for the names of three musical instruments. This evidence cannot be squared with any theory of 2nd-cent. composition of Daniel (i.e., after 160 years of rule by a Greek-speaking government), although they fit well with a final recension of Daniel's memoirs by the author himself at about 530 B.C. In view of the failure of the SEPTUAGINT of Daniel to translate correctly some of the Persian terms, it can be inferred that these had long since passed out of use by the 2nd cent. B.C., and the Greek-speaking translators could only guess at their meaning. The early cast of the language is further demonstrated by its use of internal-vowel-change passives (e.g., *honḥat,* hophal of *nḥt H10474)* instead of the passive-reflexive prefixes *hit-* or)it-, which already by the time of the GENESIS APOCRYPHON were used exclusively to express passivity. (In this connection it should be noted that the Hebrew chapters of Daniel likewise contain Persian loanwords, but none whatever from Greek.)

By far the largest Aramaic document discovered in the Dead Sea caves was the *Genesis Apocryphon,* which is generally dated about mid-first cent. B.C. Only five columns are tolerably complete and legible. Column 2 contains a midrashic type of narrative concerning the remarkable appearance of the infant MOSES, which led LAMECH to question his wife as to whether he was really the child's father. Columns 19-22 relate ABRAHAM's adventures in Egypt and SARAH's temporary detention in the pharaoh's harem (in which she was kept from defilement because of a grievous illness afflicting the king and all his family). Her charms are glowingly described, feature by feature and limb by limb. From the linguistic standpoint it is most significant to observe the contrasts between this composition and the Aramaic material in Daniel. For example, the *Apocryphon* adds a final *nun* to the third plural perfect of *final-)aleph* verbs (such as *)twn* instead of *)tw,* "they came"), a form not hitherto known to occur prior to the TALMUD. Similarly, the compound preposition *bdyl* ("on account of") is never found in biblical Aramaic or in the Elephantine Papyri, but is characteristic of later Aramaic. Many other examples could be cited to add to the cumulative result that the Aramaic of the *Apocryphon* is significantly later than that of Daniel and Ezra. Thus the Maccabean dating for Daniel is not compatible with this linguistic evidence.

The Aramaic TARGUMS have been preserved in a written form no earlier than A.D. 200 (the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch); the Targums on the Prophets and the Writings are later yet. They consist of a translation or paraphrase of the Hebrew original (which already in the time of Ezra was understood only imperfectly by the common people) into the Aramaic that became the vernacular of the Jews from the late 5th cent. and onward. In the SYNAGOGUE services it became customary for every Hebrew reading of the TORAH to be followed by an interpretation into Aramaic. Eventually these renderings assumed a sufficiently standard form to be consigned to writing. In the early 3rd cent. A.D. Aramaic was used also in many portions of the MIDRASH, which was a doctrinal and homiletical commentary on the Torah (the HALAKAH) and on the OT as a whole (the HAG-GADAH).The Midrash arose between 100 B.C. and A.D. 300, when it assumed definite written form. The portion of the TALMUD known as the GEMARA was almost entirely written in Aramaic; the Palestinian Gemara dates from about A.D. 200, and the Babylonian from 500 or a little later. In Christian circles the eastern dialect of the EDESSA region was written down in a new type of alphabet, resembling Arabic more than the "square Hebrew" alphabet in use until the 2nd cent. A.D. Grammatically it was quite close to the Aramaic used in Palestine, but it developed some special traits of its own and became known as Syriac. (See the general survey by K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language* [1986].)

IV. Linguistic features. Like Hebrew, Aramaic belongs to the NW Semitic language group, and there are close resemblances between the two, but the differences are significant. For example, the original

Semitic consonant ṯ(pronounced like *th* in *think)* shifted to š in Hebrew but to t in Aramaic. Thus the word for "three" was *thalāthun* in Arabic, but in Hebrew *šālōš H8993,* and in Aramaic *tĕlāt H10760* (several other Semitic consonants developed differently in Aramaic from the way they did in Hebrew). There are also some vowel differences: (a) Aramaic preserved the original Semitic accented *ā,* which in the Canaanite dialects shifted to *ō;* (b) pretonic *a* was lengthened to *ā* in Hebrew, but in Aramaic it was reduced to a *shewa.*

In regard to morphology, the function expressed in other languages by the definite article (e.g., the preceding *ha-* of Hebrew) was indicated in Aramaic by the long final *-â* of the so-called emphatic state; thus "the king" was *malkāʾ* (Heb. *hammelek).* The masc. pl. absolute ended in *-în* rather than in *-îm;* thus, "kings" was *malkîn* (Heb. *mĕlākîm).* Differences in verbal inflection were numerous. For example, the first-person singular perfect form is *kitbēt* (Heb. *kātabtî),* and the third-person masculine plural imperfect has a final *nun, yiktĕbûn* (Heb. *yiktĕbû).* As far as the verbal stems are concerned, the most obvious distinctive of Aramaic is its use of a prefixed *hit-* to express reflexive and passive ideas; for example, *hitgĕzeret,* "[a stone] was cut" (hithpeel of *gĕzar H10140,* Dan. 2:34). Aramaic also used a prefix to form the infinitive construct, such as *miktab,* "to write" (Heb. *kĕtōb).* Apart from matters of morphology, Aramaic vocabulary differs from Hebrew markedly in the commonest words of everyday speech, such as "come" *(ʿătâ H10085,* for Heb. *boʾ H995)* and "see" *(ḥăzâ H10255,* for Heb. *rāʾâ H8011).*

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the article, see G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhe-bräisches Wörterbuch* [1901]; H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* [1927]; W. B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic,* 2nd ed. [1962]; M. Jastrow: *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud…and the Mishnaic Literature* , 2 vols., 2nd ed. [1926]; G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the 5th Cent. B.C.* [1954]; F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [1961]; M. Sokoloff, ed., *Arameans, Aramaic, and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* [1983]; J. A. Fitzmyer and S. A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography* [1992]; Z. Stefanovic, *The Aramaic of Daniel in the Light of Old Aramaic* [1992]; F. E. Greenspahn, *An Introduction to Aramaic* [1998]; S. P. Brock, *The Hidden Pearl: The Aramaic Heritage,* 3 vols. plus video tapes [2001]; M. Sokoloff, A *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period,* 2nd ed. [2002]; id., *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Gaonic Periods* [2002]; id., *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* [2003].)

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Aramaic versions. See TARGUM; VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT.

Aramean. See ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEAN.

Aramitess air'uh-mi-tes (אֲרַמִּיָּה, fem. of ארמי *H812).* Term used by KJV with reference to the concubine mother of MAKIR, the father of GILEAD (1 Chr. 7:14; NIV, "Aramean"). See ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEAN.

Aram Maacah air'uhm-may'uh-kuh (אֲרָם מַעֲכָה *H807).* Alternate name of MAACAH (1 Chr. 19:6). See also ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEAN.

Aram Naharaim air'uhm-nay-huh-ray'im (אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם *H808,* "Aram of the [two] rivers"). This name occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible. The SEPTUAGINT renders it twice as *Mesopotamia G3544* (Gen. 24:10; Deut. 23:4), once as *Syria G5353* (Jdg. 3:8), and twice with a combination of the two nouns (1 Chr. 19:6; Ps. 60, title). The KJV accordingly translates it as MESOPOTAMIA in all these references except the last one. The name refers to the same general area as PADDAN ARAM, which is bounded by the upper EUPHRATES on the W and the river HABOR (Khabur) on the E; it includes the city of HARAN, where TERAH settled after leaving UR (Gen. 11:31). Aram Naharaim is identified as the place to which ABRAHAM's servant went in search of a wife for ISAAC (Gen. 24:10) and as the home of BALAAM son of Beor (Deut. 23:4). After the death of JOSHUA, Israel was delivered into the hands of CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM king of Aram Naharaim for eight years (Jdg. 3:8-10), and the Ammonites later hired horsemen and chariots from Aram Naharaim against DAVID (1 Chr. 19:6; cf. title of Ps. 60). (See R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* [1948].) See also ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEAN.

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Aram Zobah air'uhm-zoh'buh (אֲרַם צוֹבָה *H809).* Alternate name of ZOBAH (Ps. 60, title; cf. 2 Sam. 10:6-8; 1 Chr. 19:6). See ARAM (COUNTRY), ARAMEAN; HAMATH ZOBAH.

Aran air'an (אָרָן *H814,* possibly "wild goat"). Son of Dishan (Gen. 36:28; 1 Chr. 1:42), who was a son of SEIR and a HORITE chief (Gen. 36:20-21). Some scholars believe that Aran is a variant of OREN.

Ararat air'uh-rat (אֲרָרָט *H827).* A country in the region of ARMENIA, in eastern ASIA MINOR, its center being Lake Van.

I. History. The name Urartu, in a somewhat altered form, Uruaṭri, is found in Assyrian sources in the 13th cent. B.C. as a designation of one of the Nairi lands to the N of ASSYRIA against which SHAL-MANESER I (1274-1245 B.C.) fought. TIGLATH-PILESER I (1115-1077 B.C.) also names Uruaṭri among his enemies in the N. None of these notices would lead one to believe that as yet the petty princes of the area had coalesced into a political unit. Rather, the local rulers of the area were tribal leaders, whom the Assyrians occasionally attacked for booty. The booty obtained from the Nairi lands rarely included valuable items, but rather livestock. Especially prized were the riding horses of the Nairi lands. Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) is the first to mention a king of a united kingdom of Urartu, named Arame, who resided in Arzashkun. Several of Shalmaneser's campaigns are depicted on the bronze gates of Balawat.

In the year 832 B.C., Shalmaneser ordered a second attack on Urarṭu by his general Dayyān-Ashur. Now his opponent was no longer King Arame, but a King Sarduri (the Assyrians call him Sheduri). Sarduri was sufficiently skilled in guerrilla tactics to avoid a pitched battle with the superior Assyrian army. So Dayyān-Ashur returned with plunder but without decisively crushing Sarduri or taking him captive. This Sarduri (I) is the first king of whom Urartian inscriptions are known. His capital was

Mount Ararat.

no longer Arzashkun, but Tuspa, which he founded and fortified. Proudly he wrote on his fortification wall: "I am Sarduri, son of Lutipri, king of kings, who received tribute from all kings." By his adoption of the typical Assyrian titulary "king of kings, king of the universe," Sarduri deliberately denied Assyrian suzerainty and claimed full equality with Assyria. From the name of Sarduri's father, Lutipri, it is clear that a new dynasty had succeeded that of King Arame, with a new center at Tuspa.

The period of Assyrian weakness following the death of Shalmaneser gave Urartu time and opportunity for refortification and expansion. Under the kings Ispuini, Menua, Argisti, and Sarduri II, Urartian influence expanded to the W, threatening Assyrian provinces in N Syria. Under Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 B.C.), the Assyrian general Mutarris-Ashur led an expedition to the coast of the Black Sea, during which he sought to hinder the westward expansion of Urartu and claimed to have plundered 200 villages and towns of the Nairi king Uspina (= Ispuini), but now the Urartians seized the initiative. From 818 to 816, Shamshi-Adad V had to launch new campaigns in order to defend established Assyrian provinces in the Upper Tigris region against Urartian attacks.

Until as late as 714, the kings of Urartu were able to control Ardini (= Mussassir), which was right in the Assyrian heartland, and to build there a temple for their chief deity Khaldi and his wife Bagmastu. Even Adad-nirari III (809-782), who boasted that he had penetrated to the Caspian Sea and subjugated all of the Nairi lands, can only have touched the outermost periphery of Urartu. In the W, Menua's domain reached to the bend in the Euphrates and the borders of Malatya. In the NE he pressed over the Araxes and carried the battle to the territory of E Armenia. He clearly challenged the Assyrian sovereignty over the Mannai land around Lake Urmia.

The situation changed under TIGLATH-PILESER III (745-727), who defeated Sarduri II at Arpad in 743. The Urartian alliance of N Syria, SE Anatolia, and Urartu was dissolved. Sarduri escaped to his capital Tu(ru)spa, which Tiglath-Pileser was unable to capture in 735. In his eighth year (714) King SARGON II of Assyria captured Mussassir, a city ruled by Urzanu, a vassal of Rusa, king of Urartu. Rusa and his allies, the kings of Tabal (TUBAL) and Mushki (MESHECH), were now threatened by a new power, the CIMMERIANS (OT GOMER). After the Cimmerian threat had faded, the SCYTHIANS (OT ASHKENAZ) and the Medes (see MEDIA) took their place to press on Urartu. Although the 7th-cent. kings of Urartu (Argisti II, Rusa II, Sarduri III) were still able to build new citadels, their kingdom ceased to exist as an independent political unit after a series of Median (Madai) attacks in the early 6th cent. B.C. (Cf. P. E. Zimansky, *Ecology and Empire: The Structure of the Urartian State* [1985].)

II. Ararat in the OT. According to Gen. 8:4, NOAH's ark came to rest, after the waters of the flood subsided, on "the mountains of Ararat" (the singular name "Mount Ararat" is not a biblical or historical designation). See FLOOD, GENESIS. Ancient Christians believed that the ark landed in the S, near the Mesopotamian plain (a Nestorian monastery called Cloister of the Ark was built on one of the peaks), but the highest mountains in the vicinity, which the receding waters would have first exposed, are in the N (Urartu). A tradition that arose around A.D. 1100 identifies the site with a high elevation named Masis (Büyük Ağri Dağ in Turkish), and this is the area that is claimed to have preserved the remnants of Noahs ark.

According to 2 Ki. 19:37 and Isa. 37:38, two sons of SENNACHERIB, called ADRAMMELECH and SHAREZER in the OT, killed their father and fled to the land of Ararat (Urartu). This statement is partially confirmed by the Babylonian Chronicle (1 iii 34– 38). The extra details given in the OT are by no means improbable or tendential. In Jer. 51:27-28, the association of Ararat, Minni (Maneans), Ashkenaz (Scythians), and Medes accords with the military situation of the early 6th cent. B.C., when Urartu, Maneans, Scythians, and Medes were all active.

H. A. HOFFNER, JR.

Aratus air'uh-tuhs (Ἄρατος, "prayed for"). A Greek poet. Born about 315 B.C. at Soli (Soloi) in CILICIA, Aratus studied at ATHENS and was a friend of Zeno, the founder of Stoicism (see GREEK RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY II.A.; STOICS). Of his many poems, the only one extant is the *Phaenomena,* a treatise on astronomy, which was still popular in NT times. PAUL at Athens quoted from its fifth line (Acts 17:28) a phrase Aratus had adapted from a poem by another Stoic poet, CLEANTHES.

K.L. MCKAY

Araunah (Ornan) uh-raw'nuh, or'nuhn (אַרַוְנָה *H779* in 2 Sam. *[Ketib* אוֹרְנָה and אַרְנְיָה in 2 Sam. 24:16, 18; with def. art. in v. 16], אָרְנָן *H821* in 1 –2 Chr. *[Orna* in LXX throughout], possibly the Hurrian term for "lord"). The Jebusite (see JEBUS) from whom DAVID purchased the threshing floor as a site for an altar (2 Sam. 24:16-25; 1 Chr. 21:18-28; 2 Chr. 3:1) to stop the plague that broke out when he numbered the people. (The theological significance of David's sin is probably given in 1 Chr. 27:23-24, which states that David was not to number Israel "because the LORD had promised to make Israel as numerous as the stars in the sky.")

The name of the owner of the threshing floor is most certainly of HURRIAN origin. The interchange of the letters *r* and *w* reflects the Hurrian spelling of *irwi* (from Nuzi) and the Ugaritic spelling of *iwri* (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [1965], 19, 116). The appearance of the definite article in 2 Sam. 24:16 and the appositional phrase "the king" (24:23) are evidences that the Hebrew writer understood both the meaning and the significance of this Jebusite with whom David was dealing. The suffix *-nâ* reflects the ARAMAIC "emphatic" or "determined" state, which functions like a definite article; thus the Hebrew text in v. 16 actually has what amounts to a double definite article if this understanding of the text is correct. (H. B. Rosen, in *VT5* [1955]: 318-20, suggests that the name is of HITTITE derivation from *a-raw-wan-ni* or *a-ra-u-wan-ni,* "aristocrat.") The LXX *Orna* and Chronicles *Ornan* appear to be true Hebrew formations derived secondarily from the original foreign name.

The prophet GAD was sent to the penitent David with the instruction that he should purchase the threshing floor from Araunah the Jebusite. Although the Jebusite, father of four sons, offered to give it

to David without charge, David insisted on paying him. The price in 2 Sam. 24:24 is given as 50 shekels of silver, but in 1 Chr. 21:25 as 600 shekels of gold. These differences, if not a copyist's mistake, may indicate two prices for two items: (a) in Samuel, 50 shekels of silver for the oxen (translating, "so David bought the threshing floor, and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver"), and (b) in Chronicles, 600 shekels of gold "for the site." Alternatively, David may have made two purchases of land: an original plot of ground on which to erect an altar, and afterward the whole hill of MORIAH for the larger price. The temple was later built on this spot (2 Chr. 3:1). (For the view that Araunah was the Jebusite king of Jerusalem, to be further identified with URIAH the Hittite, see N. Wyatt in *Studia theologica* 39 [1985]: 39-53.)

W.C. KAISER, JR.

Arba ahr'buh (only in the name קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע *H7957,* "city of Arba [= four]"). The ancestor of the Anakites (see ANAK) and the greatest hero of that race. In the book of Joshua he is described as "the greatest man among the Anakites" (Josh. 14:15) and "the father of Anak" (15:13; 21:11). He was the founder of the city named for him, on the site of which HEBRON was built (21:11). At the time of the conquest JOSHUA gave CALEB the city of Hebron as his inheritance because of his confidence that God would enable him to drive out the Anakites (14:6-15). See KIRIATH ARBA.

Arbathite ahr-'buh-thit (עַרְבָתִי *H6863*). A native of the ARABAH or, more likely, of BETH ARABAH. It is the designation given to ABI-ALBON, one of David's "Thirty" (2 Sam. 23:31, named Abiel in 1 Chr. 11:32).

Arbatta ahr-bat'uh (only in the form Αρβαττοις). KJV Arbattis. A district of Palestine from which SIMON MACCABEE brought to Jerusalem some Jews who were in danger of attack by Gentile forces (1 Macc. 5:23). It cannot be identified with certainty, but it may well be the same as Narbata (Jos. *War* 2.14.5 §291) and ARUBBOTH.

Arbattis ahr-bat'is. KJV form of ARBATTA.

Arbela ahr-bee'luh (only in the form Αρβηλοις). A place in GILGAL along BACCHIDES's line of invasion from SYRIA to JUDEA (1 Macc. 9:2). The site

Remains of the cave homes of Arbela in Galilee (southern face).

has been identified with BETH ARBEL in GILEAD (the modern village of Irbid, c. 20 mi. SE of the S tip of the Sea of Galilee). However, JOSEPHUS says that Arbela was in GALILEE *(Ant.* 12.11.1), the same village from which later HEROD dislodged the robbers that were plaguing the countryside *(Ant.* 14.15.4-5; *War* 1.16.2ff.; *Life* 37). J. A. Goldstein *(I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1976], 378) accepts Josephus's reading and emends the text in 1 Maccabees on that basis. If so, the site in question is not in Gilgal but close to the W shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Arbite ahr'bit (אַרְבִּי *H750,* apparently gentilic of אֹרֶב *H742).* This term was probably applied to the inhabitants of ARAB in S Judah (Josh. 15:52). The epithet is used to describe PAARAI, one of David's "Thirty" (2 Sam. 23:35). The parallel list reads "Naarai son of Ezbai" (1 Chr. 11:37). See discussion under EZBAI.

Arbonai ahr-boh'n*i*. KJV Apoc. form of ABRON (Jdt.2:24).

arch. Incorrect term used by KJV in Ezek. 40:16-36 with reference to the porches of the temple gates. See PORCH.

archaeology. As a branch of historical research, archaeology has taken shape over the past century and a half, and its definition must take account of the widening incidence of its raw material and the sources of its evidence. In the mid-19th cent., when archaeology was staging its first triumphs, both the explorer and his public thought of the subject in terms of the major memorials of human culture: Layard's huge Assyrian bulls rising out of the sand…"Priam's treasure," gathered furtively into Frau Schliemann's shawl at Troy…the uncovering of buried Delphi…Today the objects of human curiosity and scientific examination are vastly more widespread. As the writer of this article has put it elsewhere:

"Man tells his story in the election slogan scratched on a Pompeian wall, in a scrap of potsherd marked with a candidate's name, in the redwood chips of a Pueblo cave, in the split moa bones of a New Zealand swamp, in the papyrus remnants from a Fayum rubbish heap, in the brown stain of

Roman ditch and posthole in a London cellar, in gravestone and inscription, in coins lost and buried, in his own frail bones laid at last in Roman catacomb, Danish bog, or Saxon burial barge, in house foundations, and in time-defying trench and earthwork. Man's footprints are inevitable and manifold, and it is to the credit of the modern world that man has learned to trace, to recognize, and to read the story thus recorded" (E. M. Blaiklock, *The Archaeology of the New Testament* [1970], vi).

What, then, is archaeology? Definition can be too comprehensive and become, in the process, description. For example, when, at the beginning of the 20th cent., awareness of the complex nature of the subject was growing, the *Century Dictionary* said: "Archaeology is that branch of knowledge which takes cognizance of past civilizations and investigates their history in all fields, by means of the remains of art, architecture, monuments, inscriptions, literature, language, customs, and all other examples which have survived." R. A. S. Macalister, on the other hand, is too brief and circumscribed in his definition: "Archaeology is the branch of knowledge which has to do with the discovery and classification of the common objects of life."

A brief but adequate definition might be: "Archaeology is that branch of historical research which draws its evidence from surviving material traces and remains of past human activity." Such a statement allows room for the increasing scope of such investigation, as modern techniques render significant hitherto neglected evidence. From air photography to carbon 14 dating, archaeologists have multiplied and improved their tools and methods in a hundred ways. Nor has the refinement of both theory and practice reached the end of its development.

The extent to which such research has thrust back the frontiers of historical knowledge is apparent in every sphere. In New Zealand, the land where these words were written, the whole picture of the Polynesian occupation of the area was transformed by the examination of the fragile debris on the campsites of the "moa-hunters." Since Heinrich Schliemann's enthusiasm gave Troy and Mycenae back to western knowledge in the 19th cent., and Arthur Evans, at the beginning of the 20th, revealed what lay beneath the soil of Crete (see GREECE III and IV), a succession of archaeologists of increasing skill and effectiveness have given back to history the whole complex of Aegean and Central Mediterranean civilizations, which are not without reference to the archaeology of the lands of the Bible.

When Samuel Johnson remarked in his pontifical fashion over two centuries ago that "all that is really known of the ancient state of Britain is contained in a few pages, and we can know no more than the old writers have told us," he was representing the attitude of the day. To be sure, Roman London lay beneath his feet, with part of its surviving wall within five minutes walk of his house, but the 18th cent. had not learned to read the record in the soil. Awareness of this kind had a slow growth.

The same was true with the Bible and the lands where its action took place. Before archaeological research transformed the situation, the supplementary sources for the history contained in the OT and NT, and the only nonbiblical sources for the early history of the lands concerned, were four. HERODOTUS, the "father of history," the brilliant and widely traveled Greek who lived from c. 484 to c. 420 B.C., is easily the most important of the four. He introduced his story of the Persian assault on Greece, which was finally repulsed a few years before his birth, with two or three informative books on Babylon, Egypt, and the ANE, lands which he visited and summarily investigated. Second comes the fragmentary history of Berosus, a Babylonian priest who lived between 330 and 250 B.C., and who wrote a history of Babylon in Greek. Third, Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the same period, wrote for PTOLEMY II a history of Egypt in Greek, of which some portions survive. Finally there was Flavius JOSEPHUS, the Jewish priest and guerrilla leader who

became secretary to VESPASIAN and who wrote, in the last decades of the 1st cent. of our era, two large volumes on the history of the Jews right up to his own time. It was an invaluable record, uncritical and turgid in style. This is the sum total of extraneous aid to understanding before the rise of archaeology.

1. The raw material of archaeology
    1. Occupation debris
    2. Human remains
    3. Objects of art
    4. Pottery
    5. Buildings
    6. Inscriptions
    7. Written documents
    8. Tools and weapons
    9. Coins
    10. Botanical remains
    11. Cult objects
    12. Earthworks
2. The methods of archaeology
3. The scope of biblical archaeology
4. The history of biblical archaeology
5. The relevance of archaeology in interpretation
    1. The confirmation of biblical history
    2. The provision of background
    3. Illumination of text and languages
6. Conclusion
7. Biblical archaeology since 1975

The raw material of archaeology

A. Occupation debris. On many ancient sites the soil is rich in the discarded remains of human occupation. In the permanent camping sites of the first Polynesian occupants of New Zealand, the changes of diet may be traced over centuries from the vast bones of the moa, the prehistoric bird that was hunted to extinction, to smaller sea birds, fish, and then shellfish. The analysis of midden heaps in the garrison forts along Hadrian's Wall can be made to tell the story of Britain's peace and war, the failure of communications with the legionary base, with outposts reduced to living on local game and repairing cheap pottery, and times of ease when issues of coal from distant mines came over peaceful roads. A Bronze Age group who formed a part of the early population of N Italy is called the people of the Terramare. The word is plural, and *terramara* is simply rustic Italian for a deposit of black earth, the matured compost prized by the peasantry as fertilizer, and equally regarded by the archaeologist as evidence of a site likely to yield fragments of ancient tools, to reveal burial customs, and offer other evidences of a primitive culture.

The midden may contain almost anything. A nine-foot heap of oyster shells near Blackfriars Bridge reveals the position of an eating house in Roman London and the Roman fondness for the bivalve from the Essex coast. In Egypt, S of Cairo, the town rubbish heap is likely to contain papyri

surviving in the rainless sand, and so to provide evidence of life and language in Egypt of Ptolemaic or Roman days (see section G, below). Organic material has its value. Even charred or rotted wood can be dated by measuring the decay of the radioactive carbon 14, an ingredient in all living things, while pollen grains, visible under the microscope, are evidence of flora and climatic change.

B. Human remains. Burial customs have preserved much of value. Mummified remains of Egyptian royal persons, Norse skeletons from Greenland, and frozen bodies discovered by Russian archaeologists in the arctic latitudes of Siberia have yielded recognizable corpses for medical investigation. The crushed skeletons in a fallen house and the mutilated human remains in a well at GEZER are eloquent testimonials to facets of Canaanitish life. More important are the contents of tombs: urn burials, Saxon and Norse ship burials, mound burials, beehive Mycenaean tombs, the amazing burial pits of UR, Tutankhamen's treasure-packed tomb, and the PYRAMIDS all have their story to tell, and

These skeletal remains and basket coffin were discovered in Tarkhan, Egypt, and date to c. 2950 B.C.

not infrequently surrender their objects of usefulness or art to the modern investigator.

C. Objects of art. On stone, bronze, silver, gold, or gems, cut crudely or with refinement and sophistication, people have left a record of their love of beauty and interest. The goldsmith's work found from Ireland to the Crimea, the filigree art of Ur and the Sumerians, bronze mirrors from Corinth, and carved gems from Crete reveal features of the human mind, and not infrequently depict or

illustrate human activities. From the cave drawings of Neolithic peoples to the exquisite gold reliefs of the Vaphio Cups, and on to modern times, human beings have left records of all that they have loved and made. Lost, buried, or hidden materials of this order are prime archaeological material. Greek vase painting has thrown notable light on Greek drama. The murals of Egypt, Crete, and Assyria are pictures of life and history.

D. Pottery. The study of pottery, an almost universal object of human manufacture that can commonly be dated with a large measure of accuracy, is an important feature of archaeology. Pottery is the investigator's chief key to chronology. The merest fragment of broken earthenware is of significance, and the archaeologist takes great pains to record and classify the exact level, place, and relationship of his finds. Pottery varies from the round vessels of the "beaker people," the first recognizable inhabitants of Britain, to the beautiful vases of the Athenians, but in all its forms it has a tale to tell. See POTTER.

E. Buildings. The efforts to find housing tell a human story. From the traces of the wattle huts, where the slave gangs lived, to the pyramids they built to house the royal dead; from the brown stains of Roman postholes in legionary camps to the fluted columns of the Parthenon where Athena stood in the dim shrine; from the chariot stables of MEGIDDO and HAZOR to the synagogue of CAPERNAUM; Roman-British villas, the forerunners of the manor houses, Stone Age huts below the successive strata of Phoenician, Greek, Roman, and Crusader occupation from Byblos (GEBAL) and BAALBEK to TYRE, structures humble and magnificent,

Pottery and building remains of the Burnt House, a priestly estate in Jerusalem destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 70.

sacred and secular—architectural memorials reveal human beliefs, problems, preoccupations, techniques, and industry.

F. Inscriptions. All INSCRIPTIONS on stone, metal, or pottery form part of the human record. They are infinitely varied, and from the marked jar seals of the Aegean civilization to the Nestorian Monument of China, from the ROSETTA STONE to the NAZARETH DECREE, from the BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION to AUGUSTUS's autobiographical Monumentum Ancyranum, the record of epigraphy is contemporary

history, brief because of the physical limitations of such records. The reading of such abbreviated and allusive material, with its decipherment, is an additional skill. The study of graffiti (e.g., the wall scratchings of Pompeii) is a difficult branch of this same study.

G. Written documents. PAPYRUS documents from Egypt range from Pharaonic to Islamic times. The durable writing material manufactured from the river plant, the *cyperus papyrus,* in ancient Egypt does not rot in the dry conditions that prevail S of Cairo, and multitudes of fragments, as well as many entire rolls, have survived. Unearthed from tombs, crocodile cemeteries, and the occupation debris of Nile Valley towns, the papyri have provided data of the utmost variety. In particular they have illuminated the language and background of the NT, though papyri of biblical relevance go back, in fact, to the ELEPHANTINE papyri, which throw light on the Persian period in Egyptian history and on the book of Nehemiah. Letters in large number reveal

This ostracon from Arad is a letter that reads in part: "To Eliashib. And now, issue from the wine 3 baths. And Hananyahu has commanded you to Beersheba with 2 donkeys' load and you shall wrap up the dough with them. And count the wheat and the bread…"

common life in significant centuries and form important comment on the epistles of the Bible.

Other writing materials fall under this head. The CUNEIFORM inscribed tablets of ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, dug up in thousands in both imperial areas, have recovered a whole literature with all that it reveals of human life and thought. The famous TELL EL-AMARNA letters, which so strikingly reveal the state of Palestine before the Hebrew invasion, are clay tablets of this sort.

Inscribed potsherds (OSTRACA) also fall in this category. Broken pieces of pottery, which

abounded in every ancient town, were used for brief letters. The LACHISH letters, found by J. L. Starkey in 1934, are documents of this order. LEATHER was used for writing; the mass of documents from the Qumran caves, which astonished the world in 1947, were written on prepared leather. Ancient PERGAMUM specialized in the manufacture of this material, hence, it was called *pergamena carta,* or PARCHMENT.

H. Tools and weapons. From antler picks found in Neolithic flint mines to weapons of bronze and iron that reveal the transitions of the eras to which metallurgy has given names, the record of human activity, belligerent and peaceful, is written in implements of war and peace. In 1952 the cut shape of a Mycenaean dagger was picked up by photography on a stone face in Druidic Stonehenge to throw puzzling light on that ancient monument. The identification of the peculiarly characteristic Aegean weapon formed the interest of the strange discovery.

I. Coins. Whole tracts of Roman history depend upon the record of coinage. COINS, as nothing else, provide vital information on the easternmost kingdom of Alexander's successory states. Coinage traces the progress of Mediterranean trade with India. Numismatics is another expert branch of knowledge for which the activities of the archaeologist provide the abundant raw material. It covers many significant centuries and areas and is of prime importance in dating.

J. Botanical remains. The significance of pollen grains in occupation debris has been mentioned above. Wood, even charred remnants of burning, provides, in the growth rings of such long-lived trees as the redwoods of California, a dendrochronological record of occupation and climatic change. From the corn fragments in the Pueblo caves to the traces of pine cones used as aromatic altar fuel in the Carrowburgh mithraeum of Northumberland, the fragile remains of flora, identifiable by modern techniques, leave a message for the trained investigator.

K. Cult objects. Much of this material might be classified under art. The first recognizable piece of human sculpture, for example, is a bear in a Pyrenaean cave, molded in mud and marked by the thrusts of stone spears. Neolithic art was an aid to sympathetic MAGIC. To kill in effigy aided the hunt. The FERTILITY CULTS, which may be traced from the Stone Age to the end of the pagan centuries, have left figurines, such as those found commonly in Canaanitish sites, and phallic emblems, crude or sophisticated, like those that have left fragments on Delos. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish cult objects of the figurine or model type from children's toys, of which examples are found. The "ram caught in a thicket," which is a striking example

Cultic stela with a figure of a bull's head discovered in Bethsaida and dating to the 9th-8th century B.C.

of Sumerian art, is doubtless a cult object. So, in fact, are the major surviving or recorded triumphs of Greek sculpture, the "idols" of anthropomorphic worship. Little, in fact, may be listed here that is not also art, unless it be such objects as the meteoric stone, which passed for ARTEMIS's image in EPHESUS, "fallen from heaven."

L. Earthworks. Fortifications built of stone may be classified under buildings, but there are distinctive types of walls built for defensive purposes, for example, those of the HYKSOS, which provide a key to historical understanding. The manifold stratification of the defenses of JERICHO is light upon the continued but changing occupation of that ancient site. But fortifications and communications need involve no superimposition of material. The fortifications of the Maori are visible in terracing around the volcanic cones of Auckland, and Roman camps have left their ramparts all over the empire. Parallel with Hadrian's stone wall across England runs the earth vallum and the associated military road, visible even on the ground, but conspicuous from the air. Earth which has once been disturbed never retrieves its original texture. In the burial pits of the kings of Ur the earth still falls away from the cut sides, although the spoil was no doubt returned almost immediately to the excavation. The texture of the matting that lined the earth wall for the ceremony of burial was still

distinguished when the pits were opened. The superimposed plan of Celtic and Saxon fields can be seen from the air, and Roman roads are visible long after the paving has disappeared. Mining operations, from the Mendip country of Somerset to Sinai, have left the visible marks of human interference with the soil. It is all grist for the archaeologist.

II. The methods of archaeology. Implicit in the foregoing sections is some account of archaeological method. The discovery and classification of the raw material, the artifacts, the remnants of building, utensils, tools, and the manifold marks of human activity and occupation involve a wide variety of technical and scientific skills. The use of air photography for the mapping and interpretation of road and ground plans, the overlaying patterns of agriculture and land division (e.g., in successive periods of Celtic and Saxon occupation in Britain), and for the identification of other forms of soil disturbance was a practice perfected by O. G. S. Crawford between the world wars.

The botanist has aided chronology by his study of pollen grains under the microscope and by his investigation of the growth rings of trees; the geologist by his study of varves, the sequences of water-laid gravel; the zoologist by his identification of animal bones; and the physicist by his "carbon dating." The photographer and the skin-diver are indispensable members of any team of archaeologists. The discovery of submerged material—for example, the host of sunken galleys in the Mediterranean, and whole towns, such as Heliki on the Corinthian Gulf swallowed by tidal wave and land subsidence in the early 4th cent. B.C.—has enlisted the support of the diver. Such underwater archaeology may be the way to SODOM and GOMORRAH, if indeed these cities lie beneath the southern end of the DEAD SEA.

Much material lies visible and ready for investigation, and excavation has become an exact and highly sophisticated process. The archaeologist no longer digs at random, driving pit or trench into massed material of human occupation, as did the

Volunteers excavate the area of the Essene Gate in Jerusalem.

amazing but prescientific Schliemann at Troy. A *tell,* as the hills of the Middle E which mark the sites of ancient towns are called, is squared and trenched with care and precision, each layer of occupation being dated by pottery and the other methods of chronological investigation. Both at Jericho and Ur, where the size of the tell precluded the complete removal of the accumulated material layer by layer,

a shaft, sunk through the mass to bedrock level, proved the most efficient method of investigation.

At Ur, 59 ft. of archaeologically productive material had been built up prior to the first dynasty three full millennia B.C. Visitors to Jericho can look down the great shaft sunk in the mound of the world's most ancient city and see the tangle of human occupation over thousands of years, a stratified record meaningful to the trained eye of the archaeologist.

Barrows and tombs sometimes require excavation as methodical and skilled. Sometimes, as in the royal graves of Egypt, the actual discovery of the concealed grave is the major task of the explorer, who is aided by the insight of the skilled detective as truly as by the exact knowledge of the historian.

The archaeologist never knows whose aid he may need, quite apart from that of linguist, historian, epigraphist, and papyrologist. The unrolling of the granulated bronze roll from Qumran, and the identification of the concreted lump of silver beside one of the female dead in the royal grave of Ur, which turned out to be a rolled silver band, required the skills of sophisticated metallurgy and chemistry. The calcined papyrus rolls from the libraries of Herculaneum have been a particularly difficult challenge. An Italian firm perfected a technique for the lifting and relaying of mosaic floors, a trade secret it has refused to reveal. The lifting and removal of some Neolithic paddles from a Yorkshire swamp, which thousands of years of submersion had reduced to the consistency of mud, required technical skill of the highest order.

Simple ingenuity is sometimes the first requirement. Casts of the vanished dead have been recovered by pouring plaster of Paris into holes in the ash of Pompeii. The form of a harp was recovered from Ur by the timely observation of a hole in the spoil and the infusion of melted wax. ("Spoil" is waste material from making excavations.) Sometimes mere patience is called for. The assembly of thousands of pieces of colored plaster, fallen from the wall of a large lower room in the Romano-British villa of Lullingstone in Kent, established the existence of the Christian chapel in the building by the fresco of three praying figures. The assembly of a similar jigsaw puzzle from the multitudinous fragments of some of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS has taken decades. The ceramics expert has long since learned patience in putting together the shattered fragments of vases.

III. The scope of biblical archaeology. The theme of the Bible is not confined to Palestine. That little land, comparable in size to Vermont or Wales, is part of the rim of territory around the Mediterranean from whose fusion of cultures the Western world and Europe sprang. The story of the Bible began at the eastern end of this long rectangle where the twin rivers Tigris and Euphrates join to run into the Persian Gulf, and where Ur, the Sumerian seaport, lay at the nodal point of the world's trade routes over desert, mountain, and sea. And when the last apostle laid down his pen in Ephesus near the end of the 1st cent. of the Christian era, the church was established in Rome, the ruler of all the territory where the story of the Bible took shape and form. Rome gathered her million people on the Tiber, near the western end of the same long rectangle of lands.

In the intervening centuries the history of Palestine was part of the history of all the lands which formed the history of the Inland Sea and the Middle E. Palestine was so placed that the tides of human life found confluence there. The land was a watchtower from where alert and sensitive spirits could observe the pageant of mankind and develop that deep insight and historical wisdom which is part of the message of the OT to the world. George Adam Smith makes this point with some eloquence:

"But how could such a people be better framed than by selection out of that race of mankind which have been most distinguished for their religious temperament, and by settlement on a land both near to, and aloof from, the main streams of human life, where they could at once enjoy personal

communion with God and yet have some idea also of his providence of the whole world; where they could at once gather up the experience of the ancient world and break with it into the modern? There is no land which is at once so much a sanctuary and an observatory as Palestine; no land which, till its office was fulfilled, was so swept by the great forces of history, and was yet so capable of preserving one tribe in national continuity and growth; one tribe learning and suffering and rising superior to the successive problems these forces presented to her, till upon the opportunity afforded by the last of them she launched with her results upon the world" (G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed. [1931], 112).

The archaeology of the Bible cannot therefore be confined to the little land that drew its European name from the PHILISTINES, a western people, European intruders on the Levantine coast. They were the first of many to meet the ancestors of the Hebrew people in the first confrontation of E and W in recorded history. Canaanite and Phoenicians were invaders who had followed the same path as the Hebrews around the Fertile Crescent (see CANAAN; PHOENICIA). EGYPT played a part in the history of Palestine for a significant thousand years. ASSYRIA AND BABYLON, like GREECE and ROME centuries later, poured through and over Palestine and in turn absorbed the scattered Jews. The HITTITES penetrated Palestine without conquest from the time of Abraham. Samaria and Judea were, for a time, satrapies of the vast Persian empire (see PERSIA), just as later they were administrative districts of Rome.

Biblical archaeology, therefore, fuses with the archaeology of the lands that played a part in the unfolding of the Hebrew story and the history of the founding of the Christian church, which is its consummation. Picture a triangle, its long base to the N, slightly distorted. Its bent line runs from well over two thousand miles from Rome, to PHILIPPI and to Hattusa, capital of the Hittites, then bends

Important archaeological sites in Palestine.

slightly S from this mid-point to pass through NINEVEH, capital of SENNACHERIB, to SUSA, capital of the Persian kings. The eastern side runs SW to find a southern point at Aswan, where a Jewish garrison served Persia just after Nehemiah's day and left their papyrus records on the island of Elephantine. Run a line from here to Rome and the triangle is complete. Geographically it contains the archaeology of the Bible, the OT and the NT, from the catacombs where the first Christians were leaving their memorials before the last apostle had finished writing the last gospel, to Ur where Abraham first grasped the message of the one true God, and reaching S to contain the rubbish heaps of the Nile Valley towns with their masses of significant papyri.

Within the irregular figure lie the remains of seven empires: Egyptian, Hittite, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman, or those significant parts of them which had a place and part in the story of the Bible. A score of kingdoms, principalities, and city-states, a score of peoples came and went and left memorials of their culture meaningful for the study of the Bible in the same area.

Historically, the theme that archaeology illustrates covers two full millennia, the twenty or more centuries that lie between Abraham's Ur and Paul's Rome, and its unearthing is mainly the work of the last hundred years. The next section will cover that story, and the reader should take note that a general article cannot cover the material exhaustively. The contributions of archaeology to the

understanding of the Bible are manifold—historical, geographical, literary, theological, and linguistic. Details will be found under many heads. The present task is introductory, detail illustrative rather than exhaustive, and the aim is to survey the ground from relevant vantage points.

IV. The history of biblical archaeology. It is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of biblical archaeology. W. F. Albright, in an informative discussion *(The Archaeology of Palestine* [1960], ch. 2), traces a genuine scientific interest in the archaeological remains of Palestine back to travelers of the 16th cent. It is true that the spirit of exact inquiry, together with careful observation and recording, is no monopoly of the more modern era. Johann Zuallart and Johann van Footwyck, travelers of the closing years of the 16th cent., both produced drawings that demonstrate an interest in ancient monuments, recognizably modern. In the middle years of the 17th cent., the Roman Pietro della Valle produced an account of travels in Palestine that contains true archaeological description. He was followed by such perceptive travelers as Henry Maundrell, Adrian Reland, and Bishop Pococke. Reland's handbook *(Palestine Illustrated by Ancient Monuments)* is certainly a landmark. It was published in 1709. To Albright's longer list the name of A. Bosio might well be added. This scholar's book on the catacombs of Rome was published in 1632, anticipating de Rossi's monumental work by over two centuries. If the study of subterranean Rome is part of biblical archaeology, as indeed it is, Bosio's name deserves a place on the list.

For the most part, however, those who thus described the memorials of the biblical past were of the order of Shelley's "traveller from an antique land."They sensed the romantic impact of the great fragments of dead and vanished civilizations, but missed their scientific and historical significance. Rose Macaulay has collected some of their comments in her fascinating book, *The Pleasure of Ruins,* and there is no reason why the scientific archaeologist should miss or despise this deep source of human interest. Austen Layard, a genuine, if primitive, archaeologist, was such a romanticist, in the true spirit of his age.

Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 may be set down as the beginning of scientific archaeology. The French conqueror was rightly convinced that Egypt was the strategic key to the Mediterranean, as indeed it always has been. He also saw the land as an essential stage on the road to India. Both reasons inspired conquest. Contemporary France was experiencing at the time something of a scientific revival, and the unprecedented step was taken of attaching a scholarly deputation to Napoleon's military staff. It included the remarkable draughtsman, D. V. Denon. Some gratitude is due to Napoleon for this rare and timely realization that Egypt was a land of old renown, as well as a military base for the domination of the Mediterranean and the E. It is to this new spirit that the world owes the discovery and preservation of the ROSETTA STONE. Napoleon's concern for the protection and copying of

The Rosetta stone, key to deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics.

this bilingual inscription is on record and is entirely to his credit. The stone became a British prize of war, but it is appropriate that a Frenchman and an Englishman are associated in the decipherment that opened the Egyptian hieroglyphic script (see WRITING).

The date 1830 is another landmark in archaeology. With the pictorial script successfully deciphered, Egyptology could begin, and the archaeology of Egypt has numerous contacts with that of the Bible. Consider only the Amarna letters and the light they throw on the chaotic conditions in Palestine prior to the Hebrew invasion. It is irrelevant, in this restricted survey, to trace Egyptology's astonishing six generations of progress through Belzoni, Lepsius, and Mariette, to Petrie, Breasted, Carter, and Egypt's own Department of Antiquities of today. In an account of biblical archaeology, however, it should not be forgotten that the vast bulk of the papyri come from Egypt. The names of Grenfell and Hunt, together with that of Adolf Deissmann, must be mentioned in this connection. Documents directly and indirectly relevant to the study of the NT range from the LOGIA of Christ, discovered at the turn of the 19th cent., to the so-called *Gospel of Thomas,* published in 1959.

The great empires of the N and the other river system, Babylon and Assyria, must similarly find

mention. Paul Botta's digging at Nineveh in the 1830s and Austen Layard's excavations on Babylonian sites the following decade are not without relevance to the biblical theme. Georg Friedrich Grotefend and George Smith must not be overlooked in Babylonian studies, nor Henry Rawlinson's decipherment of cuneiform in 1850, nor Robert Koldewey's excavation of the mighty city of Babylon. Diggers like Layard and Koldewey, indeed the great Schliemann at Troy, were almost as destructive in their investigations as the first looters of Pompeii and the perennial robbers of Etruscan and Egyptian tombs, but these were early days, and the rough-handed pioneers were at least conscious of the significance and magnitude of the task upon which they were engaged. They have their place in the archaeological calendar.

On the outer periphery of the northern empires lay the Hittites of Asia Minor, an Indo-European people. The story of their recovery by archaeological investigation, by the reconstruction of their history, and by the decipherment of their script is somewhat outside the orbit of biblical archaeology or it would be necessary to add the names of A. H. Sayce, William Wright, Karl Humann, Felix von Luschan, and Hugo Winckler to the founders' roll.

Crete and the Minoan Empire lay similarly on the periphery, and the story of Sir Arthur Evans and the excavations he began on the long Aegean island in the first year of the present century is a romance of discovery, ingenuity, and scholarship as astonishing as any which surround the unearthing of the other great contemporary civilizations. The Philistines may have come from Crete, and doubtless there is work still to be done in relating the story of the collapse of Minos's empire to the great upsurge of Philistine power in the old colony of the Gaza Strip, which challenged the first monarchs of Israel. The Cretan Linear B script, deciphered as late as 1953, has thrown no light on the history of either Crete or the Philistines.

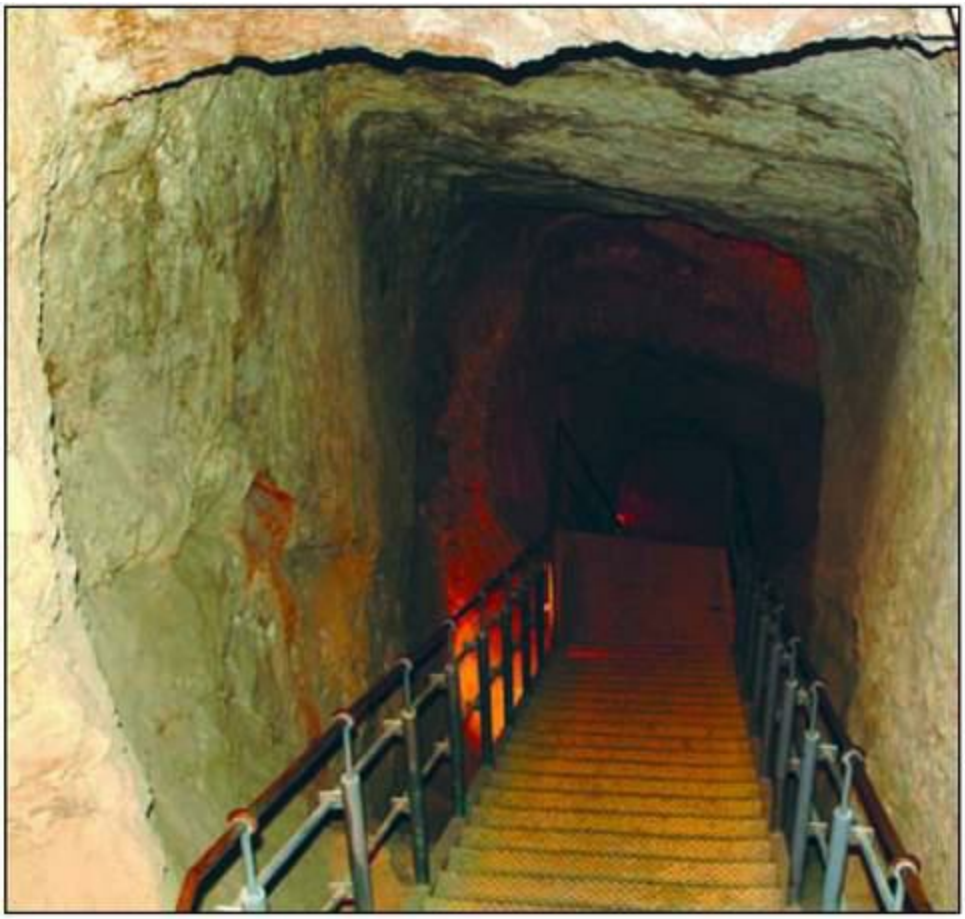
Behind the Babylonian culture lay that of the Sumerians, as well as the string of towns and petty princedoms of the long Euphrates Valley. The relevant portion of the story of Sumerian archaeology, and the excavation of Ur in particular, will be mentioned later, but it is necessary to mention that De Sarzec's first explorations in the area lay between 1877 and 1881.

Albright, in the useful chapter already mentioned, lists many names from this period, men whose perceptive explorations contributed to the emerging study of biblical archaeology. Seetzen, the first scientific explorer of the Transjordan area, the discoverer of Caesarea Philippi and Gerasa, and Burckhardt, the Swiss who found Petra, were busy in Bible lands between 1800 and 1812. In 1838 the American theologian Edward Robinson, a thoroughly trained Semitist and geographer, performed notable service by his wide identification of ancient place names. He was accompanied and aided in his work and travels by his pupil Eli Smith. Titus Tobler, the Swiss, a scholar of similar preoccupations, is quoted thus by Albright: "The works of Robinson and Smith alone surpass the total of all previous contributions to Palestinian geography from the time of Eusebius and Jerome to the early nineteenth century." Geography, it is needless to stress, was at this time the essential prerequisite for the archaeological investigation of Palestine.

The year 1865 must be set down as the next important date. In this year a fund and a society were founded in London for the purpose of surveying and mapping Palestine and excavating its important sites. From 1865 to 1936 this society published a *Quarterly Statement* devoted to biblical archaeology, a publication continued from 1937 as the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly.* Charles Warren was the first archaeologist to be financed by this fund. Although his digging at Jerusalem was clumsy in the light of later techniques, Warren laid the foundations for all later work on the topography and history of the city.

For six full years, from 1872 to 1878, the same fund kept a British team permanently in the field

making an inch-to-a-mile survey of western Palestine. The two leaders were C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. The latter, the famous soldier Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, suggested by his presence that the War Office was not entirely without interest in the work of archaeologists. Subsequently, the wartime careers of such famous figures as T. E.



Staircase leading to the top of Warren's Shaft. Lieutenant Charles Warren is credited with the discovery of this opening, which some have thought was used by the Jebusites to supply water for Jerusalem.

Lawrence and, in less flamboyant fashion, Stanley Casson are other illustrations of a secondary service for the trained archaeologist, and the usefulness in contexts of modern history of a thorough exploration of historic lands.

The French, meanwhile, were not idle. While Warren was excavating along the line of the Jerusalem walls, Charles Clermont-Ganneau was using his position in the French consular service in Palestine to make considerable contributions to biblical archaeology. In 1870 he found, and sent to the Louvre, the famous MOABITE STONE. In 1871 he unearthed the tablet bearing the inscription that barred Gentiles from the court of the temple. These are only two of his material contributions to archaeology. His scholarly writings are no less important.

Generally the 1870s were fruitful years for archaeology. In 1870, and over the following few busy years, Heinrich Schliemann excavated Troy and Mycenae and laid deep foundations for classical archaeology. The main lesson of the astonishing discovery of Troy by this German genius was that a mound (Arab. *tell,* Heb. *tel),* was likely to be the accumulated ruins and occupation debris of an ancient inhabited site. Also in 1870, the American Palestine Exploration Society was founded, and it immediately set to work to complement the British survey of western Palestine by a similar survey of the eastern part of the land.

To this point the names of Clermont-Ganneau and Robinson had been highest on the roll of

honor. In 1890 a third was added, that of a thirty-seven-year-old Englishman, Flinders Petrie. Petrie came to Palestine trained by ten years' work in Egypt, where he had already learned to record systematically and in detail every find on a site. He had also glimpsed the possibility of using pottery for dating. In his excavations at Tell el-Ḥesi, Petrie reduced this invaluable idea to a time system. He was able to demonstrate that pottery could form a sequence and provide a key to the chronology of the stratified remains in any ruin mound. This fruitful discovery has been elaborated with the utmost sophistication and is now an indispensable skill for any archaeological investigation. The last decade of the 19th cent. is significant for its invention, establishment, and general recognition.

The same decade saw further excavation at Jerusalem by F.J. Bliss, the American who was the first scholar of importance to recognize the value of Petrie's pottery dating, along with his associate A. C. Dickie. William Mitchell Ramsay, professor of humanities at Aberdeen, was simultaneously busy with his epigraphical, geographical, and archaeological explorations in Asia Minor, and was writing the authoritative books that established so decisively the historical accuracy of Luke and the meaning of obscure chapters in the Apocalypse.

At the turn of the century, the Irish archaeologist R. A. S. Macalister began work in Palestine. Financed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, this notable scholar excavated several tells, including GEZER, where he spent no less than seven seasons (1902-1909). Three large volumes, published finally in 1912, described this vast undertaking and established another significant milestone in the history of scientific archaeology.

While Macalister was busy at Gezer, a German expedition began the excavation of JERICHO. To this point, except for a somewhat inefficient investigation of MEGIDDO, the Germans had done little in Palestine. Their great archaeological names remained those of Schliemann and Dorpfeld, the investigators of Troy. But now a joint German-Austrian team descended on Jericho. They worked from 1907 to 1909, under Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger, and, though their dating proved to be largely inaccurate, a start had been made on the world's most ancient inhabited site. It is also noteworthy that Jericho saw, along with SAMARIA, which was simultaneously explored, the first recognizably modern archaeological team with its trained specialists, its meticulous photography, surveying, systematic filing, and scientific analysis of every scrap of archaeological material and every shred of evidence. George Andrew Reisner and C. S. Fisher, who conducted the exploration of Samaria for Harvard, must be added to the list of notables.

The First World War interrupted operations. Its outcome, however, established the British in Palestine. The land again was open. In 1920 the British Mandatory Government set up a Department of Antiquities, headed by John Garstang of Liverpool University. Fifteen amazingly fruitful years in Palestine followed, until mounting disorder and the darkening shadows of the tragic thirties slowed the work. The Second World War necessarily interrupted it. The years of the brief British peace in Palestine were those of Garstang's continuation of the work at Jericho, of W. F. Albright's notable work in the land, and of Père Vincent's beneficent activity. Roads and transport eased the archaeologist's task. There was unprecedented cooperation and team work. Palestinian prehistory began to take shape.

Flinders Petrie, after a lapse of thirty-seven years, returned to Palestine in 1927 and made major contributions to knowledge. A joint British, American, and Hebrew University team continued the excavation of Samaria from 1931 to 1935. The Wellcome-Marston expedition, financed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, spent six seasons, 1932 to 1938, on LACHISH. It was here that J. L. Starkey lost his life in 1938, the victim of an Arab bandit and of an emerging phase of tragic disorder in Palestine. The Lachish letters, with their light on Jeremiah, were Starkey's latest find. But for his

tragic end, Starkey would have proved as great a genius as the archaeology of Bible lands has produced. Ten campaigns under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, always a notable promoter of archaeological research, fall in these halcyon fifteen years. BETH SHAN was the principal site. The University of Chicago worked simultaneously on Megiddo, continuing until 1939, when the collapse of the world's tense, uneasy peace again drastically interrupted all such research and exploration.

The list of names and projects is far from exhaustive, and this is no place to attempt more than an outline of the theme. The interrupted task was begun again in a bitterly divided Palestine under Jordanian and Israeli authorities. Miss Kathleen Kenyon's work at Jericho is ample demonstration that even well-dug sites still have much to yield. Finds like the DEAD SEA SCROLLS of 1947, and the associated excavation of Qumran, show that spectacular results are still a possibility. A considerable number of actually identified sites of ancient occupation still await competent excavation and examination in the narrower compass of ancient Palestine. Science and the spade still have much to give, and a most encouraging feature is the emergence of archaeological consciousness and scientific skill in the new nations of the Middle E.

Biblical archaeology, however, is wider than that of Palestine, and a few paragraphs are necessary on cognate activities. The great years of activity between the two world wars were notable the world over, as well as in the sphere of the present theme, for archaeological activity and achievement. The immense and beneficent popularization of the subject dates from those years. Two events beyond others awakened the general public to the new science and its fascinating human interest. In 1922

James Biberkraut in the early 1950s, opening the *Thanksgiving* Scroll from Qumran.

Howard Carter discovered in the Valley of the Kings the amazingly rich tomb of a minor pharaoh, Tutankhamen. The newspapers, headed effectively by the sophisticated *London Illustrated News,* found that archaeology could command the headlines. The second event, in a more restricted sphere, was the publication in 1924 of the earlier volumes of the authoritative and scholarly *Cambridge Ancient History,* which first demonstrated to an intelligent public how vastly archaeology was transforming the study of history.

To follow the theme then, on a slightly wider orbit, a few of the more notable areas of

investigation between the two world conflicts may be briefly mentioned. Fuller details may be sought in individual articles.

The Euphrates Valley was explored in the late twenties and early thirties, with Leonard Woolley's excavation of UR (1928) as one of the highlights of discovery. Archaeology has gone far to reconstruct the whole history of the Sumerian river civilization, that essential prelude to the story of the Hebrew people. Light has been thrown on all the homelands of the migrating tribes, from Canaanite to Hebrew, who plied or followed trade, retreating fertility, or spiritual aspiration around the sharp curve of the Fertile Crescent.

In the early thirties, excavations were begun at Tell Hariri, near the Euphrates in SE Syria, where A. Parrot uncovered a considerable portion of the ancient city of MARI. He found a mass of clay tablets inscribed in a Semitic dialect that cannot have been very remote from the Hebrew spoken by the patriarchs. Associated discovery has made history aware of the intense Semitic activity in those same centuries around Haran, Abraham's staging post on his road to Palestine. The tablets have also thrown light on much OT custom and practice.

Similarly, and even more strikingly, the tablets from Nuzi, or to give the site its modern name, Yorghan Tepe, near Kirkuk in Iraq, illustrate the stories of the patriarchs. The PATRIARCHS obviously acted within the contemporary framework of law, practice, and custom. The stories of Sarah, Abraham, Hagar, Esau's birthright, the deathbed blessing, Laban and Jacob, Judah, and Tamar find abundant illustration in these documents. The site was investigated by Chiera and his colleagues of the American Schools of Oriental Research from 1925 to 1931.

The year 1928 saw a chance discovery on the N Syrian coast near Latakia. No fewer than twenty-two seasons' excavation took place here and at nearby Ras Shamra, the ancient UGARIT. A multitude of Canaanite cuneiform texts, literary and religious, have been discovered and deciphered there together with architectural, artistic, and epigraphical remains. Their linguistic, historical, and religious value is immense.

This outline of the major events in the history of biblical archaeology has naturally had most to say on matters relevant to the OT, which so heavily depends upon archaeological evidence. It would be difficult to write a coherent history of the archaeology of the NT. The OT, after all, finds a center in the story of one race. The NT tells the story of a world movement and activities extending from Jerusalem and Antioch to Rome. The NT is also a document of Greek literature and Roman history. Archaeological events relating to the understanding of the NT have already found incidental mention above. The long and unfinished story of the exploration of the catacombs, whose hundreds of miles of galleries in the tufa rock under Rome are part of the history of the early Christian community; the discovery and interpretation of the Egyptian papyri, a story of scholarship extending from Grenfell and Hunt to Gilles Quispel; Ramsay's work on the ruins, geography, coins, and inscriptions of Asia Minor—all these are chapters in the story.

Cities like EPHESUS, PERGAMUM, ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, CORINTH, and THYATIRA have an archaeological history of their own, large parts of which are relevant to the NT. Isolated discoveries, like those of the Qumran community and the NAZARETH DECREE, have a place in the account and a significance in interpretation and apologetics of inestimable importance. The archaeology of the NT has demanded no staging of expensive and scientifically conducted projects of excavation. Its material often has been fortuitously discovered, or mingled, like the story of the church itself, with the raw material of ancient world history. It is piecemeal, and sifted from a greater mass. Its relevance will find some reference in the next section.

V. The relevance of archaeology in interpretation. It remains to summarize the significance of archaeological discovery in the INTERPRETATION of the Bible. Inevitably the theme has emerged under earlier headings, but it will be convenient to recapitulate and to survey it separately in conclusion.

If it is assumed, as it may be, that the earliest written records of the OT, ultimately incorporated in the Pentateuch, were Sumerian and dated back possibly to Abraham, it is clear that the Bible is a collection of literary and historical documents covering more than twenty centuries. The fact is some measure of the interpreter's task. The first essential must always be to determine what the writer originally sought to communicate and to whom he first directed his communication. That is why all information which provides contemporary comment on social, political, or cultural backgrounds, which elucidates literary form and convention, explains language, or throws light on habits of thought and speech is relevant to interpretation.

In the case of the OT, such information is chiefly archaeological. Around the whole sweep of the Fertile Crescent, the remains of peoples, cities, and empires—epigraphical, architectural, artistic, and of every other sort of which archaeology takes widening and increasingly expert notice—have elucidated and illuminated the text of Scripture from Genesis to the minor prophets. The NT, a too little regarded document of Roman history, and contemporary with wide literary activity in Greek and Latin, has been somewhat less completely dependent upon records and remains of archaeological provenance. Epigraphy and papyrology, however, both of which derive their basic material from archaeological investigation, have richly illuminated and explained its meaning. Illustrations for both the Testaments may be conveniently marshaled as follows.

A. The confirmation of biblical history. Events recorded in Scripture are a part of ancient history. The central theme of the Bible is the history of that stream of human activity which, in a great outworking purpose, found its consummation in the NT, the Messiah, and the church. That stream did not flow in an isolated channel but mingled with the interweaving currents of universal human

Fragment from the Sennacherib Prism. This inscription confirms biblical history as it provides details of how the Assyrian king laid siege to Jerusalem and held Hezekiah "like a bird in a cage."

history, and is understood better when it is seen as part of a more complex whole.

It is, for example, no longer possible to dismiss the stories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as folklore of the sort invented by emerging peoples to explain their origins. Canny Greeks of southern Italy, for example, marking the rising star of a dynamic Rome, built the saga of Aeneas out of tenuous fragments of history and of myth. Abraham and Aeneas stand in far different categories. The conformity of the patriarch's migration to the known pattern of folk movements around the northern edge of the deserts is too strikingly demonstrated to be dismissed as legend (although some recent writers have claimed that the parallels are not valid).

The Hebrew and Philistine infiltration into Palestine, told in the Bible with that selection of incident which highlights personality or reinforces a spiritual lesson, is vivid in the glowing archaeological record. The piecemeal movement of the new cultures; the Hebrew overlaying of a base Canaanitish civilization, its checks and progress; the inevitable confrontation of the two intruders, European and Asiatic, on the line of central Palestine; the passage from bronze to iron that marked the Hebrew triumph over the Philistines; the emergence of Hebrew power; the climax of Solomon's Golden Age—in all this developing theme archaeology marches with the Bible story, confirming its accuracy in a thousand details.

Samaria, with the tragic division of the land, inherited the rich Phoenician trade that had brought wealth to Solomon, and fragmented ivory in the ruins of Ahab's palace speak of the transference of prosperity and the corruption of a dominant minority who knew how, as Amos chided, to corner and appropriate the wealth of the land.

Assyrian art, uncovered in the palaces of the great empire, as vividly illustrates the grim nature of the northern threat to Israel's prosperity. The cruelty and arrogance of the invaders lives strikingly in fresco and inscription. The ancient Hebrew of the SILOAM inscription is light on Isaiah's earlier theme, how Judah was spared the visitation that fell upon Israel, and how the faith of a prophet and a king preserved a nation. A century later another prophet had a far different role to play, and Jeremiah's somber message divided the land. Archaeology, with continuing relevance, appears again with confirmatory comments and illustration. The LACHISH potsherds, discovered in the 1930s, reveal the agony of the tension between those who believed that Jeremiah spoke with authority and those who thought that he undermined morale.

NT illustration of archaeology's confirmation of history could be found in the NAZARETH DECREE with its light on the proclamation of the resurrection of Christ. Or perhaps for the present purpose, it may be confined to the less well-known theme of PILATE and his coinage. Much of the action in the story of Christ's trial centers in the personality and record of the procurator. He is known from three stories in Josephus, one in Philo, and the gospel records. All three literary sources agree in representing him as arrogant, contemptuous of his subjects, outmaneuvered by them, and essentially a coward.

It is curious to find the story confirmed by numismatics. COINS are archaeological sources. The procurators had the right to issue small coinage in Palestine, but it was considered a duty, in designing coins that would be in the hands of the people, to avoid deliberate offense. Coins were always far more significant in ancient times than they are today. They were a means of instruction and information and were studied for what they had to say. The Roman emperors had a strong appreciation for the propaganda value of coinage, and their use of this device for influencing opinion forms an interesting chapter in the archaeology of ancient coins.

The story of Christ and the tribute money shows that the emperor's portrait, with the offense

involved, was current in Palestine, but the silver denarius was issued as tribute money and was accepted as such. It was a different matter to mint a common copper coinage that ran contrary to Jewish sentiment, which Pilate did, committing again and on a daily universal scale, far more maliciously and subtly, the planned insults to Jewish feeling that Josephus and Philo record.

Valerius Gratus, Pilate's predecessor, had issued coins harmlessly adorned with palm branches or ears of corn, familiar enough Jewish symbols, but as early as A.D. 29 Pilate issued copper coins bearing the *lituus* or pagan priest's staff and the *patera* or sacrificial bowl—two symbols of the imperial cult that were bound to be obnoxious to the Jews. It was calculated provocation, but safe, because the coin users were insulted individually and the coinage did not produce collective demonstrations of hostility. The story of the tribute money shows that the Jews had a bad conscience about coins. They had accepted the imperial coinage and were carrying about its implied idolatry. Individually they endured the new piece of arrogance and said nothing. Sejanus, who was probably Pilate's protector, fell in A.D. 31, and, significantly enough, the issue of the provocative coins ceased. In the British Museum is a coin of Pilate that has been overstamped with a palm branch by FELIX, no man of principle, but more careful in his policy toward the Jews.

It is to be observed in all these cases that archaeology underlines the essential truth and soundness of the biblical record. It therefore enables the historian to tread with firmer foot where reliance on the bare statement of Scripture lacks extraneous support or amplification. This was the conclusion reached in the classic case of W. M. Ramsay, whose researches in Asia Minor led a frank skeptic to a firm championship of Luke as a pure historian.

B. The provision of background. Inevitably illustrative material grouped under this head might also be relevant above, but it may be convenient to classify a few examples of archaeological discovery that throw light on fact or practice, which elucidate culture or exemplify the application of biblical law or custom, without providing the direct confirmation of statement that was illustrated briefly in the earlier paragraph.

Legal codes, for example, from the middle five centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. not only reveal how truly Israel moved with the tide of contemporary history in the first attempts to organize life and activity under the sovereignty of law, but also how differently the people of the Bible conceived the task, weaving their code and system with the concepts of a lofty and monotheistic religion.

Detail often is strikingly illustrated. The legal documents from Nuzi, for example, throw light on Abraham's attempts to establish his succession and on Jacob's dealings with Laban in a manner that marks the documents, or the oral or written tradition on which they rest, as authentically contemporary. The symbolic transfer of a shoe referred to in the little idyll of Ruth (Ruth 4:7-8) is mentioned in the Nuzi texts. The transaction seems to have been invented to establish a firm foundation in legality for an action or process that might be thought uncovered by some firm form of legislation.

It is in this sphere of interpretation that future archaeological work is especially likely to provide more information. The Ras Shamra tablets, for example, have some reference to the seething of a kid in its mother's milk, a practice inexplicably forbidden twice in the OT (Exod. 34:26; Deut. 14:21). There were obviously pagan implications, and the Mosaic prohibition is an illustration of that awareness of surrounding paganism which led the Hebrew law to make its major provisions for the safety of the firstborn, a not unlikely object of human sacrifice in vicious codes. The Sumerian object of art, the "ram caught in the thicket," which is a treasure in the British Museum, also awaits

explanation of the sort that could easily be forthcoming. Abraham's prompt recognition of divine direction when the animal was thus revealed suggests some law of sacrifice relating to the situation.

Discoveries in themselves unimportant may also serve to illustrate a passage of Scripture in a manner that lifts an impersonal provision into a realm of human interest and activity. For example, from the guardroom of an ancient fortress on the seacoast near Tel Aviv, an interesting letter has come to light. More than twenty-six centuries old, it is the earliest Hebrew letter known. It is scrawled on a broken piece of pottery, the writing material most readily available to ordinary folk. Papyrus was difficult to obtain, and expensive. On the other hand, any village street or rubbish dump was littered with broken shards of pottery (the Lachish letters, similarly found in a guardroom, are of this order).

Seeking to file a complaint with the commander of the local garrison, a peasant during the reign of the good King JOSIAH (c. 630 B.C.) picked out a suitable piece of earthenware and inked his troubles upon it: "Let my lord commander hear the case of his servant!…While thy servant was finishing the storage of grain with his harvesters, Hoshaiah son of Shobai came and took thy servant's mantle…And all my companions will testify on my behalf…" *(ANET,* 568). There is no doubt about the general purport of the letter. Someone by legal process had made away with a poor man's most necessary possession. It was, moreover, a vulnerable possession. On the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser the attendants of Jehu wear knee-length garments with a fringed edge that envelopes the body completely. Such were the cloaks of the Hebrews, and little was worn beneath them. Obviously they were not designed for working, and under the hot harvest sun would be laid aside. The opportunity for confiscation by some disgruntled creditor was easy. When night came, the poor harvester would look for the garment that covered him from the night's chill, only to find it missing.

The book of Ruth again illustrates such a situation. Boaz lay covered by his cloak at the end of the heap of corn in the fields of Bethlehem. Ruth, who claimed his protection in her widowhood, crept secretly under the ample edge of the garment at his feet. Awaking at midnight, the startled farmer found her there. "Who are you?" he asked. "I am your servant Ruth…Spread the corner of your garment over me, since you are a kinsman-redeemer" (Ruth 3:9).

Note the humanity of the law for debt. A cloak could be named as guarantee, but if claimed in forfeit by the moneylender, it was to be returned at sunset. "If the man is poor, do not go to sleep with his pledge in your possession. Return his cloak to him by sunset so that he may sleep in it. Then he will thank you, and it will be regarded as a righteous act in the sight of the LORD your God" (Deut. 24:12-13). The law is even more vividly expressed in its earliest form: "If you take your neighbor's cloak as a pledge, return it to him by sunset, because his cloak is the only covering he has for his body. What else will he sleep in? When he cries out to me, I will hear, for I am compassionate" (Exod. 22:26-27). Without the cloak a man was said to be naked.

The peasant's letter may be an illustration of the flouting of the law of Moses and the confident appeal to authority of a common man on such grounds; and perhaps it sheds a mellow light on the goodness of Josiah in a time of renewing and return to old traditions. It shows also that in Josiah's reign the power of Israel had been thrust through the coastal plain, a widening of frontiers of which historians were previously quite aware. It is another tidemark in the ebbing power of the Philistines, whose high flood in Saul's day had filled the valleys of the Shephelah and flowed N to Galilee.

C. Illumination of text and language. Two illustrations will suffice to show how archaeological discovery has illuminated the meaning of words and established textual integrity. The first is the contribution of the DSS. Textually these documents are of some importance. They have cleared up

some textual corruptions and thrown light on minor difficulties of interpretation. Until 1947, for example, the oldest text of Isaiah was dated A.D. 895. A major item among the DSS is an Isaiah MS a full thousand years older. It has some interesting features. There is, for example, no break between Isa. 39 and 40. In the light of this, the theory first propounded in 1892 by Bernhard Duhm that there were three Isaiahs, conflated and fused in the 1st cent., will not easily stand. Here is a book, dated at the latest about the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., which obviously knows nothing about it.

Also, some individual texts have been notably cleared up. Consider Isa. 21:8, which in the KJV is quite obscure: "And he cried, A lion: My lord, I stand continually upon the watchtower in the daytime." It should be realized that Hebrew was originally written in consonants only; the vowels were inserted later. "Lion" in Hebrew, with the proper vowels, is *)aryēh,* but the Isaiah scroll has *hr)h,* which vocalized as *hārō)eh* means "he who sees (saw)." Some early copyist vowel-pointed the word wrongly and produced "a lion." Read then: "And he who saw cried: My Lord…" Sense is restored to a tormented text.

There is another mistranslation due to a similar copying error in Isa. 49:12. The older English versions (KJV, ASV) speak of "the land of Sinim" (*sînîm),* which could refer only to China. To the disappointment of those who cherish so far-flung a text, the scrolls show that the reading should be "Syene" *(sĕwēnîm),* that is, modern Aswan in Upper Egypt. The addition of the word for "light" in 53:11 (where the scroll follows the LXX rather than the MT) is another important variant. Most of the differences, however, are of little textual significance. The conclusion is that the Isaiah Scroll, by and large, demonstrates the astonishing accuracy of the text that has been transmitted.

The second group of illustrations under this head is provided by the nonliterary papyri. From this corpus of documents in the Common Dialect of Greek comes a mass of knowledge on the daily speech of the people for whom the NT was written. In competent hands like those of Luke and Paul, it was not an ungraceful language. It was capable of poetry, as many passages in both writers reveal. It was flexible and expressive and, as Moulton put it, in the "full stream" of contemporary Greek. Its vocabulary again and again throws light on expressions in the NT epistles and has added a considerable list to the Greek lexicon.

Some selected illustrations only: "I have all, and abound" (Phil. 4:18 KJV). Why should *apechō G600,* meaning usually "to keep off" in classical Greek, be used here or in Matt. 6:2, 5, 16, "they have their reward"? Matthew's meaning was plain enough by comparison with the other Gospels, but why such a strange word? There was no answer until hosts of bills were found in the rubbish heaps of an Egyptian town—only some of them paid. The formula for receipt was the verb in question—"he is quit." Matthew was again at the receipt of customs when he penned his verse. Whimsically he pictured the hypocrite's bill, his claim on God, paid in full in earthly glory, spot cash. "He is quit," he wrote. And Paul said, "I give you a receipt in full for all your kindness." How much more vivid the passage becomes by the recovered metaphor.

A document reveals that the word *hypostasis G5712* in Heb. 11:1 (KJV, "substance"; NRSV, "assurance") was a technical term for "title deed." Title deeds give secure possession of that which is not necessarily seen, and thus faith firmly places in our hands the unseen wealth of a spiritual world. Again, when the Jews of Thessalonica complained that "these men who have caused trouble all over the world" had arrived to disturb their peace (Acts 17:6), they used a verb Paul himself employed of those who were "agitating" the folk of Galatia (Gal. 5:12). This is the same word *(anastatoō* ***G415)*** used by a spoiled boy in a letter to his father when he quotes his mother sarcastically: "He upsets me," the poor woman had said.

The new light from the papyri suggests, in consequence, numerous more exact renderings. For

example, read "originator" or "author" for the KJV's "captain" (Heb. 2:10), and "disputing" for "doubting" (1 Tim. 2:8). Examples might be multiplied, but enough have been cited to show that, with the discovery of the papyri, the language of the NT has truly risen from the dead.

A further small group of linguistic elucidations, with special reference to Luke, may be called from both epigraphy and the papyri. For example, when Paul crossed from Asia into Europe, Luke, his chronicler, on bringing the story to Philippi, described the town as "the first of the district" *(prōtē meridos,* Acts 16:12). Even Hort, a first-rate scholar, marked this as a mistake, since the Greek word *meris G3535* appeared never to be used for "region." The Egyptian papyri, however, revealed that Luke's Greek was better than that of his editor. The word, it now appears, was quite commonly used for "district" in the 1st cent., and especially in Macedonia.

Luke also called the local officials of Philippi "magistrates" (Acts 16:20 et al.); the Greek is *stratēgos G5130,* referring to a PRAETOR. The term seemed incorrect until inscriptions established the fact that the title was a courtesy one for the magistrates of the Roman colony; as usual Luke used the term commonly employed in educated circles. On the other hand, referring to the city officials of

MAJOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS RELATING TO THE NT		
SITE OR ARTIFACT	**LOCATION**	**RELATING SCRIPTURE**
	ISRAEL	
Caiaphas ossuary	Jerusalem	Matt 26:3
Herod's temple	Jerusalem	Lk1:9
Herod's winter palace	Jericho	Matt 2:4
The Herodium (possible site of Herod's tomb)	Near Bethlehem	Matt 2:19
Masada	Near western shore of Dead Sea	Cf. Lk 21:20
Early synagogue	Capernaum	Matt 4:13; Mk 1:21
Pool of Siloam	Jerusalem	Jn 9:7
Pool of Bethesda	Jerusalem	Jn 5:2
Pilate inscription	Caesarea	Lk 3:1
Inscription: Gentile entrance of temple sanctuary	Jerusalem	Acts 21:27-29
Skeletal remains of crucified man	Jerusalem	Mk 15:24
Peter's house	Capernaum	Matt 4:13; Lk 4:38
Jacob's well	Nablus	Jn 4:5-6
	ASIA MINOR	
Derbe inscription	Kerti Hüyük	Acts 14:20

Sergius Paulus inscription	Kythraia, Cyprus	Acts 13:6-7
Zeus altar (Satan's throne?)	Pergamum	Rev 2:13
Fourth-century B.C. walls	Assos	Acts 20:13-14
Artemis temple and altar	Ephesus	Acts 19:27-28
Ephesian theater	Ephesus	Acts 19:29
Silversmith shops	Ephesus	Acts 19:24
Artemis statues	Ephesus	Acts 19:35
	GREECE	
Erastus inscription	Corinth	Rom 16:23
Synagogue inscription	Corinth	Acts 18:4
Meat market inscription	Corinth	1Cor 10:25
Cult dining rooms (in Asklepius and Demeter temples)	Corinth	1Cor 8:10
Court (bema)	Corinth	Acts 18:12
Marketplace (bema)	Philippi	Acts 16:19
Starting gate for races	Isthmia	1Cor 9:24,26
Gallio inscription	Delphi	Acts 18:12
Egnatian Way	Neapolis (Kavalla), Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica	Cf. Acts 16:11-12; 17:1
Politarch inscription	Thessalonica	Acts 17:6
	ITALY	
Tomb of Augustus	Rome	Lk 2:1
Mamertine Prison	Rome	2Tim 1:16-17; 2:9; 4:6-8
Appian Way	Puteoli to Rome	Acts 28:13-16
Golden House of Nero	Rome	Cf. Acts 25:10; 1Pet 2:13
Arch of Titus	Rome	Cf. Lk 19:43-44; 21:6,20

Thessalonica, Luke twice used the technical term *politarchēs G4485* (Acts 17:6, 8). Since the term was unknown elsewhere, the critics of the historian once dismissed the word as yet another mistake. Today it can be read high and clear in an arch spanning a street of modern Salonica, and sixteen other examples occur. A similar story of vindication could be told of the title *prōtos G4755,* applied in Acts 28:7 to the governor ("chief man") of Malta.

VI. Conclusion. Finally, it should be stressed again that this general article is designed to be

introductory and illustrative, to establish points of view, and open avenues for more detailed study. Manifestly, archaeological material in detailed relevance to the theme will be found under a large number of headings and in a great variety of articles on historical, literary, and exegetical themes. Special information should be sought in such places. A conspectus has value in that it opens up the theme, establishes its scope, and leads by its allusiveness to further study.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

VII. Biblical archaeology since 1975. This brief supplement will continue the themes of selectivity and introduction that E. M. Blaiklock outlined some thirty years ago. Focusing on biblical archaeology, a term that was in sharp dispute at that time, it will be possible to examine only the most significant discoveries and changes in the field that have affected the interpretation of the biblical text.

In 1975 thousands of cuneiform tablets from the 3rd-millennium-B.C. Syrian city of EBLA promised to expand our understanding of the early biblical world of Genesis, even as the monographs of J. Van Seters and T. L. Thompson called into dispute any historical memory of these texts. The tablets proved disappointing in terms of biblical archaeology, but more texts and whole new archives have been published that contribute more substantially to our understanding of this period. The challenge to the patriarchs persists, but sociological analyses, enhanced onomastic studies of Amorite sources, and the important changes brought by new publications of the 18th/17th-cent. N Syrian Mari texts have called for a reevaluation of much of the evidence of that era. Reigning assumptions about what Middle Bronze Age (MBA) enclosed nomads do and don't do, especially in terms of their relations with settled groups, have been called into question.

Outside of the territory of ancient Israel, important archives and individual texts have been discovered and published from many periods. Thus at the 13th-cent. Syrian city of EMAR, texts have been found that describe the installation of a religious official by anointing with blood and oil and that detail the religious festivals of the city through six months of the year. Neither of these has occurred previously outside of the Bible, where critical scholars have traditionally assigned them to a much later date. Elsewhere, the 9th/8th-cent. Aramaic/ Assyrian bilingual inscription from Tell Fakhariyah in northern Syria reveals the synonymous usage of the Aramaic cognates for "image" and "likeness" in Gen. 1:26-28, as well as the likely meaning for the cognate to EDEN as a well-watered place. Although the reading from the Ugaritic text that describes boiling a kid in its mother's milk has been shown to be doubtful, other texts from this Late Bronze Age (LBA) city and its northern neighbor of ALALAKH have been found to identify boundaries not unlike those of Josh. 13-21 and to provide a model for the structure of that whole book as a land grant (see R. S. Hess in *Interpreting the Old Testament: A Guide 'for Exegesis,* ed. G. Broyles [2001], 201-20).

From N to S, dominant features of the archaeology of Palestine will be identified regionally. A. Biran's decades-long excavations of Tel Dan have yielded a MBA arched gate, an Iron Age gate with a plaza and elders' benches, and a high place for the kings of Israel with side rooms and artifacts. See DAN (PLACE). Most significant was the July 1993 discovery of a 9th-cent. Aramaic stela containing what appears to be the earliest clear reference to (the house of) David. A. Ben-Tor's excavations at the acropolis of HAZOR yielded additional Bronze Age cuneiform tablets, including a small administrative text containing what may be the earliest reference to Nazareth. The burnt layer that excavators have identified with Israel's invasion of Josh. 11 reveals (divine?) images defaced by the (aniconic?) conquerors.

Near the north shore of the Sea of Galilee, R. Arav's excavations at Tel BETHSAIDA revealed at

first a Roman period village he identified with the apostle Peter's home town. Beneath this he uncovered the largest Iron Age city in the region, very likely the GESHUR whose royal daughter was the mother of Absalom. Near the gate was found an inscribed stela with evidence for a lunar cult. In western Galilee, Rosh Ha-Zayit demonstrated contemporary connections between Phoenicia and the northern kingdom of Israel. Roman period excavations at SEPPHORIS and BETH SHAN provide evidence for a flourishing Hellenistic culture in Galilee at the time of Jesus. On the edge of the Golan Heights, NE of the Sea of Galilee, the 1st-cent. A.D. village of Gamla served as the northern counterpart to MASADA in the Jewish revolt against Rome. It also preserves a rare example of a 1st-cent. synagogue that was not built into preexisting structures (such as those at Masada and Herodium).

South of the JEZREEL Valley, the central hill country where Israel first settled was explored by A. Zertal (Manasseh) and I. Finkelstein (Ephraim). Their regional surveys provided dramatic evidence of a demographic shift from the few population centers of the LBA to the nearly 300 villages of the Iron Age, c. 1200 B.C. This constitutes the clearest evidence for the settlement of early Israel in the region and for the simple, egalitarian village life pictured in the books of Judges through 1 –2 Samuel. The Bull site east of DOTHAN with its bronze bovine figurine and the strange aniconic altar-like site on Mount EBAL both date to about the 12th cent. and may suggest religious practices of the hill country peoples. Paleozoological studies of the diets of this region have demonstrated the virtual absence of pig bones throughout the hill country of the Iron Age in contrast to contemporary Philistine sites on the coastal plain. L. E. Stager's excavations of ASHKELON have uncovered a huge MBA glacis with a room at the gate containing a small calf model coated with silver, perhaps not unlike the golden calf of the exodus and the calves of later Israel. The work of M. Dothan and S. Gitin at EKRON (Tel Miqne) has found more than one hundred olive oil processing installations—evidence for significant growth in the 7th cent. after Sennacherib transferred the Shephelah to Ekron—and a monumental inscription of the city's ruler. Tel Qasile, in the suburbs of Tel Aviv, contains distinctive Philistine temple architecture and dwellings with Aegean-style hearths in the center of the room.

E. Mazar's round-the-clock excavations south of the temple mount uncovered new evidence for the continual occupation of the site. South of these excavations, Y. Shiloh's digging in the City of David yielded dwellings from before the Babylonian destruction, including a room containing about a hundred bulla that originally sealed documents of Jeremiah's time. Further explorations of Warren's Shaft and the area around the Gihon Spring yielded remarkable defense towers guarding the spring during the monarchy. West of the temple mount, N. Avigad's work identified Jerusalem's northern defenses during the monarchy and in the postexilic era.

To the SW, G. Barkay's explorations of burial caves in Ketef Hinnom (the grounds of the Scottish church) resulted in J. Hadley's discovery of two small silver scrolls from the late 7th cent. B.C. or earlier. When unrolled they were found to contain paleo-Hebrew texts of the Aaronic benediction (Num. 6), the earliest biblical texts ever found. J. Monson's study of the Solomonic temple as described in 1 Kings has found the closest architectural parallels with the 10th/9th-cent. N. Syrian temple at ʿAin Dara. Although the Solomonic temple has left no architectural remains, the small ivory pomegranate that surfaced in Jerusalem with the text, "Belonging to the tem [ple of Yahw]eh, holy to the priests" (A. Lemaire), remains its single likely artifact.

East of the Jordan River the ongoing work of the Madeba Plains Project, conducted by Andrews University and a consortium of colleges, has explored many new Iron Age sites and some LBA ones (Tall al-ʿUmayri et al.), questioning earlier objections that the region was uninhabited when Israel first appeared.

Southward, Iron Age forts have been identified in the Negev. Historical geography has located

many sites in S Judah, including Khirbet el-Qom as Makkedah (D. A. Dorsey) and Tell es-Safi as Gath (A. F. Rainey). Further S, the 800-B.C. inscriptions of the northeast Sinai site of Kuntillet ʿAjrud connect Yahweh with Asherah in Samaria and in the Teman desert. A similar text from a contemporary burial site at Khirbet el-Qom suggests that this belief was also known in Judah. In the southern Israeli Negev, native (Midianite?) copper miners of the 13th cent. worshipped at an Egyptianized tent shrine in the Timna Valley (B. Rothenberg). As a tent shrine, it resembled Israel's tabernacle.

Inscriptions from within Palestine have significantly increased in number. There is now evidence for texts from every century from LBA onwards. They occur in both rural and urban contexts in every area of the country. The 11th-cent. village of Izbet Sarta (biblical Ebenezer?) yielded an ostracon with an alphabet in proto-Hebrew script (M. Kochavi) and demonstrated an interest in reading and writing among villagers. By the late monarchy, ostraca became outnumbered by Hebrew seals with names and patronyms. These now number well over a thousand and represent the most significant extrabiblical evidence for the names of kings (Ahaz, Hezekiah, et al.), officials (Baruch the scribe), and citizens of 8th and 7th cent. Israel and Judah. The Yahwistic elements in more than ninety per cent of those names bearing theophoric elements suggests the dominant role of this deity.

More controversial is the authenticity of seals and other antiquities not found in controlled archaeological excavations, and this shares in the increasingly pressing ethical questions regarding the present trade in antiquities from the Middle E. Questions of authenticity have been raised by other inscriptions, such as the James ossuary. Dated to the 1st cent. A.D., the inscription on the box identifies it as the final resting place of James, son of Joseph and brother of Jesus. This last phrase, unusual in ossuary inscriptions, has been challenged. Less controversial are the DSS and other texts of the Judean Desert (Masada, Murabbaʿat, and Wadi Daliyeh). Although discovered earlier, their full publication has been more recent. The result has been important contributions to OT textual criticism, Hellenistic period social life, and the religious beliefs and practices of Qumran.

(Useful surveys include R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* [1914]; G. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* [1927]; R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1930]; J. Garstang, *Joshua-Judges* [1931]; G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* [1933]; A. S. Yahuda, *The Accuracy of the Bible* [1934]; S. L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade* [1936]; P. Carleton, *Buried Empires* [1939]; J. Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* [1940]; J. P. Free, *Archaeology and Bible History* [1950]; C. W. Ceram, *Gods, Graves and Scholars* [1952]; W. H. Boulton, *Archaeology Explains* [1952]; M. F. *Unger, Archeology and the Old Testament* [1954]; C. L. Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees* [1950]; id., *Digging up the Past* [1954]; F. A. Banks, *Coins of Bible Days* [1955]; F. F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1956]; K. Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho* [1957]; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [1960]; L. Cottrell, *Wonders of Antiquity* [1960]; J. A.Thompson, *The Bible and Archaeology* [1962]; D.J.Wiseman, *Illustrations in Biblical Archaeology* [1962]; M. F. Unger, *Archaeology and the New Testament* [1962]; J. Laessoe, *The People of Ancient Assyria* [1963]; A. Eisenberg and D. P. Elkins, *Worlds Lost and Found* [1964]; R. K. Harrison, *Archaeology of the New Testament* [1964]; M. Noth, *The Old Testament World* [1966]; E. M. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* [1980]; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Archaeology of the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [1984]; A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B. C.E* [1990]; J. McRay, *Archaeology and the New Testament* [1991]; P. R. S. Moorey, *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* [1991]; A. Ben-Tor, ed., *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* [1992]; T. E. Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* [1995]; E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* 4

vols. [1995]; W. W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr., eds, *The Context of Scripture,* 3 vols. [1997-2002]; A.J. *Hoerth, Archaeology and the Old Testament* [1998]; A. Negev and S. Gibson, eds., *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land,* rev. ed. [2001]; B. MacDonald et al., eds., *Archaeology of Jordan* [2001]; E. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods, 732–332 BCE* [2001]; K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* [2003]; T. W. Davis, *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology* [2004]; J. K. Hoffmeier and A. Millard, eds., *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions* [2004]; A. E. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300–1100 B.C.E.* [2005].)

R. S. HESS

A Chronological Table of ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND THEIR WORK

[The following chronological survey covers persons and events relevant to the study of the Bible, its historical background and context, and the elucidation of its meaning. It necessarily covers much territory, for the lands of the Bible encompass a wide arc from Italy to Egypt. It is not, however, a complete register of Egyptian, Aegean, Hittite, or Classical archaeologists, though in all these spheres of study aspects of historical and linguistic importance have biblical significance. Names and events on the fringes of this theme have been included here and there, where it is felt that some special stimulus given to archaeological exploration, some notable public attention, or the development of some major technique of investigation has had its repercussions in biblical studies.]

1717 The Society of Antiquaries set up in London. It received a royal charter in 1751 and issued its first volume of *Archaeologia* in 1770.

1798 A curious side effect of Napoleon Bonaparte's occupation of Egypt was an awakening of interest in the land of the Nile. An amazing band of savants accompanied the French army, and Vivant Denon's vast *Description de l'Egypte* was a direct result of the invasion, which Nelson's fleet shattered at Aboukir Bay.

1799 The Rosetta stone, with its trilingual inscription that provided the key to the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics, was discovered in August, 1799, while the French were repairing fortifications N of the town of Rosetta. The name of one Boussard is associated with the find, but whether this was a French officer of the engineers who died in 1812, General A.J. Boussard, or a sapper of the same name whose pick unearthed the stone, is not clear. The stone was taken to Cairo where Napoleon had it copied, and ultimately reached the British Museum as a trophy of war (E. A. W. Budge, *The Rosetta Stone in the British Museum* [1929]).

1805 Ulrich Jasper Seetzen discovered Caesarea Philippi, Ammon, and Gerasa (Jerash).

1811 The Arab geographers knew where **Babylon** was, and among European travelers, Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish rabbi, visited and identified the site in 1173. Other Europeans mention it in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. In 1811 **C. S. Rich,** the first

British consul at Baghdad, excavated and mapped part of the ruins. Babylonian archaeology began at this point.

1812 Johan Ludwig (or Louis) Burckhardt (1784-1817), the Swiss explorer, discovered **Petra,** the "rose-red city half as old as time." The discovery has no great direct biblical significance. No important monuments antedate the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., and no pottery is older than Hellenistic. The strange place has, however, inspired a long list of travelers and travel-writers (listed in G. L. Robinson's *Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization* [1930]; Katherine Sim, *Desert Dweller: The Life of Jean Louis Burckhardt* [1969]).

1815 Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839), who, after the death of her uncle William Pitt, and Sir John Moore, lived in self-chosen exile in a Druse village near Sidon, made an attempt to unearth statuary at **Ashkelon.**

1817 The date marks the second visit to Egypt of the Italian **Giovanni Baptista Belzoni,** with which the modern search for the tombs of the pharaohs may be said truly to begin. Belzoni was also the first to enter the great temple of Ramses I at Abu Simbel, in this year (C. Clair, *Giovanni Belzoni: Strong Man Egyptologist* [n.d.]).

1822 Jean-François Champollion, working on material supplied by the Rosetta stone and the Philae obelisk, finally gave a voice to the Egyptian monuments by deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions. (In 1828 came the second general survey of the monuments under Rosellina and Champollion.)

1833 Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810 – 1895) went to Persia as a young officer in this year to organize the Shah's army. He became interested in the cuneiform texts that had already commanded some constructive attention from Niebuhr (1778), De Sacy (1788) and Grotefend (1802). In 1837 Rawlinson, now a colonel, deciphered part of the trilingual inscription of Darius I on the Rock of Behistun. In 1842 Rawlinson, at considerable risk, and with the help of "a certain Kurdish boy," copied the whole inscription. His published works (1846, 1850, 1854, 1861 – 1884) are the foundation of our knowledge of cuneiform and consequently of the history of Babylonia and Assyria.

1838 Modern exploration of Palestine and its historical geography began in this year when **Edward Robinson** and **Eli Smith** traveled through the country describing it and identifying biblical sites. Robinson was a Massachusetts teacher of Hebrew, and Eli Smith a Syrian missionary. It was the happiest of combinations. Robinson's work was an immense stimulus. He was not the first to criticize the ecclesiastical traditions of the land; Jonas Korte had done so with vigor in 1741, in his *Reise nach dem gelobten Lande.* Robinson, however, led the way toward an unhampered scientific topography. He was ably followed by **Titus Tobler,** who had first come to Palestine in 1837. "The works of Robinson and Smith," wrote Tobler in 1867, "surpass the total of all previous contributions to Palestinian geography from the time of Eusebius and Jerome to the early nineteenth century." The German was followed by a Frenchman, Victor Guérin, who began a great mapping project

in 1852. Such work was basic for future archaeology (see R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1925], 23ff.). Robinson's work extended to 1852.

1842 Paul Emile Botta (1802 – 1870) appointed French Consul at Mosul. Acting on advice of Julius Mohl, secretary of the French Asiatic Society, he began exploration in December of that year on the mound of Koujunjik opposite Mosul. Local tradition had identified the two tells of Koujunjik and Neby Yunus on the E of the Tigris with Nineveh, and travelers, from the 12th-cent. Benjamin of Tudela to Carsten Niebuhr in 1766, recorded the tradition. Claudius James Rich (see above) in the first quarter of the century began measurements. Deflected from this task in March of 1843, Botta turned to another site and discovered Khorsabad and the palace of Sargon II. Joined by M. E. Flandin in May of 1844, Botta was able to demonstrate the rich field he had discovered by sculptures dispatched to Paris in 1846. In 1849/1850 the two explorers published their results in five massive volumes. Victor Place, in 1851, continued the two explorers' work, sent many fine antiquities to France, all of which were lost in the Tigris, but made a competent plan of the site. Botta had opened the way to Nineveh but found Khorsabad. Assyriology began.

1845 Austen Henry Layard (1817 – 1894) began excavations at the tell of Nimrud (ancient Kalah) on 8 November 1845. He discovered the palaces of Ashurnasirpal, Shalmaneser II (rebuilt by Tiglath-Pileser II), Adadnirari, and Esarhaddon. The famous **Black Obelisk** of Shalmaneser was found in the royal palace. Layard's shipment of the vast statuary of the Assyrian palaces to the British Museum was a feat of transport rivaling the removal of the so-called "Cleopatra's Needle" to London. Layard resumed work at Koujunjik in 1849 and discovered Sennacherib's palace. Vast masses of material relevant to biblical studies were recovered, notably the slabs depicting the king's siege of Lachish, and innumerable clay tablets (the Royal Library of Nineveh). This discovery was repeated in the N palace (Layard unearthed the S palace) by Hormuzd Rassam, Layard's assistant. Since Ashurbanipal, the principal collector of such documents, had also stored Babylonian records, these rich finds laid the basis for the study of the history of two ancient empires. Layard finished his work in April, 1851. Rassam made his discoveries in the next two years. It was in December, 1853, that he discovered the palace of Ashurbanipal. Sir Henry Layard's *Nineveh and Its Remains,* first published in 1849, was edited and republished by H. W. F. Saggs (1970). Layard was a prolific archaeologist but belongs to the prescientific era, preoccupied with museum loot.

1848 F. de Saulcy cleared a site at Jerusalem known as "the Tombs of the Kings"—later shown to be the tombs of the kings of Adiabene.

1849 Karl Richard Lepsius (1810 – 1884) published in this year the results of Prussian expeditions to Egypt (1842 – 1845)—twelve volumes of *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.*

1850 August Ferdinand François Mariette (1821 – 1881) went to Egypt in search of Coptic MSS. He discovered the Sarapeum (catacomb of the sacred bulls of Apis) at Saqqara. He established the Bulaq Archaeological Museum, which later became the National Museum at

Cairo. He was a great preserver of antiquities gathered from Saqqara, Tanis, Karnak, Abydos, Medinet Habu, Deir el-Bahri, the nucleus of the fine Cairo Museum. He was the virtual founder and director of the Antiquities Dept., 1858 – 1881. In 30 years he excavated and found 15,000 monuments from Memphis to Karnak in 37 sites. He excavated the temple of Edfu in 1860 and the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri in 1858, and partially cleared the temple of Abu Simbel in 1869.

In 1850 **W. F. Loftus,** who succeeded Rassam at Nineveh, visited the biblical Erech (modern Warka) and other sites in the Euphrates valley. (Excavation at Erech had to await the three German expeditions of 1912 – 1913, 1928 – 1939, 1954 – 1959.) Loftus wrote of his visit in 1858, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana.*

1859 Constantin Tischendorf discovered the **Codex Sinaiticus.**

1863 J. T. Wood began his notable exploration of Ephesus for the British Museum. He began on 2 May 1863, and on 2 May six years later came upon the temple of Artemis. The clue was an inscription of Trajan's day. Wood's work, concluded in 1874, was picked up thirty years later, under the same auspices by David G. Hogarth. (The Austrian Archaeological Institute conducted excavations in 1898 – 1913, 1926 – 1935, and 1954.)

1864 Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1822 – 1894) began his study of the Roman catacombs in 1841. He recognized, as none of his predecessors had done, the necessity for a thorough knowledge of literary sources for the interpretation of the archaeological data. The three epoch-making volumes of his *Roma sotteranea cristiana* were published 1864 – 1877.

1865 The foundation of the **Palestine Exploration Fund** in this year did much to promote archaeological research. Its major aim was to survey ancient Jerusalem, but between 1871 and 1878 the workers of the Fund surveyed most of western Palestine. The published results in a monumental work were basic for future archaeology.

1867 Two years after the establishment of the Fund, Lieutenant (later Sir) **Charles Warren,** a young British artillery officer, was sent, amply financed, to investigate Jerusalem. Warren lacked expertise. His work was done in largely prescientific days, but he accomplished much valuable clearance, and his wrong datings have been rectified. Warren, followed by Captain Charles Wilson, laid valuable foundations for the future archaeology of Palestine and especially the topography and history of Jerusalem. He was also the first to look at Jericho. (See R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1925], 30 – 40, 97, 128, 177, 185; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [1960], 26 – 27.)

1870 Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1846 – 1923), an orientalist of genius, came to the French consular service in Palestine in 1867, and in 1870 sent the Moabite Stone to the Louvre. In 1871 he discovered the famous notice prohibiting Gentiles from intrusion into the temple court. He identified the site of Gezer, not to be excavated for another thirty years. In 1870 the American **Palestine Exploration Society** was also founded to undertake the survey of

Transjordan. The project was abandoned for lack of funds. (This was also the notable year in which Heinrich Schliemann discovered Troy—a tremendous lesson to historians on the folly of not taking tradition, recorded in literature, seriously. Schliemann and his successor Dörpfeld showed that a tell is a ruin, a fact not sufficiently noticed in Palestine. Schliemann repeated his triumph at Mycenae. See Macalister, *A Century of Excavation*.)

1872 The Palestine Exploration Fund sent a British party to Palestine to make an inch-to-mile survey of Western Palestine under the leadership of **Claude Regnier Conder** (1848 – 1910) and **Horatio Herbert Kitchener** (1850 – 1916—later Lord Kitchener of Khartoum and British War Minister until his death by enemy action in the First World War). This survey was indispensable basic work for archaeologist and geographer. Few significant ruins were overlooked. Conder's *Memoirs* were published in 1880. His archaeological publications include *Tent Work in Palestine* (1878); *Syrian Stone Law* (1886); *Altaic Hieroglyphs and Syrian Inscriptions* (1887); *The Tell el Amarna Tablets* (1902); *The City of Jerusalem* (1909).

1873 In 1872, among the 25,000 inscribed tablets from the libraries of Ashurbanipal and the temple of Nabu, a Babylonian account of the deluge (Epic of Gilgamesh) was identified, and the British Museum reopened excavations under **George Smith,** Rawlinson's one-time assistant, originally an engraver who turned out to be an Assyriologist of extraordinary talent. The *Daily Telegraph* financed the expedition and Smith began work at Nimrud in April. In May he moved to Koujunjik and found "a vast picture of utter confusion and destruction," the result of Layard's looting of the site, and its ruthless quarrying by the builders of the Mosul bridge. By astounding good fortune, Smith discovered almost immediately the missing portion of the deluge story, with the untoward result that the *Daily Telegraph* declared that the mission was accomplished and cut off funds. Smith returned to London, but in 1874, with tardy finance from the British Museum, he was back at **Koujunjik** only to meet with ignorant resistance from a new local governor. In April he closed his trenches with a haul of 3,000 tablets. His *Assyrian Discoveries* and *The Chaldaean Account of Genesis* stirred great interest, and in 1876 he was on a third expedition, a time of frustration that cost him his life.

1877 Ernest de Sarzec worked at Lagash. Among his finds were the statues of the early governors and the Victory Stela of Eannatum. Ernest de Sarzec was French vice-consul at Basra. He was a man with an eye to business and sold the material from Telloh (Lagash) to the Louvre for a very large sum. Rassam (of Nineveh fame) also plundered the tell, and other clandestine diggers followed, scattering the antiquities of Lagash all over the world. The Louvre acquisitions did, however, awaken the world to Sumerian archaeology. De Sarzec continued his work in the seasons 1880 – 1881, 1889, 1893 – 1895, and 1900. He died in 1901 but was succeeded by Captain Gason Cros (see M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* [1962]).

1878 Hormuzd Rassam resumed work for the British Museum at Nineveh. There was a considerable haul of tablets, a clay prism containing the annals of Ashurbanipal, and four barrel-shaped cylinders with accounts of the campaigns of Sennacherib.

1879 Rassam did some investigations of the ruins of Babylon, discovering some important hoards of tablets and possibly identifying the Hanging Gardens.

1881 Sir Gaston Camille Charles Maspero (1846 – 1916), lecturer on Egyptian archaeology at the Écoles des Hautes Études from 1869, and later professor at the Collège de France, discovered many royal sarcophagi at Deir el-Bahri, and continued clearing work on the temple of Karnak. His most important publication was *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique* (1894 – 1900).

Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853 – 1942) began his career as an Egyptologist and scientific archaeologist at this time, with work on the Giza pyramids and at Tanis for the Egypt Exploration Fund. See 1890 for his more relevant work in Palestine.

1882 Edouard Naville began his long career as an Egyptian archaeologist. His work had no great biblical relevance, unless John Garstang's theory of the early date of the exodus be followed. This would perhaps bring Princess Hatshepsut, whose temple Naville excavated, into closer relation with the story of Moses. This year saw W. Dörpfeld join Schliemann at Troy.

1884 M. Dieulafoy (following W. K. Loftus and succeeded by J. de Morgan, R. de Mequenem, and R. Ghirshman) excavated the royal buildings of Susa (Shushan, the palace).

1887 A peasant woman, grubbing for compost in the ruins of Akhenaten's town at Tell el-Amarna, unearthed the priceless **Tell el-Amarna Letters.** Many were destroyed in transit but enough remained in the British and Berlin Museums to throw unique light on Egypt's foreign and Palestinian policy during the reign of the pacifist Pharaoh, Akhenaten (see *ANET,* 483 – 90; *DOTT,* 38 – 45; J. Baikie, *Life in the Ancient East* [1923], 30 – 49).

1888 John P. Peters, leading an American expedition along with Haynes and Hilprecht, discovered 20,000 tablets at Nippur, greatly enlarging our knowledge of Babylonian sacred literature. (American expeditions, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania, have worked there in 1880 – 1890, 1893 – 1896, 1899 – 1900, 1948, 1949, and every other year to 1958 with remarkable results for Sumerian history. See H. V. Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* [1904], 289 – 577, and various University of Pennsylvania publications.)

1890 This important year saw **Flinders Petrie** (see above, 1881) appear on the scene in Palestine. Petrie spent six weeks on the mound of Tell-el-Ḥesi in SW Palestine, making vertical sections and noting the level at which every potsherd was found. He thus succeeded in establishing the essential principles of stratigraphy and the use of pottery to date and distinguish levels of occupation. Conder derided the method, but F. J. Bliss, who spent the next three years on the Tell el-Ḥesi site, confirmed Petrie's principles. The Petrie-Bliss chronology of 1894 proved correct as far back as 1500 B.C. The French

School of Biblical and Archaeological Studies was founded in this year (see Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine,* 29 – 30 et passim).

1894 This was the year in which **Sir Arthur Evans** (1851 – 1941), who for ten years had been the keeper of Oxford's Ashmolean Museum, began work in Crete, excavated Knossos, and found the Cretan script (not deciphered until 1953). He presented the world with the Minoan civilization, not without importance in the history of the Philistines. From 1894 to 1897, **F.J. Bliss** and his architect, **A. C. Dickie,** did remarkable work at Jerusalem. This was followed (1898 – 1900) by work on sites in the Shephelah (Tell es-Safe, Tell Zachariyeh, Tell el-Judeideh, Tell Sandahan—the Hellenistic Marissa). This work saw the appearance in Palestinian archaeology of **R. A. S. Macalister,** a brilliant Irish archaeologist. Their published report in 1902 was notable for its scientific competence.

1895 Bernard Pyne Grenfell (1869 – 1926), with his colleague, **A. S. Hunt,** began their search in the Fayum for Greek papyri. Grenfell and Hunt commenced the investigation at Oxyrhynchus, 120 mi. S of Cairo, in 1875, and it was in this year that they discovered the first page of the *logia* of Christ. With Grenfell and Hunt the science of papyrology was born. The word was first used in 1898. In 1889 to 1890 Flinders Petrie had discovered payri (some of them literary, including Plato and Homer, for example) at Gurob in the Fayum, and about the same time the British Museum acquired a parcel of papyri from Sir Ernest Wallace Budge. Sir Frederick Kenyon (1863 – 1952) had written about the papyri in 1890 and 1891. It was, however, Grenfell and Hunt who made the greatest and most momentous discoveries, and opened the way to over half a century of momentous finds that have added vastly to the classicist's knowledge of ancient Greek literature, to the NT scholar's knowledge of the common Greek dialect, and to the historian's knowledge of the ANE, especially Egypt over 3,000 years of its history. The literature on the subject is voluminous, but one or two books may be selected for special notice. **AdolphDeissmann** (1866 – 1937) was the first to make philological use of the new material from the papyri *(Bible Studies* [1901], and his notable *Light from the Ancient East* [1910]). **James Hope Moulton** (1863 – 1917), following Deissmann's approach, produced the brilliant *Grammar of New Testament Greek: Prolegomena* in 1906, a landmark. Popular studies of early vintage, but still of value, are Camden W. Cobern's *New Archaeological Discoveries* (1917 – 22) and James Baikie's *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus Hunting* (1925).

1895 This year also marked the highest point in the work of **Sir William Mitchell Ramsay,** professor of humanity at Aberdeen from 1886 to 1911 (1851 – 1939). Ramsay was an epigraphist of note, a geographer, and classical historian. His archaeological work in Asia Minor established the reputation of Luke as a historian and made notable contributions to the understanding of the Acts of the Apostles and Revelation. His books, published during the last decade of the 19th cent., include *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor, The Church in the Roman Empire, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, The Seven Churches, Saint Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* His work leaned heavily on archaeological discovery, much of it his own.

The same year saw A. E. P. B. Wiegall excavating the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at

Thebes, and discovering the tomb of Prince Yuya and his wife Thuyu, parents of Akhenaten's queen, Tiy. (A. E. P. Weigall's *Life and Times of Pharaoh Akhnaton,* which ran through many editions between 1910 and 1934, is still a classic.)

1896 G. M. Legrain began his notable work on the Karnak temple (see Baikie, *A Century of Excavation in the Land of the Pharaohs,* 123ff.).

1897 J. de Morgan's work at Susa (see 1884). In association with Petrie he had already done good work in Egypt. These excavations continued until 1912 and in 1901 unearthed the stela bearing Hammurabi's Code. The year 1897 also saw the publication of Sir George Adam Smith's monumental *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.*

1898 M. Loret discovered in the Valley of the Kings the tomb of Amenhotep II, son of Thutmose III—unique because it was the first tomb containing intact the body of the pharaoh—a foreshadowing of Tutankhamen, a generation later.

1899 In this year **Robert Koldewey,** working for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, began his many years of systematic excavation at Babylon. When Koldewey began his work in March, nothing serious, apart from some preliminary work by Rassam, had been attempted. When Koldewey, in 1912, published a preliminary account of his investigations, he estimated that he was halfway through his task. The English edition, *The Excavations at Babylon,* appeared in 1914. Excavations continued at Lagash (Telloh) in this and succeeding years by Stephen Langdon.

1900 George L. Robinson discovered the "high place" of Petra. Robinson's 1930 publication has already been mentioned (see 1812).

1901 Captain **Gaston Cros** continued work at Telloh (Lagash).

1902 R. A. S. Macalister began his excavation of Gezer, working alone save for his efficient foreman, Yusif Kanʿan. Warran had first investigated the site, and it had been first located by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 – 1874. The Gezer excavation, which covered seven years, until Macalister's appointment to a chair of archaeology in Dublin, was "a model of economy…but stratigraphy and photography were neglected; surveying and levelling were utterly inadequate; the architectural aspects of the dig were dealt with only sketchily" (Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine,* 31). When the three massive volumes of Macalister's report appeared in 1912, "a monument of bee-like industry," they were hailed justly, Albright continues, "as a monumental achievement…But almost everything in them had to be redated and reinterpreted." The famous Gezer Calendar was dated several centuries too late because of an erroneous ceramic chronology. Macalister was under heavy disadvantages. To comply with Turkish law he was compelled to employ the "strip method," in which a site is cut strip by strip, the rubble from each successive strip being dumped into the preceding one. Further research is thereby precluded.

Hammurabi's Code was discovered by the French. Also in 1902, the Austrian biblical scholar Ernst Sellin began a three-year survey of Tell Taanach with small results. The stratigraphy was neglected. This, however, was the first excavation to be carried out in the more northerly part of Palestine, the ancient kingdom of Israel.

1903 G. Schumacher, an architect long resident in Palestine, who had received his initial training under Sellin, was placed in charge of a two-year investigation of Megiddo by the Deutscher Palästina-Verein and the Orient-Gesellschaft. The well-known Jeroboam Seal was discovered at this time.

1904 David G. Hogarth worked at Ephesus for the British Museum, studying in particular the sanctuary of Artemis.

1905 James Henry Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt* appeared in Chicago in September; also his *History of Egypt,* of which the 2nd ed. (1945) showed the striking advances in Egyptology.

1906 Hugo Winckler (1863 – 1913), a German Assyriologist who had worked at Sidon in 1903 – 1904, got a Turkish *firman* to dig at Boğazköy. A British archaeologist had identified Texier as this site, but the Germans were on good terms with the Turks at this time thanks to the undertaking (in 1899) of the Deutsche Bank to build the Berlin-Baghdad railway. The Kaiser had already been patron of Schumacher's archaeological activities and was similarly influential in sending Winckler to work in Anatolia. In the seventies of the century, A. H. Sayce had identified the area of Hittitology, but it was left to the German archaeologist to open up the theme. The literature discovered at Boğazköy was in a language not deciphered until a decade later by Hrozny, the Czech. An excellent popular account of the discovery of the Hittite Empire is given by C. W. Ceram in his *Narrow Pass, Black Mountain* (1956).

In 1906 the important 5th-cent. Aramaic papyri from the island of Elephantine, opposite Aswan in the Nile, were revealed. The first body of documents, mainly legal, was acquired from dealers and published by Archibald H. Sayce and Arthur Cowley in 1906 *(Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan).* The second, and more important batch, was recovered by a British Museum expedition on the site of the Jewish temple on the island, and was published by Eduard Sachau in 1911 (*Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka).* Publications on the theme are, in fact, voluminous. The third lot, much like the first, was actually found in 1893, and came to light in the Brooklyn Museum. They were published by Emil G. Kraeling in 1953 *(The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri).*

1907 Herman Thiersch, Herman Kohl, Carl Watzinger, and **Ernst Sellin** concluded a survey of the synagogues of Galilee. Kohl and Watzinger had been engaged on the clearance of the temple complex of Baalbek, one of the consequences of the Kaiser's spectacular visit to Palestine in 1898. The synagogues had attracted H. H. Kitchener's attention during the

Survey of Palestine, but this was the first investigation down to foundation level. Kohl and Watzinger published their authoritative *Antike Synanogen in Galilaea* in 1916.

In 1907 a joint German-Austrian expedition began two years' work on Jericho under **Ernst Sellin** and **Carl Watzinger**—at last, says Albright, "a properly staffed major excavation." The report, published in 1913, was rich, full, accurate, and properly illustrated. The stratigraphy was well handled, but dating was not perfect. The year 1907 also saw the first publication of Père A. H. Vincent, the admirable Dominican archaeologist, discoverer of the Bethesda Pool and the Antonia Tower.

1908 A turning point in Palestinian archaeology was marked by the excavation of Samaria in this year and 1910 – 1911 by **D. G. Lyon, C. S. Fisher,** and **G. A. Reisner.** Thanks to the millionaire Jacob Shiff, this Harvard expedition was superbly conducted. Reisner himself, says Albright, was "an archaeological genius worthy of standing beside Robinson, Clermont-Ganneau and Petrie." He had worked for a decade in Egypt and combined the expertise of Petrie, Dörpfeld, and Koldewey, along with "his native Middle-Western practicality and knack for large-scale organization" *(The Archaeology of Palestine,* 34). The two large volumes of the report did not appear until 1924.

1909 Duncan Mackenzie was invited by the Palestine Exploration Fund to direct the excavation of Beth Shemesh. He brought to the task an admirable knowledge of Aegean pottery, and so was able to identify the significant masses of Philistine pottery, first identified by Herman Thiersch in the previous year, which emerged on the site. The First World War interrupted Mackenzie's work.

1910 From 1910 to 1914 **Howard C. Butler** led a magnificently equipped expedition to Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia.

1913 The site of Shechem was investigated in the two years before the First World War by Sellin and Watzinger (work was resumed in 1926 – 1928, 1932, 1934) for the German Society for Scientific Research. It was demonstrated that Shechem was Balatah and was occupied until A.D. 67 when it was probably destroyed by Vespasian, who razed the adjacent Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim (see Albright, 247 – 48).

1917 The conquest of Palestine by the British in the First World War opened a golden age of archaeology. The Palestine Department of Antiquities was founded, headed by **John Garstang** of Liverpool University, and **W. F. Albright** appeared on the scene. He was in Palestine during the fifteen years from 1920 to 1935, when disorders began.

1918 The distinguished Assyriologist **R. Campbell Thompson,** then on the Intelligence Staff of the British Expeditionary Force in Iraq, began to dig at Eridu (Tell Abu-Shahren) for the British Museum, and opened an important chapter in Mesopotamian archaeology (see Patrick Carleton, *Buried Empires* [1939]).

1919 Promptly with the conclusion of hostilities the archaeologists were at work again, especially in lands which remained under British control. New and notable figures, such as Albright and Woolley, were in the field and some special events call for notice. In 1919 **Clarence Fisher** was at work at Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt, where Petrie had worked for seven years. **H. R. Hall,** now near the end of his life, continued his Sumerian archaeology at Tell al-ʿUbaid. **A. S. B. Wace** was doing remarkable work at Mycenae in 1920, the year in which J. H. Breasted published the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, a 17th-cent. B.C. copy of an original of the middle 3rd millennium. **Pierre Montet,** in the French mandated territory of Syria, discovered at Byblos, the ancient Phoenician cedar port, the tomb of King Ahiram. Excavations at Byblos (modern Gebal) had begun in 1919 under **Maurice Dunand.** In 1921 **T. Eric Peet** was working at Tell el-Amarna with Woolley. From 1921 to 1923 **C. S. Fisher, A. Rowe,** and **G. M. Fitzgerald** worked at Beth Shan on behalf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (the work was carried on in the years 1925 – 1928, 1930 – 1933, and covered 5,000 years of history).

1922 In 1922 and 1923 **Albright** was working at Gibeah (Tell el-Ful) and Kiriath Sepher (Debir). He made large contributions to the knowledge of Iron Age pottery. The great lesson of his work was that good results are dependent mostly on meticulous care in digging.

The year 1922 was remarkable for two events that brought archaeology to the attention of the world as nothing else had done. The tomb of Tutankhamen was discovered by **Howard Carter** in the Valley of the Kings, and the Indus Valley Culture of Harappa and Mohengo-Daro was revealed by **John Marshall** (see P. Carleton, *Buried Empires* [1939], 141ff.).

In Palestine **A. Schmidt** and **H. Kaer** worked at Shiloh. The year 1922 must also be set down as the beginning of **Sir Charles Leonard Woolley's** epoch-making excavations at Ur. The ruins of Abraham's city, known as el-Muqayyar, were first looked at by the English archaeologists Loftus and Taylor in 1854 and by Hall immediately after the First World War. Woolley's systematic exploration was carried competently on from 1922 to 1934 under the auspices of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania. Woolley's classic *Ur of the Chaldees was* published in 1929. His progressive reports appeared annually over the years of the excavations in *The Antiquaries Journal.* Woolley had been in charge of the British Museum's exploration of Carchemish until the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.

1923 Excavations at Kish (Tell el-Uheimir), 8 mi. E of Babylon, unraveled much Sumerian history. It was an extremely rich site. Professor Stephen Langdon's report *(Excavations at Kish)* was published in the following year—the same year as Langdon's Sumerian writings were appearing in the first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History.*

W. J. Pythian-Adams and **John Garstang** worked at Ashkelon, and five years' work on the Ophel hill at Jerusalem was undertaken by **Macalister, J. Garrow Duncan,** and **J. W. Crowfoot.**

1924 David M. Robinson was working on Pisidian Antioch. A monograph on the Roman sculptures of this imperial bastion of Roman defense in Asia appeared two years later *(The Art Bulletin* [1926 – 27], 5 – 69). The publication of the early volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* in this year was a milestone. This was the year Sir Mortimer Wheeler had in mind when he spoke of archaeology's being discovered "not only by the public but by the professors." The discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, and particularly the archaeological section of the *London Illustrated News,* had awakened the world, and occasioned Wheeler's ironic priority.

1925 The Nuzi documents with their flood of light on the patriarchal age attracted notice at this time. Nuzi is Yoghlan Tepe, a tell 150 mi. N of Baghdad, near the hill country of S. Kurdistan. It was excavated in 1925 – 1931 by a joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad and by Harvard University. (E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser wrote first about the site and its significance in AASOR 6 [1926]: 75 – 90; see also Richard F. Starr, *Nuzi* [1939].)

E. L. Sukenik gave some attention to the tangled problem of the walls of Jerusalem in this year.

Remarkable advances in Palestinian prehistory marked the middle twenties. In 1925 a young Englishman, F. Turville-Petrie, examining two caves above the Galilee lake, found the first traces of Palestinian prehistoric man (Dorothy Garrod followed up this work in 1928 to 1934 and established the outlines of what came to be known as the Natufian Culture).

Also in 1925, Fisher left the University of Pennsylvania and joined the staff of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. His first task was the direction of the Megiddo excavations. Over fourteen years, until ill health forced Fisher's retirement, and at immense cost, this famous and fruitful site (till then only cursorily examined by the German expedition) was completely investigated. P. L. O. Guy and Gordon Loud succeeded Fisher, but only a part of Megiddo was thoroughly examined. In 1925 Horsfield and Crowfoot began a clearance of Gerasa (modern Jerash) that was continued for nine years.

1926 In this year the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (founded in 1900) began the excavation of Tell en-Naṣbeh (the biblical Mizpah). The work was directed by Fisher's disciple W. F. Badè, and a thorough excavation was completed. The two-volume report of the nine years' digging came out over the name of C. C. McCown in 1947, a model for all such publications. Simultaneously a second project under M. G. Kyle and W. F. Albright worked on Tell Beit Mirsim, SW of Hebron, the ancient Kiriath Sepher or Debir (four campaigns between 1926 and 1932). An important result of this expert dig was the establishment of a clear pottery sequence, a standard basis for future Palestinian archaeologists. (Palestinian chronology, in confusion when Albright began digging at Gibeah [Tell el-Ful] in 1922, was greatly clarified by Pythian-Adam's work at Askelon and by the continued digging at Gibeah and Tell Beit-Mirsim [1926] and Bethel [1934]—all the work of Albright—and by Reisner's work at Samaria [published in 1924], and by Shipton of Megiddo.)

1927 J. W. Crowfoot continued his work on the Ophel hill of Jerusalem (in succession to Macalister and Garrow Duncan). The work ended in 1928. The same archaeologist did important work at Samaria, a side result of which, along with Kathleen Kenyon's work, went far to stabilize the chronology of Palestine. In other spheres of archaeology not irrelevant to biblical studies, E. A. Speiser was busy at Tepe Gawra (also 1931 – 1939), Tell Billah (also 1931 – 1939), and Khafaze (also 1930 – 1936); A. Gabriel at the desert city of Tadmor (the ancient Palmyra); and Walter B. Emery in Egypt. Emery's career was to extend for a generation with some distinguished finds. At Saqqara, in 1936, he excavated the intact tomb of Hemaka, vizier of a king of First Dynasty, then the tomb of Sabu, a nobleman of the same period, in 1937, and the tomb of Aha. In Armant, he excavated the temples and tomb of the sacred bull, discovered and cleared First Dynasty tomb of Pharaoh Ka-a at Abydos, and found a funerary boat thought to be that of Pharaoh Udimu of Fifth Dynasty, in 1955. He continued his work at Saqqara and found the mastaba tomb of Queen Her-Neit of First Dynasty in 1956, then began extensive excavation of the 12th-cent. fortified town of Buhen in the Sudan in 1958, 1959, 1960.

In 1927 E. **Gjersted** did notable work at Enkomi, Lapethos, and Vouni in Cyprus.

1928 Elihu Grant began a series of five campaigns at Beth Shemesh with aid from Fisher. The principal addition to knowledge was in the period of Israelite occupation between the 12th and 9th centuries B.C. With the able assistance of **G. E. Wright,** the chronology was clarified in time for the report. E. **Chiera,** working at Nuzi (as also between 1930 and 1932) identified the Hurrians. (The same archaeologist worked at Khorsabad in 1928 and 1929.) From 1928 to 1937 M. Rostovtzeff and others continued the work at Dura Europos first begun six years earlier by F. Cumont for the French Academy. From 1928 to 1934 **J. D. S. Pendlebury,** Director of Egyptian Exploration Society excavations, was working at Tell el-Amarna, and in 1928 **T. Wiegand** worked on the Pergamum Asklepeion, a task which occupied the next three years. P. L. O. Guy, now in the third season at Megiddo, discovered the famous royal stables.

1929 Dorothy Garrod, a Cambridge prehistorian, began her six years' work on Palestinian caves, notably on Carmel. She worked under the joint auspices of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem and the American School of Prehistoric Research, leading to some knowledge of the so-called Natufian Culture (see Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine,* 52ff.). Horsfield was at work at Petra, C. F. Schaeffer making his remarkable finds at Ras Shamra (Albright, 187), and the Jesuits beginning on Teilat el-Ghassul in the Jordan valley in the same year. The Jesuits conducted eight campaigns up to 1938 (Albright, 45).

1930 Theodore D. McCown, with **C. S. Fisher,** continued working at Gerasa and on the Carmel caves (with Dorothy Garrod; see Albright, 169 – 70). **G. L. Robinson** discovered Petra's "high place." **John Garstang,** Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities, began six years' work at Jericho. The work had been initiated by the Germans Sellin and

Watzinger in 1913, and was continued (1952 – 1958) by Kathleen Kenyon. Garstang discovered the first Neolithic urban culture (see J. B. Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* [1948]).

1931 **Ernest Herzfeld** was at work at Persepolis, and **A. Maiui** at Pompeii and Herculaneum; **O. R. Sellers** with **W. F. Albright** was working at Beth Zur, a site of interesting Maccabean remains, commanding the road from Jerusalem to Hebron. The British-American-Hebrew University project at Samaria—a four-year dig—began in 1931, and was to continue under **J. W. Crowfoot,** who began where Reisner left off and with much more exact chronology. **M. E. L. Mallowan** appeared on the scene with work at Nineveh. He was to work extensively in this area for more than thirty years. The excavation of the *agora* at Athens began in this year and extended to 1939. It was directed for the American School of Classical Studies by Oscar Broneer. The Chester Beatty Papyri were discovered.

1932 **G. E. Ederkin** worked on the site of Syrian Antioch. Excavations continued there until 1939 without producing significant evidence for the apostolic period. On behalf of the Wellcome Expedition, **J. L. Starkey** (Petrie's pupil) began excavations at Lachish. The work went on for four years until the tragic death of the notable archaeologist at the hands of an Arab bandit in 1938. The major find was the Lachish Letters with their light on Jeremiah. The Dura synagogue (A.D. 244) was found almost intact by the French-American expedition in this year (Albright, 175-76). In 1932 and 1933, **R. W. Hamilton,** of the Palestine Department of Antiquities, worked on a Bronze Age II site at the foot of Carmel on the coastal plain—Tell Abu Hawam. Importance of the Nazareth Decree, in the Louvre for half a century, was recognized by M. Rostovtzeff in this year.

1933 **Roman Ghirshman** began five years' work on Tepe Siyalk. **P. Dikaias** was busy in Cyprus. **Mme Judith Marquet-Krause** began an important excavation at Ai, a work interrupted by the untimely death of the archaeologist after two seasons' work. **Charles Morey** continued work at Syrian Antioch, aided by **Richard Stillwell.** In this year, **Andre Parrot,** excavating Tell Harari, near the Euphrates in SE Syria, began uncovering Mari, a project that extended to 1960. The literature discovered was of immense biblical importance. In 1933 the rabbi archaeologist **Nelson Glueck** began his thirteen-year survey of Transjordan from Aqabah to the Syrian border, patiently identifying and dating the sites in an almost untouched area (see Albright, 44, 76 – 78). Glueck's remarkable book *(The Jordan)* was published in London in 1946—with a second edition nine years later.

1934 **Hetty Goldman** began work at Gozlu Kule (ancient Tarsus). Two volumes of her report appeared in 1950 and 1956. The task covered four seasons. Excavations at Bethel were conducted by **J. L. Kelso** and **W. F. Albright** in this year. **J. H. Steckweh** brought the German project at Shechem (Balatah) to a close—a work initiated by E. Sellin in 1913 and resumed by him in 1926. The work had been a badly organized project interrupted by Germany's troubles and by tension in the party. In a brief season Steckweh cleared up much detail and salvaged valuable results (Albright, 45 – 46; also the article in Avraham Negev's *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* [1972], 257).

1935 J. W. Black was working at Samaria, **Erich Schmidt** at Persepolis, and **Gordon Loud** at Megiddo succeeded by P. L. O. Guy. Two seasons later the famous Megiddo ivories were discovered. The archaeological reports, as the article on Megiddo shows, are extensive and cover a generation. A further season of the joint expedition at Samaria (1931 – 1933) was undertaken this year. C. H. Roberts published papyrus fragments of John's Gospel, now in John Rylands Library at Manchester.

1936 The large Jewish town and necropolis of Beth Shearim saw begun a four-year project under B. Mazar for the Hebrew University and Israel Exploration Society. Here B. Maisler and his colleagues found an important Jewish cemetery.

1937 Nelson Glueck excavated at a Nabatean cemetery on Jebel et-Tannur, SE of the Dead Sea (Albright, 165).

1938 J. L. Starkey was murdered early in the year. It was symptomatic of a gathering darkness, and **Lancaster Harding** and **Charles H. Inge** carried on briefly at Lachish, but the troubles of seven years were bringing to a close the greatest decade of archaeology yet known.

1939 Just before the Second World War broke out, the immensely expensive Megiddo exploration was brought to an end, though in 1941 Yigael Yadin, a new great name appearing in the story, did some work on the site—and also at Hazor. Yadin was the son of E. L. Sukenik, who had already worked on many sites in Palestine, concentrating on Jewish tombs and synagogues. At intervals between 1925 and 1940 he had investigated, along with L. A. Mayer, the location of the third wall of Jerusalem, discovered by Robinson a century earlier. The turbulent years preceding the formation of the State of Israel in 1948 delayed the launching of post-war projects in Palestine, save that in 1946 French excavation began at Tell el-Farak, NE of Nablus. Post-war inflation set a limit on funds and the size of the project.

1947 At the end of this year (November 23), **E. L. Sukenik** of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem received the first information over the telephone about the famous **Dead Sea Scrolls.** The acquisition of these priceless documents, accidentally discovered during the preceding winter (1946/1947) by bedouin is told in John C. Trevers' 1965 publication, *The Untold Story of Qumran.* The Scrolls were, in Albright's opinion, "the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times…an absolutely incredible find," and they have evoked a great mass of writing. In 1947 **John Cook** was working at Smyrna.

1948 Robert Braidwood worked at Qalat Jarmo in NE Iraq on a number of prehistoric villages. Anthropologists may find them relevant in the outline account of human prehistory in the first four chapters of Genesis. Braidwood's work continued at intervals to 1958. Excavations in Israel, as Israeli archaeology promptly began work, were undertaken at Tell Kasileh near Tel Aviv (1948, 1949). They were directed by B. Mazar on behalf of the Israel Exploration Society and the Tel Aviv Museum. Excavations at Joppa began in the

same year and continued to 1950, and in 1952 and 1955 by J. Kaplan for the Jaffa Museum.

1949 Taking up Layard's work of over a century before, the British School of Archaeology in Iraq spent twelve years (1949 to 1961) in tracing Calah's history from prehistoric to Hellenistic times (see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains,* [1962]). **R. de Vaux** began his digging on the Essene sites of Qumran and ʿAin Feshka.

1950 The seven-year investigation of the cemetery under St. Peter's in Rome began under the direction of **Ludwig Kaas.** The excavation at Dibon in Moab by William Merton for the American School at Jerusalem began. They covered seven seasons. In this and the following years, J. L. Kelso and J. B. Pritchard worked on Roman Jericho. Explorations by the American Foundation for the Study of Man (1950 – 1953), followed by those of the University of Louvain (1951, 1952), brought to light much Sabean art and the 8th cent. B.C. temple of the Moon Goddess at Marib.

1951 G. L. Harding and **Ronald de Vaux** came into possession of the first Bar Kokhba documents, but the source was undisclosed to them.

1952 Copper rolls from the Dead Sea caves, sent to Manchester College of Technology for unrolling, gave clue to the Qumran community. Work that was to extend to 1958 was begun at Jericho, sponsored by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, by the Palestine Exploration Fund, in collaboration with the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and the Royal Ontario Museum. **Dr. Kathleen Kenyon** was in charge, and this was to prove the most complete exploration of the ancient site yet undertaken. **Nelson Glueck's** exploration of the Negev began in 1952. **Roman Ghirshman,** who had worked at Tepe Siyalk from 1933 to 1937 and at Susa from 1946, began in 1952 his eight-year task of clearing the elaborate ziggurat of the Elamite city of Chaga-Zambil, in Iran.

1953 Joseph P. Free, sponsored by Wheaton College, Illinois, began a series of campaigns at Dothan. Excavation reports are to be found in *BA* and *BASOR* over many succeeding years.

1954 Pages were added to Mycenaean archaeology by **Carl Blegen's** work at Pylos. **Kurt Bittel** did notable work at Boğazköy. This scholar had been at work for some score of years on the Hittite Empire, its language and script. His work lies, like some other themes here listed, only on the periphery of biblical archaeology, but a popular account of both Bittel's and Bossert's work, and the decipherment of Hittite, is to be found in C. W. Ceram's *Narrow Pass, Black Mountain* (1956). This was a year of some activity, with **Zakarie Goneiun** busy at Saqqara, **Andre Godard** at Persepolis, **Richard Haines** at Nippur (where he discovered the Inanna temple), **Philip Hammond** at Petra, **Kamal el Mallakh** at Giza, **Jean Perrot** at Tell Abu Matar, near Beersheba, **Heinrich Lenzen,** for the German Archaeological Society, at Warka (ancient Erech), **Seton Lloyd** at Beycesultan, **J. A. Puglish** at Rome. **Y. Aharoni** opened the first of his four digs at Ramat Rahel (1954, 1959, 1960, 1963) on behalf of the University of Rome and associated Israeli institutions. Five occupation levels from the Iron Age to Christian and Arab times were distinguished. **A. J.**

B. Wace was beginning a decade's work at Mycenae.

1955 Emil Kunze was at work at Olympia. The Greek games (Pythian at Delphi, Isthmian at Corinth, and Olympic at Olympia in the western Peloponnese) are relevant to biblical archaeology only for the imagery they supplied for Paul and Hebrews. **S. Yeivan** continued the vigorous Israeli work at Caesarea, where **Antonio Frova,** the Italian, uncovered the theater in which, in 1960, a stone bearing a fragmented inscription of Pontius Pilate was found. The excavation of Hazor by Y. Yadin began this year, extended to 1958, and was continued in 1968. It was undertaken on behalf of the Hebrew University and revealed the ability of a new, locally trained generation of Israeli archaeologists. The Jordan Department of Antiquities commissioned P. J. Parr to clear and restore monuments at Petra. A Roman villa, uncovered in Kent, at Lullingstone, contains evidence for Christianity in 3rd cent. Britain (G. W. Meates, *Lullingstone Roman Villa* [1955]).

1956 In this year, the next, and in 1962, 1964, and 1966, Shechem was excavated by **G. E. Wright** on behalf of the McCormick Archaeological Expedition, and **J. B. Pritchard** began important work at Gibeon. It was carried on in 1957, 1959, 1960, and 1962 by the same archaeologist on behalf of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. At Caesarea, **M. Avi-Yonah,** for the Hebrew University, excavated synagogue ruins. (The troubles of Israel following the Suez crisis of this year held up many projects, especially those under the widening sponsorship of local institutions of learning.)

1957 B. Ravani worked at Tiberias. He excavated the baths at this ancient spa.

1958 Harvard and Cornell Universities, in cooperation with the American Schools of Oriental Research, began new excavations at Sardis (see *BASOR* 154 [April 1959]: 1 – 35). **Franz Mittner** was working at Ephesus, and **N. Zori** at Beth Shan.

1959 A four-year dig, resuming interrupted work, was begun at Caesarea. **Saul S. Weinberg** was at work in Corinth. In 1959 UNESCO first broached the project of an international effort to lift and save the great temples of Abu Simbel from the forthcoming inundation of the Aswan High Dam. At immense expense this was accomplished (see A. S. McQuitty, *Abu Simbel* [1965]; Burckhardt had first discovered this temple in 1812).

1960 A three-year research project at Caesarea in underwater archaeology worked on the Roman port. A. Negev, on behalf of the National Parks Authority, worked on the Crusader town. In the third season of excavations at Shechem by the Drew-McCormick Expedition, the Bronze Age beginnings of the town were revealed (see addendum to article in *IDB,* 4:315). In this year the Israel Exploration Society made a thorough exploration of the Dead Sea caves, and **Y. Yadin,** in charge of one of the four teams, made a significant discovery behind En Gedi. He used a helicopter to photograph the area and located a Roman camp that led to the discovery of the Bar Kokhba relics in the caves below (see, for a readily accessible account, Ronald Harker, *Digging up Bible Lands* [1972], 96 – 108). The exploration was fruitfully resumed in March, 1961.

1961 Paul Lapp excavated at Araq el-Emir, 1961 to 1963, and at Taanach in 1964. He was Director of the Jerusalem School of the American Society for Oriental Research (1961 – 1964). In a cave N of Jericho he found important papyri from Samaria (722 B.C.) in 1963. James Mellaart worked at Iconium (modern Konya) from 1961 to 1963.

1962 H. F. Squarciapino worked at Ostia, the Tiber port of Rome, in 1962. He discovered a 4th-cent. A.D. synagogue, the oldest found in W Europe. In 1962 and 1963 the Roman theater was excavated at Petra by the Princeton Theological Seminary under the direction o f **P. Hammond, Jr.** From 1962 to 1967 **Yohanan Aharoni** Professor of Biblical Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, along with **R. Amiram,** excavated on behalf of the Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society at Arad; and, for the Department of Antiquities and Museums, **M. Dothan** worked at Ashdod. Both seasons extended until 1967. Simultaneously (until 1968) **Kathleen Kenyon** continued working at Jericho for the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, and W. G. **Dever** for the Hebrew Union College.

1963 In this and the two succeeding seasons, **Y. Yadin** organized and completed his mass archaeological assault on Masada.

1964 J. Callaway worked at Ai and **K. Schoonover** at Et Tell.

1965 Mampsis, the easternmost town of the central Negev, 25 mi. E of Beersheba, was excavated by **A. Negev** for the Hebrew University and Parks Administration. The work covered three seasons. (The site had been visited by E. Robinson in 1838 and E. H. Palmer in 1871. C. L. Wooley and T. E. Lawrence drew a plan of the ruins in 1914 and a final survey was made in 1937 by G. G. Kirk and P. L. O. Guy.)

1967 The Six Days' War brought many historic sites into Israeli control—for example Old Jerusalem, and the whole of the Sinai Peninsula. In Sinai, during the brief period of Israeli occupation from 1956 to 1957, a detailed survey of sites was conducted and published in a magnificent book called *God's Wilderness,* by Beno Rothenberg (1961). A fine scroll from the Dead Sea (8.6 meters long) was bought by **Y. Yadin** from an Arab dealer who could be located only after the occupation of Jordanian Jerusalem. It was a manual containing religious rules, architectural notes on how the temple at Jerusalem should be built, and a mass of other directions. A plan for mobilization was oddly similar to that put into operation exactly 2,000 years after the concealment of the writings.

1968 In this year **B. Mazar** began the excavation of the S wall of the temple mount on behalf of three Israeli institutions (the decade's work on this difficult site is detailed in K. Kenyon's *Royal Cities of the Old Testament* [1971], 39, 43, 45, 61, 110, 111, 114). In this year, during building operations at Givat Ha-Mivtar, NE of Jerusalem, the ossuary of Yehohanan Ha-Gaqol, a man who had been crucified, was discovered.

1969 N. Avigad began excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem where remains of a magnificent Hellenistic villa have been revealed; and **S. Weinberg**, on behalf of the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri, began work at Tel Anafah in the Hula Valley.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

[For various reasons, chronological recording becomes difficult from this point. Moreover, since the initial publication of this encyclopedia, activity in many areas relevant to biblical archaeology has increased vigorously, and space constraints make it impossible to provide a full account. The supplement to the main article (section VII, "Biblical archaeology since 1975") summarizes some of the major developments that have taken place during the past three decades. Readers interested in greater detail may wish to consult such periodicals as *Biblical Archaeologist* and *Biblical Archaeology Review,* which provide up-to-date reports on discoveries as well as discussion regarding the interpretation of the data.]

archangel. See ANGEL.

Archelaus ahr'kuh-lay'uhs (Ἀρχέλαος *G793).* See HEROD IV.

archer. The main tactical offensive unit of ancient armies was the archer. Archers developed their skills from childhood with stronger bows at longer and longer distances until their proficiency was assured. The laminated bows made of glued layers of animal hide and thin layers of wood pulled at upward of one hundred pounds, and the missiles thus powered could easily pierce all but the strongest armor. Ancient bows and arrows and jagged holes in armor have been excavated from a number of areas of the Mediterranean coast. In numerous accounts in the Scripture archers are foremost in the heat of battle,

Panel from a palace in Nineveh (c. 640 B.C.) depicting an Assyrian archer shooting arrows from a chariot.

and their victims included several of the kings of Israel (1 Sam. 31:3; 2 Sam. 11:24; 1 Chr. 10:3; 2 Chr. 35:23). The English term *archer* translates Hebrew *rab H8043* on three occasions (Job 16:13;

Prov. 26:10 [disputed]; Jer. 50:29); elsewhere several phrases are used, some of which contain the term *qešet H8008,* "compound bow" (e.g., 1 Sam. 31:3; 1 Chr. 10:3). See ARMOR, ARMS; WAR.

W. WHITE, JR.

Archevite ahr'kuh-v*i*t (אַרְכֵּוִי *H10074,* gentilic derived from a place name; cf. Heb. אֶרֶךְ *H804).* This term in the KJV transliterates an Aramaic name referring to people from the Babylonian city of ERECH (Uruk). Along with the Persians, Babylonians, Elamites, and others, they were transplanted by ASHURBANIPAL (Osnappar) to the cities of Samaria and other parts of the province (Ezra 4:9 – 10).

Archi ahr'k*i*. KJV alternate form of ARKITE (Josh. 16:2).

Archippus ahr-kip'uhs (Ἄρχιππος *G800,* "master of the horse"). A Christian worker included in the salutation of the letter to PHILEMON (Phlm. 2) and exhorted in Col. 4:17. From the association of his name with Philemon and APPHIA, it is generally assumed that Archippus was the son, or possibly brother, of Philemon. The description "our fellow soldier" indicates his aggressive participation in the Christian warfare. The reference may be to some past joint conflict with PAUL during his Ephesian ministry or to a current battle of Archippus with the Colossian heresy.

Paul instructed the COLOSSIANS to say to Archippus, "See to it that you complete the work you have received in the Lord'" (Col. 4:17). This comment naturally connects Archippus with the Colossian church. From the context some have inferred that he ministered in neighboring LAODICEA He possibly had pastoral oversight of the churches in the Lycus Valley during the absence of EPAPHRAS. Paul's exhortation to Archippus through the church is his own approval of that appointment. The injunction, resembling that given TIMOTHY (1 Tim. 4:16), need not imply dereliction of duty; it is a sympathetic concern that with earnest watchfulness he fulfill his difficult assignment.

John Knox (*Philemon among the Letters of Paul,* rev. ed. [1959], ch. 3) suggested an ingenious reconstruction of the circumstances. He held that Archippus was the principal addressee of the letter to Philemon, that the Colossian church met in his house, and that he was the owner of the slave ONESIMUS. He regarded Philemon as the overseer of the churches of the Lycus Valley, residing in Laodicea. The letter to Philemon, which Knox equates with the letter mentioned in Col. 4:16, was first sent to Philemon to gain his backing for Paul's request to Archippus to "complete the work," that is, to return Onesimus to him as a missionary aide. This reconstruction is dubious. Knox's view would be strengthened by reversing the position of Archippus and Philemon (cf. W. G. Rollins, *JBL* 78 [1959]: 277 – 78).This change would make the second singular pronoun consistently refer to Philemon and account for the church "in your house" rather than "his house." Knox's understanding of Archippus's "work" as the release of Onesimus is inadequate, which from the context is clearly a service committed to him in the church. The common view that makes Philemon the real recipient of the letter and owner of the slave is most satisfactory.

According to tradition Archippus, along with Philemon and Apphia, was stoned to death at Chonae, near Laodicea. A tradition that includes him among the Seventy (cf. Lk. 10:1) is not credible.

D. E. HIEBERT

Archite. See ARKITE #2.

architecture. The art and science of building, by which human beings have sought to enclose space

that is both habitable and an artistic expression of human endeavor.

1. The development of architecture
    1. Anatolia and the West
    2. Mesopotamia
    3. Egypt
    4. Palestine
2. Style
3. Materials and techniques

I. The development of architecture. Architecture has constantly reflected the basic character of its structural materials, as in the ubiquitous mud brick of Mesopotamia's alluvial plain. But certain forms also indicate inability to rise above imaginative limitations or to control completely the basic structural materials. Nevertheless, their artistic use does occur in the decorative motifs of the more permanent stone and brick.

The enclosure of space appeared first in the provision of shelter for the family by means of the round plan. When rectangular framing was learned, rectangular plans prevailed in the 7th millennium B.C. at Budur, Anatolia, placing the center of beginnings of architecture in ASIA MINOR (A. Badawy, *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East* [1966], 128). After urban groups emerged, the palace was developed when the king figure arose, c. 3000 B.C. (K. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* [1960], 41 – 42). Architecture obviously requires peace and political stability for its development, both secured through the peaceful medium of a settled community undisturbed by the vicissitudes of contemporary times. Architecture was also affected by cultural and religious influences, by infiltration of style through trade and migration, and by new rulers who felt free to adapt the local culture to their own tastes.

A. Anatolia and the West. Archaeology indicates that the architectural process had its earliest observable beginning in Anatolia at Hafilar near Budur in the 7th millennium B.C. (J. Mellaart in *The Illustrated London News* [Apr 8, 1961]; Badawy, *Architecture*, 205). Already the rectangular plan showed an early solution of roof framing by tree pole beams. Foundation problems were solved by the use of larger stones as base courses for upper walls. Enlargement of the house was evident in the 6th millennium with the appearance of two-story houses, using a post system of supports for the second floor (Badawy, *Architecture,* 128), and by the appearance of the plano-convex brick, a more versatile construction material than rubble stone. A regression in the next millennium was seen in houses consisting frequently of only one room and an anteroom.

Incipient urban development emerged also at Hafilar in the 6th millennium B.C. in the grouping of houses around a rectangular open space (Badawy, *Architecture,* 122 – 23), occurring also earlier at JERICHO. True towns, however, arose only in later times. Plan types show the usual contrasts between the poor and affluent: the one-room-anteroom versus the multi-roomed homes of the latter. Other Old HITTITE houses featured two rooms for larger houses, achieved by repeating these two rooms in groups of two or more. This two-room plan persisted into the 2nd millennium, still using the posts of earlier times for roof supports. Thicker brick walls of later houses indicate longer ceiling spans. The entrance vestibule disappeared. About 1500 B.C. a new plan appeared consisting of smaller rooms located back of a larger room, repeated as series to provide a larger house (Badawy, *Architecture,* 130; R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* [1955], Fig. 421). Models showed awnings,

porticoes, and windows.

Troy (level IIc) produced the earliest known palace in western Anatolia, the *megaron* style of a large, central room approached through an entry to the SW. Mid-2nd millennium Boğazköy provided a splendid example of a defensive palace constructed on the highest point within its own walls with subsidiary buildings for royal, governmental, and defensive functions. Slightly earlier, Yarimlim's palace at Tel Atchana (17th cent. B.C.) revealed a "zoned" arrangement of ceremonial, residential, and dependency rooms about a central court with an access corridor on the E side. Niqmepa's plan (15th – 14th cent. B.C.) was the same, but in several stories. Prominent was the use of a monumental *bīt ḫilāni* flanked by side towers (the Assyrian term is applied to a type of architectural style characterized by a broad room with an opening portico and subordinate rooms on the sides). As the earliest known example, it may indicate the area of its origin. Doubled halls occurred back of the *bīt ḫilāni,* and a movable hearth on rails provided heat in winter.

CARCHEMISH and Sarr)al (Zenjirli) were the more important towns of the 1st millennium, the former an oval with the inner citadel forming the NE quarter on its hill overlooking the EUPHRATES. Sarr)al was round with an oval-shaped citadel, the outer wall having three equidistant gates. The citadel had four "quarters" on different levels. (Anatolian towns were generally oval, while Syrian towns were round.) The two palaces at Sarr)al had the usual *hilani* and the usual summer and winter quarters.

Sanctuaries in earlier Anatolia were a "nature" type, dedicated primarily to the weather god, reflecting the harsher Anatolian climate. Eflatun Punar had an altar platform at the northern end of an artificial lake (Badawy, *Architecture,* 134), its face bearing carved representations of Hittite deities. At Yazililkaya a converted cleft became a roofless grotto, with propylea (entrance gate complex) and secondary rooms. Similar to the Hittite palace, a remarkable example of palace influence on temple construction is seen in Temple I of Boğazköy (14th cent. B.C.), the temple lying within a court formed by ranks of long, narrow storage rooms on all sides. At Tel Tayinat is found a plan reminiscent of Solomon's temple, with porch, antecella, and cella (8th cent. B.C.), which formed the basic elements of later Greek temples. (See further S. Lloyd, *Early Anatolia* [1956].)

B. Mesopotamia. The period about 4700 B.C. saw the spread of village culture through upper MESOPOTAMIA and toward the W (cf. Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 58 – 59), but true urban culture appearing near the Persian Gulf (Badawy, *Architecture,* 80 – 81) was characterized by streets radiating from a central plaza, though oval-pattern walls were the natural enclosures of irregular urban plans. City orientation was thereafter NW-SE, with the temple in the northerly quarter facing NE to use the breezes from that direction for cooling. Its encircling wall served defensive purposes as well. An improved axial layout occurred in cities of later eras: UrIII, Nippur (Dyn III), and Larsa (20th – 17th cent. B.C.) exhibited irregular plans, while Borsippa (pre-18th cent. B.C.), Khorsabad (8th cent. B.C.), and Babylon (6th cent. B.C.) illustrated axial plans developed to facilitate religious festivals (Badawy, *Architecture,* 83).

Houses in Mesopotamia were constructed first of reeds, as can be seen in the terra-cotta offering stand of UR (C. 2000 B.C.) found at ASSHUR, showing a two-storied structure, the second set at the back of the roof terrace. Soon wattle-and-daub technique appeared (Badawy, *Architecture,* 85). From one-room plans of earliest times, plans with several rooms developed, arranged around an open, inner court notable for frequent drains, usually of stone.

The historical period (c. 3000 B.C. onward) provided at Tepe Gawra a plan, largely symmetrical, of *liwan* (recessed covered area, open on one side) flanked by smaller rooms

accessible from inside, and to the left, a rectangular hall roofed with a brick vault, fronting on an open, enclosed court. The symmetry extended into later times. Tel Asmar (25th cent. B.C.) formulated a nonsymmetrical plan of entrance hall and vestibule to the left, observable by kitchen peepholes, and a living room beyond having a hearth and mud bench, with reception hall and a suite of bedrooms and service rooms arranged clockwise around the living room. Generally, roofs seemed to be gabled.

The Ur III Period (c. 2110 – 2000 B.C.) introduced the inner court about which rooms were arranged, frequently in two stories, the second served by a wood balcony on wood posts. This plan had become "centered" by 1970 – 1698 B.C., and chapels frequently were included. In later eras house plans became irregular in size and layout, the streets being the irregular, open traffic ways in front of houses. Wall profiles became "sawtooth" in order to "straighten up" the exterior line. In the time of the Neo-Babylonian kingdoms larger houses had a more formal symmetry with subtle arrangement of reception area and private quarters.

Palaces. One of the earliest PALACES is that of King Mesilim (c. 2600 B.C.), which consisted of the residence and an annex, the former having a passageway all around, consisting of a square courtyard with shallow rooms on three sides and a block of rooms on the E or fourth side. Urnammu's palace (c. 2100 B.C.) used the same court layout with shallow rooms grouped about it, coupled with a series of smaller courts and rooms. MARI (C. 2000 B.C.) provided a huge palace complex that is significant for the introduction of a large square court with a shallow, broad throne room or reception room on the S side, which arrangement became characteristic of later Babylonian palaces.

The Cassites used a court system connected to a central transverse hall surrounded in turn by rooms, as at Dur Kurigalzu (Taha Baqir, *Iraq,* Supp. 1943 – 1944, Fig. 52). Sargon's palace at Khorsabad was a citadel with palace, the latter with rooms grouped about courts according to function, making for a more random appearance. NEBUCHADNEZZAR built his palace by the river near the ISHTAR gate on a terrace twelve meters high. It was a series of courts surrounded by smaller sized subsidiary rooms. The main court fronted the throne room on the S, which was backed up by smaller rooms. This whole block was surrounded by a continuous corridor on three sides. At the N end of an eastern court group was a series of massive walls that some have suggested were foundations of Nebuchadnezzar's hanging gardens described by JOSEPHUS and Diodorus (Badawy, *Architecture,* 96).

Temples in Mesopotamia, derived from pre-Sumerian times from quite small cellae, became in later times elaborate, well-planned, sophisticated structures. Two types were used. One was a symmetrical, T-shaped plan with an open court containing the altar and surrounding rooms, as in Temple D at Uruk (29th cent. B.C.). The second type showed a plan with cella at the side of a raised court, having a side doorway at one end, with the altar and niche for the idol at the opposite end, as in the "White Temple" (28th cent.; cf. Badawy, *Architecture,* 100). Later Kafajah (c. 2300), with a rectangular plan, featured an outer wall, another oval wall within at a higher level, and within this at the rear a temple set on an elevated platform.

In the Neo-Sumerian era (Ur III) the ZIGGURAT came prominently into use with the "high" temple on top where the god was said to alight. Access was by the monumental stair. The "lower" temple, at the base of the ziggurat, where the god was believed to dwell between advents, featured a court and a broad shallow room at its back, the so-called "Hurrian" cella, also occurring in the Innana temple at NIPPUR (18th cent. B.C.). The ziggurat of Urnammu at Ur is the largest and most impressive for ascent.

In the later eras of Ur, layouts became precise and harmonic in proportion, namely, Ningal's temple, where the peak of Babylonian architecture was reached (Badawy, *Architecture,* 105). The

Cassites restored and remodeled temples of previous eras, reverting to the long, deep cella of the Sumerians, supporting the idea that they attempted to revive Sumerian culture. A characteristic plan (Innana, Uruk, 15th cent. B.C.) features a deep cella, antecella, and corner bastions, reminiscent of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem. The Assyrians (13th – 12th cent.) inherited the Hurrian and Sumerian cellae, and also a third, the broad, shallow cella seen at Kar-Tukul-ti-Ninurta (12th cent.). In late Assyrian times the deep cella with a more prominent rear alcove predominated. In Neo-Babylonian times Sumerian types disappeared, and at Babylon, Esagilla was situated in its own court formed by surrounding buildings. The generally square temple had an eastern entrance to an antecella leading to the cella on axis, both broad, a combination on the Sumerian axial layout. The broad cella was also general for the lower temple of the ziggurat.

C. Egypt. Though starting its architecture later, Egyptian remains present striking examples of beauty of form and decoration, as well as a certain fixation of form and style due to religious restrictions (Badawy, *Architecture,* 70 – 71). No evidence from EGYPT is available on houses before 5000 B.C., since probably they have been buried under annual inundations of the NILE. Later construction in stone, however, indicates that woven reed mats hung on bundled reeds were the early wall and structural system. Next a mud-daubed reed technique appeared and, though denied by some, proof of borrowing from Mesopotamia is demonstrable (cf. however, R. W. Ehrich, ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* [1965], 14 – 15).

Earliest indications regarding houses occur at Merimde (5th millennium B.C.), presenting one type of oval-shaped stone work for night use, roofless with floors below ground level, the occupant sleeping in a crouched position, and a day shelter of dome-shaped reed construction woven on a wood pole skeleton. The grouping of some along a curving street suggests a seeking for urban development. Similar settlements occurred at El Omari, Tasa, Badari, and Hemaniya (Badawy, *Architecture,* 11). In the era 3700 – 3200 B.C. (Badarian period) came the important development of rectangular wattle-and-daub structures and the creation of sun-dried brick.

Old Kingdom houses at Saqqara contained an entry hall, a living room and bedroom in two lonengitudinal strips. Other plans had dependencies of storerooms and work rooms, showing progress to the sixth dynasty. Middle Kingdom principal evidence for houses came from the preplanned cities as at El Lahun, with rooms predominantly narrow, rigidly laid out in strip fashion. One sophisticated row plan featured a three-strip arrangement with a large court at the N end of the center strip with private quarters in back. Orientation was to the N in all eras, with a roof device to direct the prevailing breeze inward for cooling effect (see A. Badawy in *JNES* 17 [1958]: 123, Fig. 1), causing access to the house to be from the S side of the street.

In the New Kingdom at TELL EL-AMARNA W, artisans' living quarters were oriented E-W, with a western front courtyard, a hypostyle hall, the kitchen, and bedrooms to the E for cool sleeping rooms. Roof terraces with awnings were served by a staircase from the kitchen. The typical Amarna house, however, was the villa with its family garden plot, dependency houses and main house approached through a hypostyle hall; it included a clerestory-lighted central hall as living room, with private quarters beyond. Wall paintings of the monuments indicate that some houses occasionally had three stories, and occasionally basements. The late period retained the tripartite arrangement of entry, living quarters, and private quarters, mostly two-story as at Medinet Habu (cf. U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu,* 5 vols. [1934 – 54], 5:4 – 16, Figs. 3 – 20).

Palaces were built in Egypt only after 3000 B.C., one at Abydos (29th cent. B.C.) with its upper palisade wall of alternate recesses imitating an earlier wooden wall. From the 27th cent. came a

palace with a high, prominently slope-faced wall enclosing a central court, with service rooms against them and a separate walled enclosure for the main quarters. A double gateway was flanked by bastion towers with vertically channeled faces (Badawy, *Architecture*, 30). After a long gap in palace building, the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata (14th cent.) presented a rectangular layout of a great audience hall, columned hall behind and rectilinear harem quarters beyond. Kitchen and other dependencies occurred against a S palace. The arrangement is like the tripartite house plan. In the Late Period, Apries's palace at Memphis is similar to residences at El Lahun of 1,300 years previous, but arranged on an axial passageway through what is believed to be a peristyle court northward to a second court.

Temples remain the most imposing elements in Egyptian architecture, with a typically basic enclosure. Earliest forms were small one-room reed shrines. Later on arose the sun temple, the cult temple of a particular deity, and the mortuary temple. Chief examples of the cult temple began with, among others, the Giza Sphinx temple. Amenemhat III built a temple (19th cent. B.C.) with three successive cellae preceded by a transverse vestibule. In the empire period, temple building was concentrated at Thebes, with the temples of Karnak and Luxor resulting. Karnak presents a gigantic series of open and covered courts extolling the grandeur of the age. In later times processions of the gods within the courts of Karnak developed on a station arrangement.

Basic elements of the cult temple include an axis, an entrance pylon, a hypostyle hall, a sanctuary and additional courts, and a naos. Its axis was usually oriented perpendicular to the Nile. Basic elements of the sun temple included an altar and an obelisk to represent the connection to the deity, all within an enclosure open to the sky, but no cult statue or naos. The chief deity was Aten or RE. Examples are those of Pharaoh Neuserre at Abu Gharab (2450 B.C.), of AKHENATEN at HELIOPOLIS (Amarna era), symmetrical in plan, and the sun temple of RAMSES II at Abu Simbel (Badawy, *Architecture,* 38 – 42).

Mortuary temples developed from the chapel at the E end of the mastabas. By the fifth dynasty the mortuary temple had become a complex of many rooms arranged around a pillared hall. Chief example from the empire period is the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari (Thebes), featuring a series of terraces at the base of rocky cliffs, where first appeared the proto-Doric fluted columns without curved tapers. That of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (12th cent. B.C.) is more like the usual cult temple, formed of halls on axis with flanking rooms. The portrayal of the king's deeds on the walls was done to display his political influence. Mortuary temples were built before the decease of its pharaoh.

Pyramids. The most remarkable monuments to the power and abilities of the Egyptian pharaohs were the PYRAMIDS at Giza, completed by the end of the fourth dynasty. Two general types

The Giza pyramids and sphinx are representatives of early Egyptian art and architecture.

were found: the stepped type as at Saqqara and the geometric as at Giza. Both were formed by slices of rubble inclined inward, with the geometric type faced with prismatic blocks (Badawy, *Architecture,* 51 – 52). In the First Intermediate Period, the pyramid was separated from the tomb and became a mere symbol. (See I. E. S. Edwards *The Pyramids of Egypt,* rev. ed. [1985], ch. 8.)

D. Palestine. Mesolithic JERICHO produced the earliest houses in Palestine c. 7000 B.C. (Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 42 – 44), well-built, round, probably domed, floors below ground level, and built of plano-convex bricks, one of the earliest occurrences of this brick. Strangely enough, in the Late Neolithic period (5th millennium B.C.) free-standing houses of plano-convex brick on stone foundations occur (ibid., 65), along with the round plan, though some plans suggest a rectangular shape.

In the Chalcolithic Period roofing by wood timhers appeared, and, commonly enough, gabled in the next millennium as shown by the house urn of Kodeirah (Badawy, *Architecture,* 157). In the Early Bronze Age an apsidal form of house plan briefly appeared (c. 2300) as at MEGIDDO, an import from the Aegean area. Now also the typical Palestinian house of mud brick or rammed earth on rough rubble emerged, rectangular in shape with a lefthinged door in the middle of the long side.

In the Middle Bronze Age the house had more rooms, often arranged around a court, perhaps reflecting Mesopotamian influence. At Tell Beit Mirsim one house had a room large enough to require center posts. Living quarters were generally on the second floor. Decline set in at the Israelite conquest, with earlier Canaanite houses reoccupied or crudely rebuilt, with an occasional house showing a court and flanking rooms. Contact with the Phoenicians later provided improvements in techniques for public buildings but not for private houses. In the Babylonian and Persian periods Greek influence, as well as Mesopotamian and Egyptian forms, came in through their trading posts along the sea coast.

Palaces of note did not occur in Israelite Palestine until the 10th cent. B.C. First was the House of the Forest of Lebanon (1 Ki. 7:1 – 12), a hypostyle with wood columns of LEBANON cedar (Badawy, *Architecture,* 160), and later the palace of AHAB at SAMARIA. At UGARIT from the era of the Middle Egyptian Kingdom appeared a palace featuring a scriptorium, stable, and military governor's

residence. At Hama near the monumental gateway to the citadel are the remains of a columned vestibule leading to three

This Neolithic (c. 6,850 B.C.) stone tower discovered in Jericho is one of the oldest architectural structures discovered to date.

groups of transverse rooms, with upper residential quarters accessible by a stairway (ibd., 163).

Temples. Jericho's mound provides one of the earliest sanctuaries, from the early 8th millennium (Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 41 – 42). The cultic high places are represented by Babed-Dhra E of the Dead Sea. An early example of the antecella and cella occurred in the Early Bronze Age shrine at AI (c. 28th cent. B.C.). In the Middle Bronze Age the cellae became deep, with porch and antecella open to the outside, frequently flanked by towers. In Israelite times more TEMPLES appeared. BETH SHAN'S tell provides a temple (10th – 9th cent.) featuring an antecella and raised rear cella reached by a stair to the side (cf. the *dĕbîr H1808* ["inner sanctuary"] of Solomon's TEMPLE; see also Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 251).

Elsewhere in Palestine chief examples of temples appeared at Byblos (GEBAL) from Egyptian Dynasty II, similar to the tripartite layout of Egyptian cult temples, and a strictly Phoenician type. UGARIT excavations revealed two temples, one to BAAL and a second to his father DAGON from the Middle Egyptian Kingdom similar in plan to the Byblos style temple. Each had a court with altar, an antecella, and broader cella beyond containing an offering stand. The Byblos Reshef temple employed the antecella and raised cella (Badawy, *Architecture,* 167–68).

Cities. The earliest indication of urban development in Palestine, if not in the whole Middle E, is found at JERICHO in the grouping of settlers about the shrine from c. 7800 B.C. By the year 7000 a tower more than 30 ft. high (Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 44) and a defensive wall had been built, showing troublous times. By c. 6500 a settlement appeared at Seyl Aqlat near PETRA. About 3000 ARAD in the NEGEV developed a triangular-shaped city plan with an enclosing stone wall and bastions (Badawy, *Architecture,* 150). Tell Beit Mirsim (23rd cent.) presented an oval-shaped wall with a few N–S streets. Similar layouts appeared in the Late Bronze Age at Megiddo. City orientation is suggested in Num. 35:4 – 5; although the cardinal points of the compass are given, it does not follow that the city was rectangular; rather, simple travel around the city is indicated. A significant feature of Palestinian

towns was the effort to provide water supplies within the city walls: Jerusalem and Megiddo had vertical shafts; El Gib and Gezer had tunnels with stairs.

Important towns beside Jericho include Gezer, Byblos, Tyre, and Ugarit. GEZER was occupied from Neolithic times (7000 – 5000 B.C.). In the 20th cent. its inner enclosure developed to provide three gates and took on a foot-shaped outline. In the Late Bronze Age a new wall was built with thirty towers. Byblos (see GEBAL) showed contact with Mesopotamia c. 3000, as seen by the Jemdet Nasr seals in the lowest strata (Badawy, *Architecture,* 154), thus revealing the fact of intercommunication and influence on what was done there. Close ties with Egypt may be seen from early dynastic times down to the empire period. Cretan influences appeared 2100 – 1900. The principal street curved NW from the central plaza toward the wall. Remains show that secondary streets crossed the main street at irregular intervals. TYRE lay on an island which originally was two, later joined by King HIRAM (c. 969). In later times a companion city was built on the mainland. UGARIT in the Late Bronze Age had an irregular outline with irregular streets. Excavations indicate occupation as early as the Mesopotamian Pre-Pottery era. The city wall was rebuilt c. 1800. After 1380 several large residential areas developed, separated by generally parallel streets. Houses frequently had cesspools and a well; a basin occurred in each court which also frequently had an awning.

II. Style. The matter of style was a result of the use of materials in a particular fashion and thus it varied with the use of different materials. Although both in Egypt and Mesopotamia the earliest construction was of woven reeds, yet even these developed a primitive elegance. Out of the following wattle-and-daub technique a wall form of slightly inclined character arose, repeated in the later mud brick dwellings, giving the walls an attenuated character. A persistent element of Egyptian stone work was the graceful cavetto cornice derived from earlier drooping reed shapes. The stone bundle papyriform column of Saḥure was modeled on the earlier bundled reed columns, a pleasant variant to the round open papyriform column of Karnak. The evidence from the Pyramid Age presented a frank expression of the power of stone as a superior architectural material. Relief was supplied in the fifth-sixth dynasties by copying plant forms.

After the First Intermediate Period a noticeable realism appeared in the artistic adornment of the monuments. Though a clear decay may be seen, and though a certain vitality derived from spatial treatments, as in Queen Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, it was not arrested by Amarna but accelerated as is evidenced by a certain "inelegance" of artistic decoration. The forces of decadence appeared in the later colossal architectural examples, and the imitative archaism of the Saite period is mere copying of earlier examples. Egyptian architecture was able to survive for its long period by being based on 8-to-5 height-base proportions of the isosceles triangle and a square related to it. Amarna adopted a series 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, etc.

Mesopotamia, lacking a good building stone, turned to a combination of timber and brick, using plaster as a decorative material (cf. Gen. 11:3). Technicians soon developed the true brick arch for arches, vaults, and domes. Crenelated parapets finished wall tops in imitation of mountains. Mesopotamian architecture suffered by contrast to Egyptian, for the dark brick crumbled to the gray of the earth. Though symmetry dominated at first, later on orthogonal demand prevailed and a certain rigidity predominated. Decorative techniques included the extensive use of plaster, painted and plain. In various eras stone slab wainscots lined the walls, illustrating in graphic detail the story of conquest, as in the palace of TIGLATH-PILESER III (8th cent B.C.).

Strangely enough, in Palestine, where a good white limestone was available, stone was never used except in the Solomonic era, the lack indicating a people unfamiliar with this technique who

were native to other areas without stonework. (Cf. J. Van Seeters, *The Hyksos* [1966], 17 et passim.) Against brick work elsewhere the prevailing mode was rubble stone set in mud and sometimes plastered. Solomon's temple and palace and Ahab's palace at Samaria were almost the sole Israelite achievements. The significant contribution of northern Israel to architectural art was the proto-Ionic capital developed from the Mesopotamian sacred tree.

III. Materials and techniques. The most important step beyond reed construction was the shaping of mud into a suitable building material, either by hand or (later) by a mold. Though the true arch in mud brick was developed in Egypt, this fact never released Egypt from the post-and-lintel style of stone construction (Badawy, *Architecture,* 66). Yet most houses were built of mud brick. The abundance of labor and stone made for installation of unfinished blocks finished in place. Pyramids were constructed by the use of earth ramps (ibid., 63), and face blocks were dressed after placing. Lebanon cedar was imported for beams for temples, but date palm trunks served as roof beams for the poorer houses that had roofs of brush and reeds plastered with mud and then whitewashed. Egyptian machines seemed never to have included more than the sledge, simple pulleys and windlasses, the crowbar, and ropes.

In Mesopotamia BITUMEN became the universal mortar. Burnt BRICK was used for protective facing. Drainage channels and expansion joints to drain interiors of structures and relieve pressures were developed. Timber (see WOOD) was imported into Egypt and Mesopotamia, usually from Lebanon, for roof construction, but poorer houses were roofed like those in Egypt. STONE was reserved for the bull collossi, for wainscots and the like in Mesopotamia. For resistance to earthquake shock in Syria and Palestine a system of wood timbers was employed between stone courses (1 Ki. 6:36). Some doors were made of stone with pintle projections to fit into sockets in sill and lintel; others were fashioned of wood with an edge post installed the same way. In Mesopotamia stone door sockets were frequently inscribed by the king-builder.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the article, see H. Frankfort, "Town Planning in Ancient Mesopotamia," *The Town Planning Review 21* [July, 1950]: 98 – 115; W. E. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt,* 3rd ed. [1981]; S. B. Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture: Alexander through the Parthians* [1988]; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient,* 5th ed. [1996].)

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archives. Archives were common among the nations of the ANE from the 2nd millennium B.C. onward. The Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms kept chronicles of their royal deeds as did the Persians (Esth.2:23; 6:1). Temples and palaces had rooms for storage of such records. The location of Persian archives included ECBATANA (Ezra 6:2, KJV Achmetha) and BABYLON (where the CYRUS Cylinder was found). Ezra asked that the royal "archives" (lit., "house of the treasures") in Babylon be searched, and as a consequence the royal memorandum was found (Ezra 5:17). The Israelites stored their sacred Scriptures in the temple, where the law of Moses was found (2 Ki. 22:8). At a later time the chamber of the scribe Elishama served as an archival room (Jer. 36:20). In Egypt in even later times storehouses were built in connection with the synagogues (see GENIZAH), and these have provided MSS of great importance for biblical textual criticism.

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Arcturus ahrk-toor'uhs. One of the brightest stars in the sky, found in the constellation Boötes. It is

the KJV rendering of the Hebrew terms ʿāš *H6933* (Job 9:9) and ʿayiš *H6568* (38:2), both of which are now usually understood as a reference to the constellation of the Great Bear (Ursa Major or Big Dipper). See ASTRONOMY III.

Ard ahrd (אַרְד *H764,* possibly "hunchbacked"; gentilic אַרְדִי *H766,* "Ardite"). Listed among the "sons" of BENJAMIN in Gen. 46:21, but identified more specifically as a son of BELA and therefore as Benjamin's grandson in Num. 26:40 (cf. 1 Chr. 8:3, ADDAR).

Ardat ahr'dat (Vulg. *Ardat,* but the spelling varies in the MSS). KJV Ardath. A field where EZRA is said to have communed with God and received a vision (2 Esd. 9:26). Its location is unknown.

Ardite ahr'd*i*'t. See ARD.

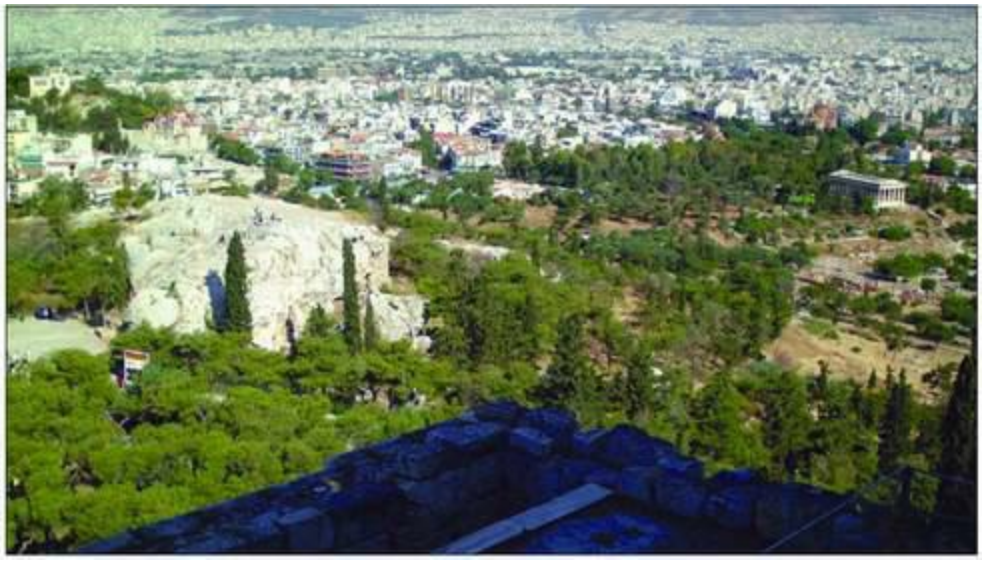
Ardon ahr'don (אַרְדּוֹן *H765,* possibly "hunchbacked"). Son of CALEB (apparently by AZUBAH) and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:18; LXX, *Orna).*

Areli uh-ree'l*i* (אַרְאֵלִי *H739* [possibly variant of אֲרִיאֵל *H791;* see ARIEL], gentilic אַרְאֵלִי *H740,* "Arelite"). Son of GAD and ancestral head of the Arelite clan (Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:17).

Areopagite air'ee-op'uh-*g*it (Ἀρεοπαγίτης *G741;* cf. AREOPAGUS). Epithet with which DIONYSIUS is identified in Acts 17:34 (so most translations; NIV, "a member of the Areopagus").

Areopagus air'ee-op'uh-guhs (Ἄρειος πάγος *G740,* "hill of Ares," also known as "Mars' Hill"; Ares was the Gk. god of war, corresponding to Mars in the Roman pantheon). A large, irregular outcropping of limestone about 380 ft. high. It lies NW of the ACROPOLIS, to which it is connected by a low, narrow saddle, and overlooks the agora, the marketplace of classical and Hellenistic ATHENS.

The archaeological evidence from the Areopagus is much less plentiful than the literary references to it. There are two unhewn stones on the summit. On one, the stone of outrage, stood the accuser. On the other, the stone of ruthlessness, stood the accused. There are also a few cuttings that may have served as the foundations of a building or as platform for altars. On the S side near the top is a flight of fifteen hewn steps that lead from the connecting saddle to the top. On the NE slope four late Helladic tombs were cut into the soft rock. Foundation walls of an elliptical building of the Geometric period have been uncovered on the NW



Looking from the Acropolis in Athens, we see the Areopagus (the limestone outcrop also known as Mars' Hill) with the agora or : market place below it. (View to the N.)

slope. The large quantity of votive material in and around it suggests that it was an early religious site, perhaps the sanctuary of Areia, an early cult name for Athena. (Areia has been offered as an alternative etymology for the name Areopagus; another suggestion is Arai, "Curses," referring to the Cave of the Furies on the slope of the hill.)

The Court of the Areopagus presumably met on the hilltop in earliest times. At first it exercised control over all matters pertaining to the city. According to tradition it was originally convened to try cases of murder. The first case tried before it was that of Ares (hence the name of the hill according to the ancients), for the murder of Helirrhothios, who attempted to rape his daughter. The most famous case, immortalized in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, was that of Orestes, who was charged with the murder of his mother, Clytemnestra. Athena intervened in a tie vote to save him from the avenging furies and thus established the superiority of law and reason over revenge in Athens. (Cf. I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* [1953].)

Under the Athenian constitution the court lost most of its ancient powers but retained jurisdiction in cases of homicide. By the 1st cent. of the Christian era, it exercised a general censorship in matters

of religion and education. The court was made up of all archons who after their term in office were able to prove themselves free of official misconduct in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Although the court originally met on the hilltop, by the 5th cent. B.C. judicial trials were probably heard in the Stoa Basileios at the NW corner of the agora. This building was connected with the duties of the Archon Basileios, who was responsible in matters of religion. An annex of the Stoa was used to hear cases where privacy was important. Presumably the court met on most occasions in the Stoa, but for the sake of ceremony moved to the hilltop to pronounce sentence. The reason for the change of location was probably the exposed situation of the Areopagus. The velocity of the wind there is very great on clear days as well as in inclement weather. It is often difficult to stand there and even more difficult to hear. The name Areopagus survives today as the title of the Supreme Court of Greece.

PAUL's visit to Athens is recorded in Acts 17:15 – 34. Because of his teachings regarding Jesus and the resurrection, he was taken before the Court of the Areopagus. It is presumed that the court was exercising its right of censorship on the religious life of the community. The account suggests that the proceedings were in the nature of a hearing rather than an actual trial. Paul, a foreigner and a teacher, was examined to determine if he should be allowed to circulate freely in the city. The hearing probably took place in the Stoa Basileios, since reference is made to a surrounding crowd (vv. 19 – 22, 33), which could not be successfully accommodated on the hilltop.

No comment was made about the official response of the court to Paul's presentation of the gospel. Two converts were mentioned by name, DIONYSIUS, a member of the court, and a woman, DAMARIS. Others, unnamed, were also said to have believed. (The remains of the church of St. Dionysius the Areopagite are visible on a ridge on the N slope of the hill.)

A. RUPPRECHT

Ares air'eez. KJV Apoc. form of ARAH (1 Esd. 5:10).

aretalogy. This term (from Gk. *aretē G746,* "virtue, excellent deed") is used by modern scholars to refer to the celebration and enumeration of the miracles performed by a god (cf. the term *Epiphaneiai,* which refers to collections of divine appearances and supernatural deeds). Stories of divine miracles were very common in antiquity; especially popular were those attributed to the great healer ASCLEPIUS, son of APOLLO. In Hellenistic times, Oriental cults competed for converts by publicizing the mighty deeds of their respective gods. Supernatural cures were also attributed to philosophers and shamans (cf. the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana,* written by Flavius Philostratus, who died c. A.D. 245). Using the term somewhat loosely, some scholars regard the praise of wisdom in Prov. 8 (and other comparable literature) as a form of aretalogy. In NT studies, it is sometimes argued that the Gospels grew out of collections of Jesus' miracle stories and that therefore the gospel genre is a counterpart (or critique) of Greco-Roman aretalogical traditions. (Cf. H. C. Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* [1983].)

Aretas air'uh-tuhs (Ἀρέτας *G745,* from Nabatean *Hariṭat).* It is possible that Aretas is a dynastic name, for it was borne by several kings of the NABATEANS, a people of northern ARABIA whose capital was the rockcut stronghold of PETRA (the SELA of the OT). Aretas I (mentioned in 2 Macc. 5:8), the first known Nabatean king, appears in history in 169 B.C., in which year he held MOAB, a fact that reflects a dynamic thrust up the northern caravan routes toward the vital center of DAMASCUS. Aretas III in 85 B.C. actually occupied this ancient city and nodal point of the trade routes of the

FERTILE CRESCENT. It is interesting to note thus early in history a military goal of Nabatean expansion (it appears again in the story of PAUL). In a westward direction, Aretas II appeared in the region of GAZA in 96 B.C., another thrust toward a vital trade route that failed because of the tough defense of Alexander Jannaeus (see HASMONEAN II.C).

It was Aretas IV whose "ethnarch" is said to have guarded Damascus in order to arrest Paul (2 Cor. 11:32). The statement raises a problem, for Damascus at the time appears to have been part of the Roman province of SYRIA. Obviously some details of local history are lacking, for the statement in the Corinthian epistle must be taken seriously. Some have suggested that the Emperor CALIGULA, who succeeded TIBERIUS in A.D. 37, gave Damascus to Aretas in accordance with his policy of promoting client kings. One of the early acts of Caligula was to depose HEROD Antipas, Aretas's old foe, and expand the kingdom of his friend Herod Agrippa I, who had already received, by the same imperial favor, the tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias (Jos. *Ant.* 18.6.10 §237). It is not improbable that Caligula similarly bestowed territory on the determined Nabatean foe of the Herodian family. All that is lacking is positive historical evidence or documentation. To say that no known facts impede the theory is not enough, striking and suggestive though it is that there are no surviving imperial coins of Damascus between the years A.D. 34 and 62.

Furthermore, whatever Caligula may have done to promote or confirm Nabatean control in Damascus, the year 37 seems too late for the conversion of Paul and raises difficult problems in the chronology of the apostle's life (see CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT). Several other explanations of the Pauline statement are preferable. The absence of distinctive imperial coinage for the twenty-eight years from A.D. 34 to 62 may indicate that the Romans recognized a Nabatean area of influence in the city, which had been for two centuries a goal of their expansion. The Romans were realists and adaptable administrators, and on this turbulent frontier of their dominions they may have been prepared to recognize certain alien privileges in return for a measure of collaboration. Aretas IV was an experienced and able ruler who had been confirmed in his tenure of power by Augustus in A.D. 9, and who held his throne for a significant thirty-one years. This suggestion fits in with that of F. F. Bruce, who writes: "More probably the ethnarch was Aretas's representative in Damascus, who looked after the interests of the many Nabataean subjects in the city while it was under Roman rule" *(The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary,* 3rd ed. [1990], 242).

Another not unlikely suggestion is that Damascus was in Nabatean hands briefly and illegitimately during the period of Aretas's hostilities against Herod Antipas. Aretas was Antipas's father-in-law. It must have been at least as early as A.D. 23 that Antipas met in Rome his evil genius, HERODIAS, wife of his half-brother Philip (see discussion under HEROD V.B.2 and VI). It is difficult to say who was primarily to blame for the notorious liaison JOHN THE BAPTIST castigated, but Antipas had the audacity to take Herodias back to Palestine as his *de facto* queen. Herod's rightful queen, the daughter of Aretas IV, was apprised of her husband's audacious infidelity before the guilty couple reached Palestine, and she made a prompt flight to the Transjordanian fortress of MACHAERUS and thence to Petra, her father's stronghold. Antipas, therefore, returned home to find a troublesome frontier war on his hands. He was forced to appeal to Rome for help, and Tiberius, who took a serious view of the trouble on the eastern frontier and asked for nothing more from procurators, collaborators, and client kings in that area than the stable maintenance of peace, handed over the task of intervention and pacification to Vitellius, the governor of SYRIA. (Cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* [1983].)

No clear account of operations can be given. It is known that Vitellius was governor of Syria from A.D. 35 to 37, and that he was heavily preoccupied with the Parthian problem on his NE

marches. It may be supposed that a Nabatean incursion into the Damascus area, in pursuance of old military instincts to occupy the trade routes in all contexts of war, was an annoying diversion to which he did not take kindly. On the other hand, it may have been Aretas's illegal intrusion that prompted Tiberius to dispatch the legions of Syria against him. At any rate, the affair dragged on until Tiberius died in 37, at which time Vitellius pulled in his legions (Jos. *Ant.* 18.5.1 – 3 §§109 – 24). It may be supposed that Aretas withdrew or rendered his occupation unobtrusive until its accomplished fact was recognized by Caligula. This again borders on the realm of conjecture; it does emerge, however, that it is impossible to use Paul's surprising reference to Aretas's presence and hostility in Damascus as a dating point in any Pauline chronology. The occasion involved is likely to have been before A.D. 35, and the action against Paul may indicate Jewish sympathies on the part of Aretas's daughter. (For a different approach, see D. A. Campbell in *JBL* 121 [2002]: 279 – 302.)

E.M.BLAIKLOCK

Areus air'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of ARIUS (1 Macc. 12:20).

Argob ahr'gob (אַרְגֹּב *H758* and *H759,* prob. "mound" [from רֶגֶב *H8073,* "clod of earth," with prosthetic *)aleph*]). (1) A region in BASHAN (Deut. 3:4, 13 – 14; 1 Ki. 4:13) in the kingdom of OG containing "sixty cities," but possibly distinguished from the "settlements of Jair" (see HAVVOTH JAIR), which belonged to GILEAD (cf. Num. 32:41; Jdg. 10:4; 1 Ki. 4:13; in contrast, Deut. 3:14 seems to be corrupt, because the phrase *wayyiqrā))ōtām,* "he called *them,"* lacks an antecedent, and *)et-habbāšān,* "the Bashan," is introduced abruptly into the text). The location of Argob is fixed by Deut. 3:4, 13 – 14, which supply the western border as the territory of the Geshurites and Maacathites (i.e., the present Golan heights), and by the rendering of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,* Trachona (Aram. *ṭrkwn),* possibly from Gk. *trachōn,* "rugged, stony"; cf. TRACONITIS), referring to the whole southern part of Bashan, from the eastern edge of el-Leğa (Trachon), about 20 mi. S of DAMASCUS, to approximately Nahr er-Ruqqad. However, the precise location is disputed. (Cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 8 – 9, 124, 129; M. Ottosson, *Gilead: Tradition and History* [1969], 111 – 12.)

(2) An uncertain text (2 Ki. 15:25) leaves the question open whether the names Argob and Arieh refer to men or places. If they are men, it cannot be determined whether they were fellow-conspirators with PEKAH or victims slain with PEKAHIAH. AS early as 1886, B. Stade (in *ZAW6* [1886]: 160) had suggested that the phrase "Argob and Arieh" in the MT was a gloss on 2 Ki. 15:29 that a scribe mistakenly (because of the repetition of "Gilead") included in v. 25. If so, Argob would be the region discussed above (1), and Arieh may be a reference to Havvoth Jair. (See also M. Geller in *VT 26* [1976]: 374 – 77, who proposes the translation "near eagle and lion," i.e., between the guardian statues of Pekahiah's palace.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Arianism. See ARIUS #2.

Ariarathes air'ee-uh-ray'theez (Ἀριαράθης). Also Arathes, Ariathes. King of CAPPADOCIA (163 – 130 B.C.). He was driven from his throne by the Syrian king Demetrius Soter because, in conformity with the wishes of Rome, Ariarathes had declined a proposal to marry the sister of the Syrian king. In 158 he fled to Rome, but later was restored to the throne. In 139 the Romans wrote letters to him and other eastern kings in favor of the Jews (1 Macc. 15:22). This was the result of an embassy sent to

Rome by SIMON MACCABEE.

Aridai air'uh-d*i*' (אַרְדַּי *H767,* a Persian name of uncertain meaning). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:9).

Aridatha air'uh-day'thuh (אַרִידָתָא *H792,* a Persian name of uncertain meaning). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:8).

Arieh air'ee-uh (אַרְיֵה *H794,* "lion"). Possibly a man who was assassinated along with PEKAHIAH and Argob (2 Ki. 15:25). For other interpretations of the text, see ARGOB #2.

Ariel (person) air'ee-uhl (אֲרִיאֵל *H791,* possibly "lion of God"; see also ARELI). (1) One of the leaders sent by EZRA to IDDO and to the temple servants (NETHINIM) in CASIPHIA, with an order to bring attendants for the house of God (Ezra 8:16 – 17; called "Iduel" in 1 Esd. 8:43).

(2) The SEPTUAGINT of 2 Sam. 23:20 reads "the two sons of Ariel of Moab" (in 1 Chr. 11:22, "the two Ariel[s] of Moab), but here the Hebrew term *)ăriēl H738* may not be a proper name (NIV translates, "two of Moab's best men [KJV, lionlike]"; cf. *)er)ēl H737 in* Isa. 33:7).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ariel (place) air'ee-uhl (אֲרִיאֵל *H790,* possibly "altar hearth of God" or "lion of God"). (1) A symbolical designation for JERUSALEM (Isa. 29:1 – 2, 7), possibly suggested by metonymy as the place where the altar of God with its worship was located. Those who identify this name with "God's hearth" suppose that the word comes from a root *)rh* "to burn" (on the analogy with the Arabic *)iryat,* "hearth"). If this is the correct root, then the *lamed* would be an afformative (cf. GKC §85s). Various commentators, following the Isaiah TARGUM, favor this view and point to Ezek. 43:15 – 16, where the term (also *harĕ)ēl H2219* in v. 15a [KJV mg., "Harel"]) refers to an altar of four cubits with four horns on its corners. (Line 12 of the MOABITE STONE has the words *)r)ldwdh,* which possibly should be translated "the altar hearth of David"; but see J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], 1:76.) Less likely is the view that the word means "God's lion" (cf. 2 Sam. 23:20; Isa. 33:7). One other possibility is "the light of God" (cf. Heb. *)ôr H240* and Akk. *Urr(um);* in Ugar. the word is found in the *a-class,)ar*).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Arimathea air'uh-muh-thee'uh (Ἀριμαθαία *G751;* some editions, Ἀριμαθαία). Also Arimathaea. The native town of Joseph, a member of the SANHEDRIN who, after the crucifixion, obtained the body of Jesus and placed it in his own unused tomb (Matt. 27:57 – 60; Mk. 15:43; Lk. 23:50 – 53; Jn. 19:38; see JOSEPH #14). Arimathea is mentioned in the NT only in connection with this story. The exact site is uncertain, but it is thought to be identical with the modern Rentis, 20 mi. NW of Jerusalem, in the hills of the SHEPHELAH area. It may be the same as the OT RAMATHAIM, where the prophet SAMUEL lived (1 Sam. 1:1; but see RAMAH #3). It is mentioned in 1 Macc. 11:34 (*Rathamin; cf. Jos. Ant*. 13.4.9 §127, with several orthographic variants), where it is said that Demetrius II gave to Jonathan MACCABEE three Samaritan toparchies, including Arimathea (145 B.C.).

Arioch air'ee-ok (אַרְיוֹךְ H*796,* possibly a Hurrian name). (1) An ally of KEDORLAOMER king of ELAM, who with three other kings led a punitive expedition against the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela in Palestine (Gen. 14:1, 9). Victorious over the allied army of these five Palestinian kings, Kedorlaomer's forces were, nevertheless, put to flight by the armed retainers of Abram the Hebrew (see ABRAHAM).

The proposed identifications of these kings have not been widely accepted. Difficulties are phonological and chronological, those of the latter variety being the more problematic. If the account is to be taken seriously as historical tradition, all rulers identified with the biblical names should be contemporaries of each other and of Abraham (19th or 18th cent. B.C.). The district over which Arioch ruled is called ELLASAR in the OT. Some have seen in this name a Hebrew spelling of Akkadian *āl Larsa* ("city of Larsa") and have identified Arioch with Eri-Aku, a variant spelling of the name of Warad-Sin, king of Larsa c. 1830. His reign ended about thirty years before that of HAMMURABI of Babylon (identified by some with biblical AMRAPHEL).

Others identify biblical Ellasar with the city of Ilanzura, mentioned in HITTITE texts and the MARI archives and located between CARCHEMISH and HARAN. Some support for this interpretation might be found in the GENESIS APOCRYPHON 21.23, which gives Arioch's realm as CAPPADOCIA *(kptwk).* If the biblical TIDAL should then be identified as one of the HITTITE rulers named Tudhalia, two of the four kings would hail from Anatolia (ASIA MINOR). The name Arioch, if it be disassociated from Eri-Aku, may be the HURRIAN name Arriwuk, which was borne *inter alia* by the fifth son of Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (c. 1779 – 61 B.C.). Several scholars, however, believe that Ellasar corresponds to ASSHUR (cf. F. M. Th. Böhl, *Opera minora* [1953], 45 – 46); if so, Arioch should perhaps be identified with Tukulti-Ninurta I (see M. C. Astour in *Biblical Motifs,* ed. A. Altmann [1966], 65 – 112, esp. 83).

(2) A second biblical Arioch (Aram. *)aryôk H10070)* is the captain of NEBUCHADNEZZAR's bodyguard (Dan. 2:14 – 15, 24 – 25), who was commanded to execute the "wise men" who had failed to interpret the royal dream.

(3) A king of the Elymeans (Jdt. 1:6).

H. A. HOFFNER,JR.

Arisai air'uh-si (אֲרִיסַי *H798,* Persian name of uncertain meaning). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:9).

Aristarchus air'is-tahr'kuhs (Ἀρίσταρχος *G752,* "best ruler"). A Thessalonian Christian who was a close companion of PAUL. All the NT references doubtless relate to the same man (Acts 19:29; 20:4; 27:2; Col. 4:10; Phlm. 24). Aristarchus first appears in the account of the riot at EPHESUS, where he and GAIUS, as "Paul's traveling companions," were seized by the mob and rushed into the theater (Acts 19:29), but seem to have been released unharmed. He and SECUNDUS apparently were the official delegates from the Thessalonian church accompanying Paul to Jerusalem with the collection (Acts 20:4).

Aristarchus was also present when Paul's ship left CAESAREA on the trip to Rome (Acts 27:2). W. M. Ramsay contended that he could only have accompanied Paul as his slave *(St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen,* 14th ed. [1920], 315 – 16). It is not certain, however, that he went all the way to Rome with Paul. He may have been going home and stopped off at MYRA (Acts 27:5),

as J. B. Lightfoot suggested *(St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* [1868], 34 – 35). But he was with Paul in Rome when the apostle wrote Colossians and Philemon. In Phlm. 24 he is designated as a fellow worker, but in Col. 4:10 he is called "my fellow prisoner," a title also given EPAPHRAS (Phlm. 23). Perhaps the two alternated in voluntarily sharing Paul's imprisonment. From the grouping of the names in Colossians, Aristarchus seems to be of Jewish origin. Some see an allusion to Aristarchus in Paul's comment about "the brother who is praised by all the churches for his service to the gospel" and who "was chosen to accompany" the apostle in carrying the offering of the Gentile churches (2 Cor. 8:18 – 19). According to tradition he was martyred in Rome under NERO.

D.E. HIEBERT

Aristeas, Letter of air'is-tee'uhs (Ἀριστέας). The title given to a document purporting to be an eyewitness account of the circumstances that led up to the translation of the Jewish Scriptures into Greek (i.e., the origin of the SEPTUAGINT). Although commonly called the *Letter/Epistle of Aristeas* (the MSS have simply *Aristeas to Philocrates),* the literary form is that of first-person narrative. The author, an officer of the court of PTOLEMY II Philadelphus (285 – 246 B.C.), tells the story of his mission as an emissary of the Egyptian king to Eleazar, "the High Priest of the Jews," in Jerusalem, in order to arrange for the "Jewish laws" to be translated into Greek for inclusion in the library of ALEXANDRIA. Seventy-two translators competent in Hebrew and Greek are requested and supplied for the task. Following seven nights of banqueting, during which the translators answer seventy-two questions put to them by the king, the work of translation is carried out in the course of seventy-two days.

Although the historical data contained in the work were once accepted at face value, it has been recognized for centuries that, whatever traditions may lie behind the narrative, it is essentially fictitious. Twice (§§28, 182) the author betrays the fact that he belongs to a later age, and he is guilty of a number of striking anachronisms. This work belongs to a larger group of Jewish apologies that attempted to commend Judaism and its way of life to Gentiles by demonstrating the antiquity and moral superiority of its traditions and doctrines. The author is undoubtedly a Jew (or at least a PROSELYTE) of Alexandria who uses a favorite device of the Jewish apologists of the DIASPORA and writes under the guise of a Greek pseudonym. (See S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint in Modern Study* [1968], 29 – 58; N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* [2000], ch. 3.)

Various dates between 200 B.C. and A.D. 50 have been suggested for the origin of the "epistle." A date around the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. seems most probable. The work is of historical value primarily because it contains views concerning the origin of the LXX that were held at the time it was written and that were repeated, embroidered, and elaborated by subsequent Jewish and Christian authors. (Gk. text ed. by H. St. J. Thackeray in H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* 2nd ed. [1914], 533 – 606. For a recent English translation with introduction and notes, see *OTP,* 2:7 – 34.)

W.W. CASQUE

Aristeas the Exegete. Also referred to as Aristeas the Historian. Our knowledge of this Jewish writer, who lived perhaps around 100 B.C., comes solely from a brief summary of part of his work, *Concerning the Jews,* preserved by EUSEBIUS *(Praep. Ev.* 9.25.1 – 4, quoting Alexander Polyhistor). This summary is itself a synopsis of the book of Job that has points of contact with the SEPTUAGINT addition to the epilogue (Job 42:17b-e in Rahlfs's *Septuaginta*). The author of the *Letter of Aristeas* (§6; see ARISTEAS, LETTER OF) says that he had previously written a document relating facts about the

Jews, and some scholars have attempted, without success, to establish a connection between that statement and the work of Aristeas the Exegete. (English trans. and introduction in *OTP,* 2:855 – 57.)

Aristides, Apology of a'ruh-sti'deez (Ἀριστείδης). A work by a Christian Athenian philosopher named Marcianus Aristides, who, according to EUSEBIUS *(Eccl. Hist.* 4.3), was a contemporary of another Athenian writer, QUADRATUS, both of whom addressed their "apologies" for the Christian religion to Emperor HADRIAN. A century later JEROME wrote that he was familiar with the work, but after this date Aristides faded from view until the 19th cent.

A Latin translation of a fragment of an Armenian version of the *Apology* was published in 1878. In 1889 J. Rendel Harris of Cambridge University discovered a Syriac version of the entire work, and two years later he published the Syriac text with translation into English. J. A. Robinson then showed that the greater part of the *Apology* is contained in *The History of Barlaam and Josaphat,* extant in many Greek MSS and numerous translations (J. R. Harris, *The Apology of Aristides on Behalf of the Christians,* with appendix by J. A. Robinson [1893]). The whole work consists of seventeen chapters. It is an important witness to the nature of Christianity in the first half of the 2nd cent., and has points of contact with the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Didache,* which come from about the same period. (English trans. in *ANF,* 9:259 – 79.)

S. BARABAS

Aristion (Ἀριστίων). A Christian contemporary with PAPIAS, from whom this church father received information about the sayings of the Lord. EUSEBIUS *(Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.4) quotes Papias as saying, "If anyone came who had followed the presbyters, I was accustomed to inquire about the sayings of the presbyters, what Andrew or what Peter had said *[eipen],* or Philip or Thomas or Jacob or John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples; and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say *[legousin]."* The precise meaning of Papias's statement has been a matter of dispute from the time of Eusebius. The major question is whether Papias is making a distinction between JOHN THE APOSTLE and "the presbyter John," or whether they are one and the same.

Whatever the answer, it is clear that Aristion was associated with "the presbyter John" and that he was a contemporary of Papias. Eusebius interprets Papias to mean that, although he had received the words of the apostles second-hand, "he had actually heard Aristion and the presbyter John" *(Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.7); modern scholars tend to regard Papias's statement as ambiguous. Nothing more is known about Aristion. A 10th-cent. Armenian NT MS attributes the longer ending of the Gospel of Mark to "the presbyter Ariston," but little significance should be attached to this information. Aristion is sometimes confused with ARISTO OF PELLA.

S. BARABAS

Aristobulus air'is-tob'yuh-luhs (Ἀριστόβουλος *G755,* "best advisor"). (1) A Jewish priest and teacher of PTOLEMY, the king to whom Judas MACCABEE sent letters (2 Macc. 1:10). He is sometimes identified with Aristobulus the Peripatetic philosopher, tutor of PTOLEMY VI Philometer (180 – 146 B.C.) and head of the Jerusalem community in Alexandria (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 8.10; 12.12). He wrote a book for heathen readers explaining the laws of Moses and showing that the Peripatetic philosophy was dependent upon the Mosaic law.

(2) Aristobulus I, the eldest son of John Hyrcanus I and the first of the Hasmoneans to assume the title of king. When Hyrcanus died, he passed the government to his wife and the high priesthood to

Aristobulus. Aristobulus starved his mother to death, killed his brother Antigonus, and imprisoned three other brothers. He compelled the Itureans to adopt Judaism as their religion. He reigned only one year (105 – 104 B.C.) and died of a painful disease. (Cf. J*os. Ant.* 13.11.1 – 3 §§301 – 23; J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004], 312 – 18.) See HASMONEAN II.B.

(3) Aristobulus II, the younger son of Alexander Jannaeus. Alexander (d. 78 B.C.) had willed the throne to his wife ALEXANDRA, who ruled until 69 B.C. Just before she died, Aristobulus raised a revolt against her to secure the throne for himself. After her death he fought with his brother, Hyrcanus II, the legitimate successor of Alexandra. The Idumean king, Antipater, the father of HEROD the Great, favored Hyrcanus, as did also ARETAS the Arabian king. The brothers tried by gifts of money to get the support of the Roman general Scaurus, who was then in Syria. When POMPEY the Great appeared in Syria, they sought his support. Many Jews told Pompey they wanted neither of them. Because Aristobulus was unwilling to await a decision, Pompey seized him, captured Jerusalem, and made the country a tributary to Rome, thus ending Jewish independence. Hyrcanus II was recognized as high priest, without the title of king. Aristobulus and his children were taken to Rome as a part of Pompey's triumph. The Hasmonean dynasty was at an end, after almost eighty years (142 – 63 B.C.). In 57 B.C. Aristobulus escaped from Rome and tried to recover his former kingdom, but he was defeated and returned as a prisoner to Rome. After the civil war broke out, Julius CAESAR freed Aristobulus to send him to Syria against the forces of Pompey, but when Pompey's friends heard of this plan, they poisoned Aristobulus (49 B.C.). (Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 14.1 – 7; J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004], 340 – 45.) See HASMONEAN II.F.

(4) A grandson of Aristobulus II and a brother of MARIAMME, wife of HEROD the Great. When Aristobulus was only seventeen years of age, Herod appointed him as high priest, but because Aristobulus was popular with the Jews, about a year later Herod had him "accidentally" drowned while he was bathing (c. 35 B.C.). (Cf. J*os. Ant.* 15.2.5 – 15.3.3. §§23 – 56.)

(5) The younger of two sons born to Herod the Great by Mariamme. After the execution of Mariamme in 29 B.C., Herod sent the boys to Rome for their education. When they returned, he was afraid that they would avenge the death of their mother.

Remains of one of the swimming pools at Jericho where Aristobulus (brother of Mariamme) may have been drowned by order of his brother-in-law, King Herod.

Herod's own sister and brother plotted against them, so that Herod brought back to his court a son named Antipater by his first wife Doris. Herod's fears were so roused by these enemies that he had his sons strangled. Aristobulus had four children. One, named Herod, became king of Chalcis; another, Herod Agrippa I, became king of all Palestine (A.D. 41 – 44); a third was HERODIAS, the wife of the tetrarch Herod Antipas; the fourth was Aristobulus (see below, 6). (*Cf. Jos. Ant*. 16.1 – 2; 16.4; 16.11.)

(6) Son of #5 above. Little is known about him. He plotted against his brother Herod Agrippa I; later he tried to dissuade the governor of Syria from putting up a statue of CALIGULA in the temple in Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* 18.6.3 §§151 – 54; 18.8.4 §§273 – 78).

(7) Great-grandson of Herod the Great. He inherited the Kingdom of Chalcis (between Damascus and Phoenicia) from his father (also named Herod), and in A.D. 55 received parts of Armenia. He married SALOME, daughter of Herodias. (Cf. J*os. Ant.* 18.5.4 §137; 20.8.4 §158.)

(8) A man whose family is greeted by Paul in Rom. 16:10. Nothing more is known about him, but one tradition says he became bishop of Britonia (modern Montonedo, Spain), and another one regards him as a brother of BARNABAS who was part of the seventy disciples, who founded a church in Britain, and whose daughter married PETER. (For the view that Aristobulus was not a Christian, see P. Lampe in *The Romans Debate,* ed. K. P. Donfried, rev. ed. [1991], 222; cf. also NARCISSUS.)

(9) A Jewish Alexandrian philosopher who lived probably in the 2nd cent. B.C. Portions of his work, referred to as *Explanations of the Book of Moses,* have been preserved by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and EUSEBIUS. In these quotations, Aristobulus deals with such topics as the date of Passover, the nature of God, and the Sabbath. He claims that Plato and Pythagoras made use of the writings of Moses. In several respects, he seems to anticipate the work of PHILO JUDAEUS. (English trans. and introduction in *OTP,* 2:831 – 42.)

S. BARABAS

Aristo of Pella a-ris'toh (Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος). A 2nd-cent. Christian apologist who may have been the author of a lost work, *Disputation between Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ.* Its allegorical interpretation is defended by ORIGEN (who refers to the work, without mentioning the author's name, in *Contra Celsum* 4.52). EUSEBIUS *(Eccl. Hist* 4.6.3) attributes to him a history of the war waged by HADRIAN against the Jews.

Arius air'ee-uhs (Ἄρειος, "devoted to Ares, war (1) King of Sparta (1 Macc. 12:7, 20), said to have written a letter in which he affirmed that the Spartans and the Jews were brothers descended from Abraham (cf. v. 21).

(2) An ascetic pastor of Baucalis Church in ALEXANDRIA (born c. A.D. 250). Arius preached and propagated, with words set to popular tunes, that Christ was a created being whose substance was different from God's. The ensuing dispute with Bishop Alexander led the Emperor Constantine to convene the ecumenical council of Nicaea in 325. In opposition to Arianism, Athanasius's view that Christ was eternal and of the same substance as God was adopted by this council (its decision became the forerunner of what is today known as the Nicene Creed). After the death of Arius in 336, his cause was taken up by an extreme party (known by modern scholars as "Neo-Arians"), whose views seemed to win the day in a double council that met in 359. The orthodox position, however, was reaffirmed at the Council of Constantinople in 381, after which Arianism faded.

E. E. CAIRNS

Arkite ahr'kit (עַרְקִי *H6909* and אַרְכִּי *H805).* This name serves as the rendering of two different Hebrew words. (1) The term *ʿarqî* refers to an inhabitant of the Phoenician town of Arka/Irqata (modern Tell ʿArqa, about 12 mi. NE of Tripoli, Lebanon, and about 4 mi. from the Mediterranean Sea). Arkites are mentioned in the genealogy of NOAH as descendants of CANAAN (Gen. 10:17; 1 Chr. 1:15). Arka was taken by TIGLATH-PILESER III in 738 B.C. The Romans called it Caesarea Libani, and the Emperor Alexander Severus was born there.

(2) The term *ʾarkî* (spelled "Archite" by KJV and other versions) refers to a clan mentioned in connection with the allotment of the descendants of JOSEPH; these Arkites inhabited ATAROTH, between BETHEL and Lower BETH HORON (Josh. 16:2; here KJV has "Archi"). Its most famous member was HUSHAI, the adviser of DAVID and later of ABSALOM (2 Sam. 15:32; 16:16; 17:5, 14; 1 Chr. 27:33).

ark of bulrushes. See BULRUSHES, ARK OF.

ark of Noah. A vessel (Heb. *tēbâ H9310)* that God ordered NOAH to build for the purpose of preserving through the time of the flood a remnant of the human race, together with two each of all animals (Gen. 6:14 – 16; see FLOOD, GENESIS). It was built of GOPHER wood, sometimes rendered "pine," but usually "cypress," a material resistant to decay. The specifications called for a size of 300 cubits in length, 50 in width, and 30 in height. It was to have rooms (or "nests") and was to be caulked with bitumen or asphalt. The length of a cubit is commonly believed to be about 18 inches. If the short cubit of 17.5 inches is used, the displacement can be shown as 19,940 tons, and if the 22.5 inch cubit is used, as much as 43,000 tons (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES LA). The dimensions are entirely practical for good capacity and stability.

Nothing is said concerning the ark's shape, but it must be visualized as only a floating craft, with no propulsion or control. The door had to be sufficiently large for embarking animals, and the window description is somewhat ambiguous, but is usually taken to be a continuous feature, running around the vessel, under the roof. A parallel description is found in the Sumerian-Babylonian story of Utnapishtim. At the conclusion of the flood, the ark rested upon the mountains of ARARAT (Gen. 8:4). (See further *ABD,* 4:1123 – 31, s.v. "Noah and the Ark.")

Warning of the flood was given 120 years beforehand, with directions to construct the ark (Gen. 6:3, 13 – 14; cf. 2 Pet. 2:5). The NT uses Noah's ark (Gk. *kibōtos G3066,* "wooden box") and the flood as examples of coming judgment and salvation of a remnant (Matt. 24:38, 39; Lk. 17:27; 1 Pet. 3:20; Heb. 11:7).

M.H.HEICKSEN

ark of the covenant. Also "ark of the testimony." A wooden container, the central object in Israel's preexilic sanctuary.

I. Name. The Hebrew noun *ʾăarôn H778,* used almost 200 times in the OT for the ark of the covenant, means "box, chest" (e.g., a money chest, 2 Ki. 12:9, 10; 2 Chr. 24:8 – 11; or even a coffin, Gen. 50:26), suggesting from the outset the ark's primary function as a container. The OT further identifies the ark under two significant types of attributive phrases.

First, because of its close association with deity, it is called "the ark of God" more than thirty

times (e.g., 1 Sam. 3:3). Similarly, Ps. 132:8 speaks of it as "the ark of your might [*ʿōz H6437]";* hence when Ps. 78:60 – 61 (NRSV) says that God "abandoned his dwelling at Shiloh" and "delivered his power [*ʿōz]* to captivity, his glory [*tipʾeret H9514]* to the hand of the foe," such terminology would identify the ark (note that NIV supplies the words "the ark of" to make the reference clear). However, other attempts (e.g., *IDB,* 1:225 – 26) to discover the ark concealed within references to God's might (cf. Pss. 96:6; 105:4) seem far-fetched, except as these latter verses were later quoted by DAVID when bringing the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 16:11, 27). Because it reveals the presence of deity, thirty-one times it is called "the ark of the covenant of the LORD," that is, of Yahweh (Deut. 10:8 et al.; see GOD, NAMES OF).

Second, the term is linked to redemption. Most significant is the title "ark of the covenant *[bĕrît H778]"* (five times, e.g., Josh. 3:6) or "ark of the covenant of the LORD" (twenty-eight times, e.g., Num. 10:33; Josh. 3:3; cf. Josh. 3:11; Jdg. 20:27; see COVENANT, REDEMPTION). The ark contained the two tablets of the Decalogue (see TEN COMMANDMENTS), which constituted the documentary basis of God's redemptive covenant with Israel (Exod. 34:28 – 29). Note Moses' stress upon the written form of God's pledge to save his own people, and of their required response in belief and obedience (24:4, 7). Moreover, since this redemption involved the life blood of the Redeemer (24:8), the NT speaks appropriately of the death of the one who makes a "will" (*diathēkē G1347 in* Heb. 9:16 – 17; KJV, "testament") and hence of the "ark of his testament" (Rev. 11:19 KJV).

Some modern critics have sought to eliminate as redactional interpolations all the earlier OT references to this covenant or testament (cf. *HDB,* 1:149); but the term, though missing from certain SEPTUAGINT verses (e.g., 1 Sam. 3:3 – 5), appears in indisputably ancient passages, both MT and LXX (e.g., Num. 10:33; 14:44; 2 Sam. 15:24). A corresponding early title appears fourteen times in the phrase, "ark of the Testimony" (*ēdût H6343,* "sign, reminder," Exod. 25:22 et al.). "Testimony" denotes the two stone tablets (31:18; 32:15) placed within the ark (25:16, 21) as evidence of the redemptive covenant (cf. the interchange of testimony and covenant in Exod. 31:18; Deut. 9:11). Attempts, therefore, to rule out covenant terminology in favor of some more general title, such as "ark of God," violate the biblical contexts and rest on unprovable theories of the evolution of Hebrew religion and of conflicting source-strata within the PENTATEUCH (cf. M. H. Woudstra, *The Ark of the Covenant from Conquest to Kingship* [1965], 60–83).

II. Form. Ancient analogies to the ark have been sought in tent-shrines (Morgenstern), model temples (May), chariots for deities (Torczyner), squared thrones (Kristensen), or even coffins for the gods (Hartmann); but Scripture describes the ark (Exod. 25:10 – 16; Deut. 10:1 – 2) as a unique vessel: "the repository of the covenant-tablets" (K. A. Kitchen in *NBD, 81).*

The ark's pattern, as revealed to Moses at Mount Sinai, appears in Exod. 25:10 – 22. Made of ACACIA wood, the ark was rectangular, two and one-half cubits long (c. 45 in.) and one and one-half cubits (c. 27 in.) wide and high (v. 10). Gold-plated inside and out, with a gold molding (KJV "crown", v. 11), it was supported by four feet, each with a golden ring (v. 12), into which carrying poles of gold-plated acacia wood were permanently inserted (vv. 13 – 15).

The MERCY SEAT *(kappōret H4114,* "place of propitiatory atonement," Exod. 25:17; NIV, "atonement cover") was a covering plate of pure gold that corresponded to the dimensions of the ark. At its two ends and facing each other were two hammered gold CHERUBIM with wings overshadowing the plate and with their faces toward it (vv. 18 – 20; Heb. 9:5). The cherubim (angels) were presumably human in appearance (cf. Ezek. 1:5), not pagan sphinxes forming a throne (as suggested by F. M. Cross in *BA* 10 [1947]: 45 – 68); they conveyed the idea of heavenly majesty (Ezek. 1:10).

The ark was built by BEZALEL and OHOLIAB (Exod. 31:6 – 7; 37:1 – 9), assisted by other skilled

Reconstruction of the ark of the covenant.

Israelites (36:8), on Moses' orders (Deut. 10:3). It was to be set within the veil in the most holy place of the TABERNACLE (Exod. 26:33), the mercy seat placed upon it (26:34), and anointed with the rest of the tabernacle (30:26). Facing both the ark and the veil stood the altar of incense (30:6, 27), though this latter came, in time, to be more closely associated with the ark's own inner sanctum (1 Ki. 8:22). Modern scholars have increasingly granted that an ark of some sort may go back to the time of Moses (cf. *IDB,* 1:225), but many would still insist on the ark's tradition as totally separated from that of the tabernacle (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* [1962], 1:235).

III. Function. Like the tabernacle of which it was a part, the ark's form was derived from that meaningful pattern revealed to Moses on the mount (Exod. 25:9, 40); it was an embodiment of covenantal redemption ordained in heaven (Heb. 8:5). Furthermore, while its dependence upon the concept of the covenant insured unity for the intended functions of the ark, salvation's richness belies von Rad's insistence (*Old Testament Theology,* 1:238) that it is "inconceivable that the throne should also have at the same time served as a container." Like sacraments today, it could both contain memorials to past redemption and also mediate God's grace to the present.

The initially declared purpose of the ark (chest) was to hold the "Testimony" to God's salvation (Exod. 25:16). Specifically, this meant the stone tablets, the Decalogue (Deut. 10:5). Later Moses' full "Book of the Law" was placed "beside the ark of the covenant" (31:26); hence there is a possible connection between the recovery of the lost law book in the days of JOSIAH and the restoration at that time of the ark to its proper place in the temple (2 Chr. 34:14; 35:3). In addition, Moses ordered Aaron to put an omer (c. two quarts) of MANNA in a jar and to place it "before the LORD…in front of the Testimony" (Exod. 16:33 – 34) as a memorial to God's provision. In the NT, Heb. 9:4 suggests that, with the passage of time, the golden jar came to rest inside the ark. After the revolts of KORAH and his associates, when God vindicated the authority of Moses and Aaron by causing the latter's staff to bud forth buds and almonds, God told Moses also to put this staff "in front of the Testimony, to be kept as a sign…[against] their grumbling" (Num. 17:10). Although it came to reside within the ark (Heb. 9:4), only the two tablets were to be found there by the time of Solomon (1 Ki. 8:9).

Beyond containing memorials to what God had already done, the ark served as well as a sacramental sign of his continuing covenantal activity. Four aspects call for comment.

(1) THEOPHANY. AS God had appeared on Mount Sinai, so he promised that his visible presence would abide with his people when they resumed their migration. The glory cloud in which he had wrought deliverance at the exodus (Exod. 13:21; 14:19 – 20) would regularly appear between the wings of the cherubim over the mercy seat of the ark (25:22; cf. 40:34; 2 Sam. 6:2; Ps. 80:1). The ark thus became more than a mere symbol or pledge of God's presence; it became a "chariot" (1 Chr. 28:18) for real theophanies, paralleling the function of the actual angelic cherubim (Ps. 18:10). To be "before the ark" was equivalent to being "before Yahweh" (Num. 10:35; Josh. 6:8).

On the other hand, one cannot identify Yahweh with the ark (cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1961], 1:105), which would be crass idolatry, or confine him to it as his abode (R. H. Pfeiffer in *JBL* 45 [1926]: 220) or throne (Eichrodt, 1:108). Yahweh existed prior to the ark, voluntarily initiated its construction, and graciously chose to appear over this "footstool" (1 Chr. 28:2). He continued to exist apart from the ark, despite the above mentioned recent interpretations *(IDB,* 1:225), for "before Yahweh" need not imply "before the ark" (1 Sam. 7:2, 6). Finally, he could exist in open opposition to the ark and repudiate it (4:3 – 11): its sacramental value was temporary and ceased when Israel lapsed into the error of those who consider it "a vessel which guarantees the presence of God" (L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* [1957], 121 – 22). Yet, when approached in the proper spirit, the institution of the ark is found to correspond to that of the LORD's SUPPER: as a seal of "participation," communion, with his contemporary presence in the sanctuary (1 Cor. 10:16), and as a type of his ultimate presence in heaven (Heb. 8:5; 9:24).

(2) REVELATION. The God who is present is also the God who speaks and acts. He had from the outset promised to communicate his specific laws to Moses from "between the two cherubim that are over the ark" (Exod. 25:22). The first such revelation proved to be the book of Leviticus (Lev. 1:1), and God continued to address Moses in an audible voice from above the mercy seat (Num. 7:89). Answers to inquiries were granted to Aaron as the one who wore the URIM AND THUMMIM (Num. 27:21), presumably the high-priestly breastplate with its stones that sparkled in the presence of the ark's glory cloud (Lev. 16:2).

(3) PROVIDENCE. Even without such inquiry, however, God acted through the ark for the guidance and the protection of his people. His lifting up of the cloud became the signal for Israel's wilderness advance (Num. 10:11; see below, IV.A), and it was the ark that went before the tribes "to find them a place to rest" (v. 33). God's presence became also a means for scattering the nation's enemies (v. 35). Note the ark's functioning as a palladium at Jericho (see below, IV.B) and being designated by the name of Yahweh of Hosts (or armies, 2 Sam. 6:2; cf. 1 Sam. 17:45). Yet J. Morgenstern's attempt *(The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting"* [1945]) to identify the ark with Arab tent-shrines, regularly carried into battle and assigned certain oracular functions, appears ill-advised, for the ark's use in battle seems to have been exceptional.

(4) ATONEMENT. Once every year, however, the ark achieved its ultimate sacramental significance in the Day of Atonement service (Lev. 16:2). After insuring his personal safety through a protecting cloud of incense before it (v. 13), Aaron would sprinkle the ark's cover, or mercy seat, seven times: first with the blood of a bull, slain as a sin offering for himself, and then with that of a goat for the people (vv. 14 – 15), so as to cleanse Israel from all its sins before the LORD (v. 30). In pictorial fashion, grace (the blood of the testament) thus became an intervening cover between the holiness of God (the glory cloud) and the verdict of divine justice upon the conduct of man (the Decalogue underneath). See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

IV. History

A. Wilderness. The components of the ark were brought to Moses at Mount Sinai at the beginning of the second year of the exodus (Exod. 39:35; 40:17). After the tabernacle had been erected, Moses assembled the ark and placed it within the sanctuary (40:21 – 22); the cloud of God's glory then filled the tabernacle (v. 34). Moses appointed the Kohathite Levites, under Aaron's son Eleazar, to be responsible for the ark (Num. 3:31 – 32; cf. Deut. 9:25). Before it should move, however, the priests were always to cover it with the inner veil, a skin covering, and a blue cloth (Num. 4:5 – 6); and the Kohathites could not touch the ark itself, on pain of death (v. 15). See KOHATH.

Seven weeks later God's cloud arose (Num. 10:11), and Israel departed from Sinai. While the tabernacle as a whole occupied a central spot in the column (2:17), the ark preceded it by three days' journey, serving as a guide for Israel's camping sites (10:33). Jewish tradition has indeed assumed two arks, one for the broken stone tablets, which then preceded the main body (Woudstra, *The Ark,* 91, 96 – 99); but Deut. 10:1 appears to summarize the making of the one ark and not to suggest a second, constructed after the golden calf incident. Formal prayers accompanied each journeying and resting of the ark: "Rise up, O LORD! May your enemies be scattered…Return, O LORD, to the countless thousands of Israel" (Num. 10:35 – 36). Far from demonstrating an idolatrous identification of Yahweh with the ark, these prayers actually underline the uncontrollableness, but also the righteous hope, of God's abiding presence. The ark remained behind, in Israel's camp at KADESH, when the presumptuous were defeated at HORMAH (14:44 – 45). Moses had warned them, "Do not go up…for the LORD is not among you" (v. 42).

B. Conquest. On important occasions, such as the entrance into Canaan, the ark might be carried by priests (Josh. 3:3; 4:10; cf. Deut. 31:9; 1 Ki. 8:3) or as a joint undertaking by priests and Levites (2 Sam. 15:24; 1 Chr. 15:11 – 12). At the very time, therefore, that these priests reached the banks of Jordan, God caused its waters to be stopped up at ADAM (Josh. 3:15 – 16). The ark then led Israel into the stream bed and stood at midpoint until the nation had crossed over (v. 17). It further participated in the fall of JERICHO, when for seven days it was carried about this frontier city before Yahweh caused its walls to collapse (6:12 – 16, 20). Moreover, Joshua prayed before the ark during the AI campaign (7:7).

The ark first rested, apparently, within the tabernacle at Israel's camp at GILGAL (Josh. 4:19; 9:6; 14:6); but God later ordained a more central location at SHILOH (18:1; cf. Jer. 7:12). It had also been present at Joshua's renewal of Israel's covenantal obedience to Yahweh at Mount EBAL and Mount GERIZIM (Josh. 8:33). Though Joshua subsequently summoned a national assembly at nearby SHECHEM, "under the oak near the holy place *[miqdāš H5219,* not necessarily "sanctuary"] of the LORD" (Josh. 24:26; cf. Gen. 12:6 – 7; 35:2 – 4), there is no indication that the ark or tabernacle was ever located there.

C. Judges. In time, a house (Jdg. 18:31) or "temple" (1 Sam. 1:9; 3:3) came to be constructed for the ark at Shiloh, where annual pilgrimage feasts centered (Jdg. 21:19; 1 Sam. 1:3). The boy SAMUEL slept in this temple (1 Sam. 3:3), though presumably not in the inner sanctuary where the ark rested, since he failed to associate the voice that he heard with that of God (v. 7). At some earlier period, as an emergency measure, the ark was moved S from Shiloh to BETHEL on the Benjamite border during the war against GIBEAH (Jdg. 20:26 – 27), its theophanic character justifying the offering of sacrifice before it (21:4; cf. Exod. 20:24). Evidence is lacking for other claimed transfers of the ark to other

locations, such as to BOCHIM (Jdg. 2:1 – 5; *cf. ISBE* [1929], 1:245). The commonly expressed critical theory of "lottery-box" arks to be found at numerous local sanctuaries (R. H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament* [1961], 74) is quite untenable, for it is based on the unwarrantable assumption that later scribes willfully corrupted the text.

The pagan theory of having God "in a box," as if the presence of the ark would automatically guarantee salvation (1 Sam. 4:3, 7), was dispelled once and for all when the PHILISTINES captured the ark at the first battle of EBENEZER, c. 1080 B.C. (vv. 10 – 11). But while Israel's loss was dramatically illustrated by the name ICHABOD (v. 21, derived from *)î H364* and *kābôd H3883,* "no glory"), PHILISTIA learned to its sorrow that God's *kābôd* (lit., "weight") was still associated with the ark, as he punished their treatment of it with "heavy" (*kābēd H3877)* judgments on both their gods and their people (5:11).

Finally, after a seven months' captivity in ASHDOD and EKRON (1 Sam. 6:1), the ark was returned to Israel, accompanied by symbolic guilt offerings of gold (v. 11). God's effective presence was twice more demonstrated, first as he compelled the cows that were hitched to its new wagon to abandon their own calves in order to drag it to BETHSHEMESH on the NW border of Judah (v. 12), and then as he struck down some of the inhabitants for irreverently looking inside it (v. 19). The ark was thereafter moved 10 mi. farther inland, to KIRIATH JEARIM, where a certain ABINADAB consecrated his son ELEAZAR to care for it (7:1). No attempt was made to restore it to the tabernacle; during the twenty years of his judgeship (v. 2; cf. *HDB,* 1:399), 1063 – 1043 B.C., Samuel stressed direct repentance toward God rather than the sacramental ark, whose presence Israel had abused.

D. Kingdom. SAUL generally neglected the ark (1 Chr. 13:3), though he did have it with him and called for it just prior to the battle of MICMASH, 1041 B.C. (1 Sam. 14:18). DAVID, however, after his capture of Jerusalem in 1003 B.C., had the ark brought to his new capital (2 Sam. 6; 1 Chr. 13; 15). Indeed, while the Philistines' innovation of a cart might be excused through ignorance, the Israelites' failure to observe the precise Pentateuchal instructions for carrying it could not; and Abinadab's descendant UZZAH was struck down for his resulting sacrilege, even though well-intentioned (2 Sam. 6:6).

After a three months' delay at the house of the Levite OBED-EDOM (2 Sam. 6:11), the ark was conducted with joy and sacrifices to a tent (v. 17; cf. 11:11), a "lowly abode" (Woudstra, *The Ark,* 121), with curtains (7:2), that David had temporarily erected for it on Mount Zion (Ps. 3:4; 9:11). The high priest ABIATHAR was made responsible for the ark (1 Ki. 2:26) and a sacrificial service (1 Chr. 16:1), and an organization of Levitical singers and doorkeepers was instituted under ASAPH and Obed-Edom (6:31 – 48; 16:4 – 6, 37, 38). Certain great Psalms seem to have been composed for the occasion and for its subsequent celebration (Pss. 24:7 – 10; 132:8). No hint, however, exists of any annual Babylonian style "enthronement festival" for Yahweh: sentiments such as "God has ascended amid shouts of joy" (Ps. 47:5) express rather his reign over all the earth (vv. 6 – 7; cf. Ps. 11:4; Hab. 2:20). Subsequently, during ABSALOM's evolt, ZADOK and Abiathar sought to bring the ark to David in his flight from Jerusalem (2 Sam. 15:24); but the king refused to treat it as a talisman or palladium, placing instead his trust directly in God (v. 25).

While SOLOMON, too, had sacrifices offered before the ark in its temporary shelter (1 Ki. 3:15), his greatest achievement was to carry out his father's plans for erecting a permanent temple on Mount MORIAH, to the N of ZION (1 Chr. 22:19; 28:2, 11, 19; 2 Chr. 3:1). The ark with its cherubim cover was placed within the inner sanctuary (1 Ki. 6:19), overshadowed by two huge, gold-plated, olive wood cherubim, 15 ft. in both height and wingspread (vv. 23 – 28). Upon its installation, the glory

cloud filled the house, just as it had filled the tabernacle (8:1 – 11); and Solomon repeated the old wilderness prayer, "Now arise, O LORD God, and come to your resting place" (2 Chr. 6:41). Here the ark remained, with only its poles visible (5:9). Despite a temporary removal under the apostate King MANASSEH (35:3; cf. 33:7), it so remained until its presumed destruction when NEBUCHADNEZZAR burned the temple in 586 B.C.

E. Later references. The postexilic second temple had no ark (Jos. *War* 5.5), though today's Jewish synagogues are equipped with "arks," located on the side facing toward Jerusalem and designed to hold the TORAH. Even before the fall in 586 B.C., Jeremiah had predicted that in days to come the ark would no longer be sought (Jer. 3:16), because all Jerusalem would eventually become the throne of Yahweh (v. 17), the symbolism of the ark being replaced by direct faith in God under the new covenant (31:31 – 34). As the climax to biblical history, in a vision of the new heavens after God's final judgment (Rev. 11:18), John saw "the ark of his covenant" (v. 19), indicative of the ultimate accomplishment of that testamentary redemption for which it had consistently stood. (For a summary of research, see F. M. Cross in *Colloquium on Temples and High Places in Biblical Times,* ed. A. Biran [1981], 70 – 90; cf. also C. L. Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance* [1989].)

J.B.PAYNE

ark of the testimony. See ARK OF THE COVENANT.

arm. The Hebrew word for "arm" is used about eighty times in the OT (*zĕrôaʿ H2432,* Gen. 48:24 et al.); the corresponding Greek word occurs three times in the NT (*brachiōn G1098,* Lk. 1:51; Jn. 12:38; Acts 13:17). Only in rare instances is the word used literally (Jdg. 15:14; 16:12). Almost invariably it has a metaphorical sense, usually as a symbol of strength and power. Since God is omnipotent, the "arm of God" is frequently referred to as a symbol of his might, as in Yahweh's question addressed to Job, "Do you have an arm like God's, and can your voice thunder like his?" (Job 40:9). To "make bare the arm" implies the revelation of strength, as in Isa. 52:10: "The LORD will lay bare his holy arm in the sight of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth will see the salvation of our God."

Since a warrior stretches out his arms when he really exerts himself, the "outstretched arm" signifies an exhibition of great power, and the phrase often is used of God in the OT, as when he commanded Moses to say to Israel, "I will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with mighty acts of judgment" (Exod. 6:6). By his outstretched arm God created the earth with human beings and animals on it (Jer. 27:5). Only rarely is God's arm stretched out for individuals (2 Chr. 6:32). Sometimes God's "holy" arm is exerted, pointing to the righteousness of his acts of power: "Sing to the LORD a new song, for he has done marvelous things; his right hand and his holy arm have worked salvation for him" (Ps. 98:1). God is sometimes compared to a warrior who smites with his arm: "with your strong arm you scattered your enemies" (Ps. 89:10).

The "arm of flesh" symbolizes merely human help, which is weak compared with God's might: "Cursed is the one who trusts in man, who makes flesh his arm" (Jer. 17:5; NIV, "who depends on flesh for his strength"). To break the arms of the wicked is to render them powerless (Job 38:15; Jer. 48:25; Ezek. 30:21). The "withered" arm symbolizes complete powerlessness (Zech. 11:17). God's arm exerted in behalf of his people symbolizes protection: "He gathers the lambs in his arms and carries them close to his heart" (Isa. 40:11); "The eternal God is your refuge, and underneath are the

everlasting arms" (Deut. 33:27).

S. BARABAS

Armageddon ahr'muh-ged'uhn (Ἁρμαγεδών *G762,* usually derived from הַר *H2215* and מְגִדּוֹ *H4459,* "mountain[s] of Megiddo"). Also Harmagedon. According to Rev. 16:16, "the place that in Hebrew is called Armageddon" is the scene of the final battle between the forces of Christ and of Antichrist before the SECOND COMING. Eberhard Nestle ("Har-Magedon," in *HDB,* 2:304 – 5) traces the history of attempts to locate this place and asserts, "Upon the whole, to find an allusion

Looking N over Megiddo into the Jezreel Valley.

here to Megiddo…is still the most probable explanation." Arguments have been made that it is the same as the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel 3:12; see JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF); that it is the valley of ESDRAELON in northern Palestine, where many of Israel's battles were fought; or that it reflects the pagan notion that there is a mountain where the gods assemble (Isa. 14:13 – 14).

These theories—and there are others—are all relatively modern. Ancients of whom we have record today advocated none of them. By NT times, MEGIDDO had long been a forgotten ruin. There is really little except an interesting similarity of sound to connect this reference with the Canaanite city of Megiddo, famous in Egyptian annals and at one time fortified by Solomon. It has been pointed out by various scholars that Armageddon is the mobilization point for the final battle, not necessarily the scene of it. Hence the river EUPHRATES mentioned as the point of access for eastern kings is a more likely point. This northern entrance to Palestine for oriental invaders is familiar to all readers of ancient history, sacred or profane. Furthermore, the site of Megiddo would not likely be regarded as a mountain (contrast Mount TABOR, to the N and in plain view of Megiddo). No evidence has been produced that ESDRAELON, the valley of N Palestine on the S edge of which lies Megiddo, was ever called by the name of that town. Some therefore have argued that the reference is to the nearby Carmel range (see CARMEL, MOUNT).

In spite of these problems, most scholars, noting that the LXX term for the ancient battleground of Megiddo is *Magedōn* in several passages (Josh 12:21; Jdg 1:27 [A]; 2 Ki. 9:27; elsewhere usually *Mageddō),* believe that some such identification is likely, though the name may be symbolic. (On the etymology of the term, see H. K. LaRondelle in *AUSS 27* [1989]: 69 – 73; on the location, see W. Shea in *AUSS* 18 [1980]: 157 – 62.)

R. D. CULVER

Armenia ahr-mee'nee-uh. An upland region in western Asia (SE of the Black Sea and SW of the Caspian Sea), earlier occupied by the kingdom of Urartu (see ARARAT). The transition in name is illustrated by the inscription of DARIUS at BEHISTUN (late 6th cent. B.C.), in which the province is named *arminiya* in the Old Persian but *urašṭu* in the Babylonian version; the Aramaic version from Elephantine has ʾrrṭ. "Armenia" is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *ʾărārat H827*(only 2 Ki. 19:37 = Isa. 37:38), where "Ararat" (for Urartu) is preferable.

T.C.MITCHELL

Armenian Gospel of the Infancy. A late and secondary compilation, ultimately dependent on the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas,* but greatly amplified. It derives from a Syriac original, but the date of this source is doubtful (see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF). The Nestorians toward the end of the 6th cent. translated a *Gospel of the Infancy* from Syriac into Armenian, but it was probably not the present text. M. R. James *(The Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 83) wrote that there is "little of ancient flavor in the book, and it does not seem to preserve any details, which are not to be found elsewhere, of the old tradition." One feature of interest is the appearance of Eve as a witness to the VIRGIN BIRTH (ch. 9). (Complete French text in C. Michel and P. Peeters, *évangiles apocryphes*, 2 [1914]; cf. *NTAp,* 1:457.)

R. McL. WILSON

Armenian version. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT.

armhole. This word, in the obsolete sense of "armpit," is used twice in the KJV (Jer. 38:12; Ezek. 13:18) to render the Hebrew term *ʾaṣṣicirc;l H723* ("joint," also used in Ezek. 41:18 as a unit of measurement).

armlet. An ornamental band circling the upper arm, as a bracelet would do on the lower arm or wrist. The English term is used by some versions to render Hebrew *ʾešʿādâ H731* (Num. 31:50; 2 Sam. 1:10; for the latter passage, NIV renders "band"). The NRSV uses the term also in Isa. 3:20 for Hebrew *ṣĕʿādâ H7578* (NIV, "ankle chains").

Armoni ahr-moh'nz' (אַרְמֹנִי *H813,* "palatial" [i.e., born in a palace] or "my citadel"). One of the two sons of SAUL by his concubine RIZPAH (2 Sam. 21:8). DAVID delivered the brothers (and five grandsons of Saul) to the Gibeonites (see GIBEON) to satisfy their vengeance (vv. 1 – 9).

armor, arms. Defensive tools to protect the body in battle, along with offensive weapons of any kind with which to launch a military attack. General terms for military equipment and weapons are used in both Hebrew (e.g., *kĕlî H3998, nešeq H5977)* and Greek (e.g., *hoplon G3960* [always pl. in *NT],panoplia G4110).* Additional terms are used for individual pieces of equipment.

1. General description of soldiers in the Bible
2. Stone Age weaponry
3. OT armed units
    1. Armed units among the Israelite people

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    1. Units in the army
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I. General description of soldiers in the Bible. A general picture of the OT and NT soldier can be gathered from 1 Sam. 17 and Eph. 6. In the former passage the PHILISTINE warrior GOLIATH is depicted as wearing a bronze helmet, a coat of scale armor, and greaves (i.e., protective pieces) for his legs, with a bronze javelin "slung on his back," and carrying a spear made partly of wood and partly of iron, and a sword encased in a scabbard attached to his body, probably by a belt (1 Sam. 17:5 – 7, 51). His large shield was carried by an attendant (1 Sam. 17:7, 41). The soldier pictured in Eph. 6:11 – 17 is one in full armor, having on a belt or girdle, a breastplate or coat of mail, shoes or sandals, and a helmet, and wielding a sword and shield. The military equipment worn by these two soldiers consists basically of similar articles. The differences in construction, material, and shape of the various items will be observed in the following discussion.

II. Stone Age weaponry. Early man in the Stone Age used a number of different tools and weapons to aid him in the search and preparation of food, and in protection against his enemies. This is evidenced by archaeological remains found, as in the case of the Neolithic or New Stone Age. In the early records of Genesis, there is evidence that death-dealing weapons were in use, as implied in the statements of CAIN (Gen. 4:14) and LAMECH (4:23 – 24). To use ancient JERICHO as an example, archaeology has uncovered evidence of a Palaeolithic hand-ax and of a civilization of hunters in the Mesolithic period about 8000 to 7000 B.C. At this time there was in use at Jericho a well-constructed stone tower with defenses, the last phase of which shows a date of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (c. 7000 B.C.; see K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* [1960], 41, 44, plates 7, 8; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* [1963], 1:116). The Pre-Pottery Neolithic B state (c. 6000) also shows evidence of warfare and defense (cf. mass burials and also arrowheads, Kenyon, 49, 52 – 56). Although Pottery Neolithic Jericho (c. 5000) does not demonstrate as developed a civilization as the earlier periods (Kenyon, 67 – 68), no doubt the inhabitants used similar implements for food and warfare. The tools and weapons of the people of nearby 4th-cent. B.C. Teleilat Ghassul (near the N end of the Dead Sea) are considerably different from those of Jericho; note two copper axes of simple form found here (Kenyon, 73, 75; cf. also W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine* [1961], 65 – 66).

By the Early Bronze period (3000 – 2000 B.C.) there was further development in fortifications of towns and of weapons, as is evidenced by the copper weapons from Jericho and Tell el-Ḥesi, including the socketed ax head, crescent-shaped tanged cutting ax head, and the rectangularly shaped ax blade (Kenyon, 119 – 20; Yadin, 1:143, 149). Also an Egyptian carved ivory handle of a flint knife (c. 3000) depicts boats (Egyptian arc shaped and Mesopotamian with high stern and prow) and soldiers with spears and leather shields. The bow, long spears, maces (i.e., limestone and copper heads for clubs), boomerangs, double-headed axes, and forkheaded arrows also appear on representations from this period, together with the socketed ax head (Yadin, 1:116 – 26).

The two-and four-wheeled Mesopotamian battle chariot showed up at about 2800 B.C. In a

limestone stela the king of Lagash of Mesopotamia (c. 2500) is pictured as leading a heavily armed phalanx of soldiers who wear metal helmets and carry heavy rectangular shields with metal studs and heavy spears. In another scene the same king riding in a chariot, with a quiver, light javelins, battle-ax, sickle, and sword, leads metal-helmeted soldiers carrying long spears and socketed axes. The swords (made of gold, silver, copper, or bronze, or even iron) of this 3rd millennium are more like daggers that would be used for stabbing. In the 24th and 23rd centuries B.C., in siege against fortified cities, the Egyptians are depicted as using mobile scaling ladders and battering poles; in the late 3rd millennium they employed shallow and semicircular ax heads pierced with holes to secure them to the haft (Yadin, 1:146 – 47).

III. Old Testament armed units

A. Armed units among the Israelite people. In the early period of seminomadic life, ABRAHAM and his 318 "trained" men showed considerable military ability in pursuing and routing a combined army of several peoples (Gen. 14:13 – 15). Although not stated, it is to be assumed that for that decisive victory Abraham and his men must have had at least some simple weapons of stone and bronze. Israel in the exodus from Egypt shows systematic organization of a military type (cf. Num. 2:1 – 34), depicting a people marching under arms (Exod. 13:18, "armed for battle"). That JOSHUA and the Israelites, functioning as a national or seminational military unit, included among their weapons the sword is suggested by Joshua's confrontation with the divine figure depicted as holding a drawn sword in his hand (Josh. 5:13). Prominent in Joshua's military engagement against Jericho were his "armed men" who marched before the priests (6:9); and the sword and other weapons like it were evidently an important part of Israel's weaponry in its conquest of the land of Canaan (cf. reference to smiting the enemies "with the edge of the sword," Josh. 10:28 – 39 NRSV).

Following the conquest, Israel became sedentary and pursued its agricultural pursuits. Thus military forces were organized in a more informal way under various judges (Jdg. 3), with several tribes sometimes raising an army, as in the case of GIDEON (6:35; 7:24). In the time of SAMUEL, Israel became "king-conscious" (1 Sam. 8), and subsequent to Saul's anointing as monarch (ch. 10), Saul began to gather from the tribes of Israel an army to fight against such as the Amalekites (1 Sam. 15:4 – 7) and the Philistines (1 Sam. 17:2, 11; 28:4). Later DAVID (cf. 2 Sam. 6:1) and subsequent kings also raised military forces.

B. Units in the army. The numbers in the fighting force of a seminomadic sheik like Abraham would, of course, be small (cf. Gen. 14:14 – 15), and the troops mustered among Israel would at times be limited as compared to the enemy (see Josh. 4:13; Jdg. 4:10); at other times the forces were of considerable size (cf. Jdg. 5:8; 2 Sam. 24:8, 9). See ARMY.

The military units of Israel were based on the society structure, with the clan unit of a 1,000 being prominent (*)elep H548,* Jdg. 6:15; 1 Sam. 10:19; its commander was called *šar)elep,* "leader of a thousand," 1 Sam. 17:18; 18:13). Such units could be divided into groups of 100 (1 Sam. 22:7; cf. Jdg. 7:16) and of 50 men (1 Sam. 8:12). These Israelite forces with their inferior equipment and limited training were, without the help of the Lord, at a disadvantage in facing the fortified cities of the enemy (Deut. 1:28), their ironclad chariots (Josh. 17:16 – 18; Jdg. 1:19; 4:13; 1 Sam. 13:5; 2 Sam. 1:6) and their heavily armed military champions like Goliath (1 Sam. 17:4 – 7). Compensating for this disparity, Israel's military leaders would rely on small groups of specially chosen men (Exod. 17:9; Num. 31:3, 4; 1 Sam. 13:15) and on surprise attacks (14:1 – 23). (See R. de Vaux,

Ancient Israel [1961], 214 – 18.)

Beside the clan and specially picked groups, Israel and others sometimes depended for military victory on the prowess of one or several champions, as in the case of the battle between David and Goliath (1 Sam. 17). The champion was sometimes called *)îš-habbēnayim* (lit., "the man between two," vv. 4, 23). De Vaux (*Ancient Israel,* 218) observes that this term is not found again except in the *War Scroll* from Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), but there having a different meaning, "light infantry." Sometimes a small group of men from each of two sides were to decide a battle (2 Sam. 2:12 – 17). In these early days mercenaries could be hired for military action (Jdg. 9:4). David had his 400 men (1 Sam. 22:2) and later 600 (25:13) who shared with him the spoils of the battle (30:21 – 25). Later evidence of the professional soldier with action by the national army of Israel is seen in 1 Ki. 20:15 – 20.

The national conscripted army of Israel can be seen in various periods of her history, as is evidenced in certain passages (Num. 1:3; Deut. 20:5 – 9; 24:5; Jdg. 7:3; 2 Chr. 25:5 – 6; cf. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel,* 225 – 28). Of particular importance in OT times were the war chariot units, possessed by such as the Canaanites and the Philistines (Josh. 17:16 – 18; Jdg. 1:19; 1 Sam. 13:5; et al.), but these were really not used in Israelite service until the time of David (2 Sam. 8:4). Solomon expanded this part of Israel's military force as is evidenced by his fourteen hundred chariots, some of which he seems to have imported from Egypt (1 Ki. 10:26 – 29).

In this period Egyptian chariots carried two men, one to drive and the other to fight (Hittite chariots carried two or three men; Assyrian, three or four), whereas the Israelite chariots had three persons, the driver or charioteer (1 Ki. 22:34), the combatant, and the *šālîš H8957* (the "third" man or captain, 9:22; 2 Ki. 10:25, cf. de Vaux, 222 – 24; Yadin, 1:186 – 96). At about 1000 B.C. the ANE began to show mounted cavalry, as is seen in the Assyrian army in the 9th cent. B.C., although chariots predominated. Early representation of mounted horsemen come from about 1400, although regular military cavalry began to appear only near the end of the 2nd millennium B.C., one man at this period being pictured as armed with a bow (Yadin, 1:218 – 21), and a cavalryman on a relief from Tell Halaf depicted with a shield and possibly a sword (*ANEP,* 164).

The Egyptians and Israelites did not use cavalry in the earlier part of the 1st millennium B.C., except for mounted scouts (2 Ki. 9:17). Foreign mounted cavalry are those described in Ezek. 23:6, 12 (Assyrians); Ezek. 38:4 (those of Gog); and Neh. 2:9 (Persian). However, in the time of Isaiah some of the people of God did rely on Egyptian chariots and horsemen (Isa. 31:1); and SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria, ironically castigated Judah for trusting in Egypt for these armaments when he offered to supply 2,000 horses if Judah could mount them with riders (36:8). In the Maccabean period (see MACCABEE) the Jews mustered only foot soldiers against foreign cavalry and mounted elephants (1 Macc. 1:17; 6:30 – 31; 8:6; 2 Macc. 11:4; 13:2, 15). In the time of SIMON MACCABEE (136 – 135 B.C.) the Jews did field a relatively small cavalry unit (1 Macc. 16:4, 7). HEROD the Great had only 6,000 cavalry but 30,000 infantry (see de Vaux, 224 – 25). In the NT period the apostle PAUL was accompanied from Jerusalem by seventy Roman horsemen, besides soldiers and spearmen (Acts 23:23).

C. Fortified cities and towns and siege.

Archaeology shows evidence of early fortification of Palestinian towns as exemplified by the tower and defense wall of c. 7000 B.C. at Jericho (Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land, 44,* plate 7; Yadin, *Art of Warfare,* 1:116 – 17). Subsequently, important cities of Canaan were fortified by encircling ramparts (broad embankments or protective walls against which could be built a glacis,

i.e., a smooth surface sloping to the outside) and towers and gates. The OT witnesses to cities of this type, heavily fortified (Num. 13:28) "up to the sky" (Deut. 1:28), "with high walls and with gates and bars" (3:5; see de Vaux, *Ancient Israel,* 229 – 36.) Against such fortifications the ancients used siege arms and armor.

Late 2nd-millennium-B.C. reliefs show fortified cities attacked by warriors armed with spears and so-called epsilon tang-type axes and defended by rectangular shields (Yadin, 1:230 – 31). Although long-range bows and slings could be employed (cf. the Benjamites, Jdg. 20:15 – 16), heavier arms were used in siege warfare. Early reference to such equipment can be seen in the "siege works" of Deut. 20:20. In the prophecy of TYRE's ruin, NEBUCHADNEZZAR is depicted as setting up a siege wall and mound against the town and attacking it under the protection of a "roof of shields," using "battering rams" against the walls of the city, and axes or rams with pointed heads (*ḥereb H2995;* cf. Exod. 20:25 where it clearly means a chisel tool), to break down the towers (26:8 – 9). In Ezekiel's mock siege of Jerusalem he is called upon to picture in miniature the "siege works" (NRSV, "siege wall"), building the encircling mound or trench and setting against it the "battering rams" (4:2), the last of which could be made from trees growing in the vicinity of the besieged city (cf. Deut. 20:19 – 20). The trees could also be used to help make the ramp (*sōlĕlâ H6149,* "mound") up which siege machines and rams could be brought (Jer. 6:6).

UZZIAH at Jerusalem is said to have "made machines designed by skillful men for use on the towers and on the corner defenses to shoot arrows and hurl great stones" (2 Chr. 26:15; cf. also de Vaux, 236 – 38). Details of such siege building and equipment can be seen in some of the Assyrian King SENNACHERIB's (704 – 681 B.C.) bas-reliefs concerning the siege of LACHISH (Yadin, 2:428 – 37). In the NT period Jesus predicted that Jerusalem would be surrounded by armies (Lk. 21:20) and that an embankment or palisade *(charax G5918)* would be built all around her (19:43).

IV. Old Testament armor and arms. In addition to the larger weapons of siege warfare, the individual soldier was equipped offensively and defensively for military encounter.

A. Offensive weapons. A general term for military equipment is *nešeq H5977;* it is used, for example, in 2 Ki. 10:2 with reference to weapons available at Samaria, and in Ezek. 39:9 for the weapons to be burned with fire (the specific items mentioned in this verse are "the small and large shields, the bows and arrows, the war clubs and spears"). The same Hebrew word is used in Neh. 3:19 to indicate a place in Jerusalem where weapons were stored ("armory").

A simple type of weapon might be the rod or staff *(maqqēl H5234),* used as an aid in journeying (Gen. 32:10), but apparently also as a military weapon (Ezek. 39:9, with *yād H3338* [NIV, "war clubs"; NRSV, "handpikes"]). Another word for staff *(šēbet H8657)* could refer to a rod used as a less powerful but effective weapon against a spear (2 Sam. 23:21; 1 Chr. 11:23 [NIV, "club"]), and even to a shaft or dart, three of which Joab thrust into the heart of Absalom (2 Sam. 18:14 [NIV, "javelins"]). A third term used of the traveler's staff *(maṭṭeh H4751,* Gen. 38:18) could indicate a warrior's instrument (1 Sam. 14:27, 43), and could also stand for arrows or spears (Hab. 3:9, 14). A weapon somewhat similar is represented by two words *(mapēs H5151,* lit., "shatterer," Jer. 51:20; *mēpîs H5138,* lit., "scatterer," Prov. 25:18). Possibly it was something like the ancient mace, a rod with a ball of limestone or some other material on the end, to be used as a club (Yadin, 1:118 – 25). Compare the ancient battle axes in such varieties as double-headed, four-pronged, flat epsilon, crescent-shaped, etc. (Yadin, 1:118 – 19, 122, 136, 149 – 50).

The sling *(qelaʿ H7845)* was a simple but effective weapon in warfare, used by David in his

single combat with the Philistine Goliath (1 Sam. 17:40, 50). Also Uzziah in preparing military weapons for his army provided "slingstones" (2 Chr. 26:14). It is to be remembered that in an earlier day 700 Benjamites were known to be expert left-handed slingers (Jdg. 20:16). On a 10th-cent.-B.C. Tell Halaf orthostat is depicted an ancient slingman (Yadin, 2:364).

The soldier's main weapon for offensive combat was the SWORD (*ḥereb H2995)*, which was sometimes used as a symbol of war (Isa. 51:19; Ezek. 7:15; et al.). The Hebrew word could refer to both the dagger and the sword, since the difference was basically one of length. As dagger, the term is used of the instrument EHUD wielded in stabbing EGLON, king of MOAB (Jdg. 3:16, 21 – 22). Such dagger weapons were used in the 2nd millennium B.C. by the Egyptians and by the Assyrians of SARGON'S time (721 – 705 B.C.; Yadin, 1:216 – 17; 2:421, 424 – 25). In ordinary military use, the term would refer to the sword, such as Gideon's weapon (Jdg. 7:14, 20) and those used by David and his men (1 Sam. 25:13; cf. also Ezek. 5:2). This sword was probably a relatively short one of twenty-one inches or more.

The Egyptians in the middle and end of the 2nd millennium B.C. had a relatively long-bladed sword, as did the SEA PEOPLES and the Assyrians, the latter having a shorter one as well (Yadin 1:208 – 9, 334 – 35; 2:340 – 41, 384 – 85, 426). It may be that the Israelites used only a short sword (de Vaux, 241), but the Philistine Goliath no doubt had a long one (1 Sam. 17:51) and, because of its unusual character, it was later wrapped up in a cloth and stored at NOB with the vestments of the priest (21:8, 9). The sword is spoken of as being two-edged (Ps. 149:6; cf. Heb. 4:12), and when not in use, it was kept in a sheath (1 Sam. 17:51; 1 Chr. 21:27) and fastened to the belt or girdle (2 Sam. 20:8), all of which were sometimes removed when not in use (1 Sam. 25:13). The instrument was sharpened for battle from time to time (Ps. 7:12). In one instance (Ezek. 26:9), the same term is employed for a tool like an ax (cf. NRSV) to be used in demolishing stone.

The "javelin" (*kîdôn H3959),* such as Goliath carried slung on his back (1 Sam. 17:6), was apparently viewed as a weapon in the hands of foreigners (cf. Jer. 6:23; 50:42) and seems to have been rarely employed by Israelites (the only recorded example is Josh. 8:18 – 26). The term occurs in the *War Rule* in Qumran with reference to a sword one-and-a-half cubits long and four finger-breadths wide (perhaps under the influence of the Roman *gladius,* a sword longer and broader than the *ḥereb* and suspended from a cross-belt slung between the shoulders). Other details in the Qumran document, however, seem to be picturing the *kîdôn* as a scimitar (or curved blade or sickle) type of weapon, examples of which have been found depicted on monuments and found in excavations (de Vaux, 241 – 42; Yadin, 1:172,204 – 5,350).

In the spear-lance category, several terms are used. (1) The *rōmah H8242* was a pointed stave or pike used in personal battles or encounters (cf. Num. 25:7 – 8) and employed in making self-inflicted wounds (1 Ki. 18:28). It is listed with other weapons (2 Chr. 11:12; Ezek. 39:9). In the *War Rule* this instrument is depicted as seven or eight cubits long, but probably in OT times its length was about the height of a grown man (de Vaux, 242). (2) The *ḥănît H2851* seems to have been a shorter and lighter instrument of war, which could be used as a javelin (1 Sam. 18:10 – 11). As a counter-balance to the weight of the head (of metal), the wooded shaft was weighted with iron on the other end, which end could then be stuck in the ground when not in use (1 Sam. 17:7; 26:7) and be employed as a club on occasion (2 Sam. 2:23). Specimens of this lance have been found in excavations. It was wielded by such as King Saul (1 Sam. 19:9), David, Goliath, and the temple guards (2 Chr. 23:9). The size and construction of Goliath's lance called for special comment (17:7; 2 Sam. 21:19), and it was equipped with a looped leather thong attached to the shaft to aid in distance throwing (de Vaux, 242). (3) The term *qayin H7802* is used of the large and heavy weapon wielded

by the giant ISHBI-BENOB (2 Sam. 21:16). Many examples of javelins and spears are shown by Yadin (1:156 – 57, 166, 169, 174, 185, 215; 2:352 – 53, 355, 411, 420). Some spear and javelin heads have tonged (or hooked) projections for better attaching them to the wooden shafts, and some were socketed. Some are shown to be short, a little longer than arms' length, and others almost a man's height and longer. Examples of javelins or spears with the looped leather thongs and weighted butt end are also to be seen. (4) The š*elah H8939,* some sort of projectile (cf. the verb *šālah H8939,* "to send"), is to be understood, when found in a military context, only in a general sense as a handwielded "weapon" or "missile" (2 Chr. 23:10; 32:5; et al.).

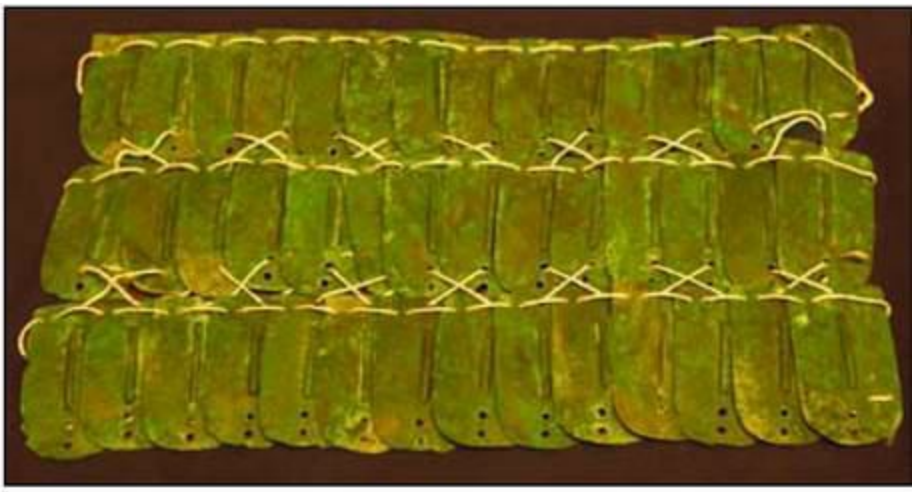
The bow was a very ancient instrument. It shows up in a 1900-B.C. Egyptian painting from Benihasan as being carried by a caravan of Semites on their way to Egypt. Their bow is a well-developed one with a curved spring in it and attached string, and one man is shown wearing a quiver around his neck (Yadin, 1:166 – 67). From a single piece of pliable wood drawn taut by a string, the bow developed into a composite instrument of long-range effectiveness, composed of wood, horns, and tendons, sometimes nicely decorated with designs, ranging in length from half the height to the full height or more of a man (1:80 – 81, 150 – 51, 199; 2:334 – 35, 384 – 85). The OT bow *(qešet H8008),* along with the quiver, was used by ESAU for hunting (Gen. 27:3); for battle purposes JACOB used it in fighting the AMORITES (48:22). Israel used it to some degree in the conquest of Canaan (Josh. 24:12). At least the kings and leaders of Israel used the bow, for example, JONATHAN (1 Sam. 20:20), DAVID (PS. 18:34), JEHU (2 Ki. 9:24), and JOASH (2 Ki. 13:15). That there was a body of ARCHERS, probably professional, is evidenced by Isa. 21:17 and by the discovery of personally inscribed names on arrowheads coming from 1300 – 900 B.C. (de Vaux, 243; cf. Yadin, 2:353). Arrows *(ḥēṣ H2932)* made of wood with metal heads are mentioned in the OT, as is seen in the scene in which Jonathan shoots the arrows beyond David (1 Sam. 20:36), and in the story of Jehu, who "drew his bow with all his strength, and shot Joram between the shoulders, so that the arrow pierced his heart" (2 Ki. 9:24 NRSV). Arrows and quivers, often highly decorated, are depicted in the monuments (Yadin, 1:164 – 65. 235; 2:348 – 49; et al.).

B. Defensive equipment. The body of the ancient soldier was fairly well protected to ward off the offensive weapons wielded against him. One of the most effective defense "weapons" was the shield or buckler, expressed by two basic Hebrew words: the *māgēn H4482* was a round-shaped shield commonly used (cf. Jdg. 5:8; 2 Ki. 19:32; et al.; see reliefs of the Assyrian attack on Lachish in Yadin, 2:430 – 37; cf. also 2:340 – 41, 418 – 19, and Cant. 4:4 – 5). The *ṣinnâ H7558* was a larger shield that covered the whole body, such as that carried by Goliath's attendant (1 Sam. 17:7, 41), and a group of which could be used to raise a protective roof over the heads of attackers (Ezek. 26:8; cf. the Assyrian whole-body shield, Yadin 2:442 – 43). For effectiveness in battle, this large shield was used along with the long spear or pike (cf. 1 Chr. 12:8; 2 Chr. 11:12; et al.). The contrast between the two types of shield is pictured in 2 Chr. 14:8, which says that the army of Judah was equipped with the *sinnâ* and the long spear, whereas the Benjamites wielded the smaller *māgēn* and the bow. Shields were made of leather (cf. 2 Sam. 1:21, "the shield of Saul—no longer rubbed with oil"; Yadin 1:116) and of wicker material, and could be bossed and ornamented (Yadin, 2:407, 420 – 21; 386 – 87; 216 – 17). Another word for shield is the rare *šelet H8949,* which is used for David's shields of gold (2 Sam. 8:7 = 1 Chr. 18:7) and evidently represents an instrument somewhat parallel to the *māgēn,* with which it is associated in Cant. 4:4. The *sōḥērâ H6089* may have been some sort of a buckler (so NRSV in Ps. 91:4; but NIV, "rampart").

The term for HELMET is spelled both *kôba(H3916* (1 Sam. 17:5, Goliath) and *qôba(H7746* (v.

38, David tried one on), reflecting a foreign derivation. In Jer. 46:4 and Ezek. 27:10 this helmet is associated with foreign troops, but in 2 Chr. 26:14 UZZIAH is said to have provided them for all his army. Archaeology freely evidences the use of helmets, made of metal or leather, but sometimes constructed of mail; in shape, they could be horned, conical, crested, feather-topped, and ornamented (Yadin 1:134 – 35, 150, 192 – 93, 340; 2:340, 368, 420).

The term for "coat of mail" or "scale-armor" also shows evidence of foreign origin (note the spelling variation between *sryôn H6246* [Jer. 46:4; 51:3] and *širyôn H9234* [1 Sam. 17:5 et al.]).The equipment worn by people in a construction project (Neh. 4:16) was probably more exactly a breast armor, which at times must have had appendages (cf. 1 Ki. 22:34, where an arrow is said to have struck between *haddĕbāqîm [debeq H1817,* "appendage, scale"] and *hdšširyān* [variant spelling of *širyôn;* NRSV, "the breastplate"]). Goliath's coat of mail, made of scale-like plates of bronze (1 Sam. 17:5), may have been like that introduced by the HURRIANS in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C. and made of plates sewn on cloth or leather (de Vaux, 245). The Egyptians wore scaled armor of this type, as did also the Assyrians (Yadin, 1:192, 196, 240; 2:393, 398).



Bronze scale armor dating to the 9th-7th cent. B.C. Its source is uncertain, but similar scales were worn by Assyrian soldiers.

The soldier also wore a BELT or girdle *(ḥăgôr H2512),* the article given by Jonathan to David with other military equipment (1 Sam. 18:4). JOAB is pictured as wearing a soldier's garment over which he wore a girdle with an attached sheath carrying a sword (2 Sam. 20:8; cf. such belts in Yadin, 2:420 – 24, et al.). Little is said about greaves *(ishâ H5196;* 1 Sam. 17:6, Goliath wore bronze ones). ANE monuments show the soldier barelegged (Yadin, 2:388, 422 – 23, et al.); he is pictured also as barefooted or sandaled (Yadin, 2:333, 388), or, as in the case of some Assyrian warriors of the Sargon-Sennacherib period, with shoes or boots laced up toward the knee (Yadin, 2:333, 388, 422 – 29). The Hebrew word for "boot" *(sĕ'ôn H6007,* used only in Isa. 9:5) is probably a loan word from Akkadian *(šêenu,* "shoe, leather-sandal").

V. Armor and arms of the New Testament period. The NT has comparatively little to say about this subject.

A. Units in the army. According to Acts 23:23, 32, the military contingent to accompany PAUL from JERUSALEM toward CAESAREA was composed of 200 soldiers or infantrymen *(stratiōtēs G5132,* used also in Matt. 8:9; 27:27; Jn. 19:2; Acts 10:7; et al.), 200 spearmen (*dexiolabos G1287,* a light-armed

soldier, possibly "bowman"), and 70 horsemen *(hippeus G2689)*. The commander who sent this unit with Paul is called *chiliarchos G5941* (Acts 23:22), which means strictly a leader of 1,000 soldiers, but also an equivalent to the Roman military tribune, the commander of about 600 men (see Jn. 18:12). The NT speaks also of the *hekatontarchēs G1672*, CENTURION, an officer of lower rank (cf. also Matt. 8:13; Lk. 7:6; et al.). Of course, there were also military imperial governors like PILATE (Matt. 27:2), FELIX (Acts 23:24), and FESTUS (26:30).

B. The Roman soldier. Polybius *(Hist.* 6.22 – 23) describes the Roman soldier as wearing a helmet, a breastplate of brass or chain mail to cover especially the heart, and greaves; and as carrying a javelin, a sword hanging from the right side of the waist, and a shield, either one circular and about 3 ft. in diameter, or one about 2.5 ft. wide by 4 ft. in length. This description corresponds generally with Paul's metaphorical statement (Eph. 6:14 – 17) about the Christian armor, composed of the girdle and the sword *(machaira G3479,* cf. also Matt. 26:47, 51; Jn. 18:11; et al.), the breastplate *(thōrax G2606,* cf. 1 Thess. 5:8; see also Rev. 9:9), the helmet *(perikephalaia G4330),* the shield *(thyreos G2599,* a long, oblong shield), and shoes. Another word for sword, *rhomphaia G4855,* represents a large broad sword used by barbaric peoples, especially the Thracians, but in Rev. 2:12 (cf. 1:16) it simply means "sword." There is also a reference to the spear or spear point, *louchē G3365* (Jn. 19:34). See WAR.

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armor-bearer. A personal servant who carried additional weapons for the commanders of Israel's armies (Heb. *nōsē) kēlîm H5951 + H3998,* "carrier of arms"). Armor-bearers are mentioned some eighteen times in the OT with reference to such commanders as ABIMELECH (Jdg. 9:54), JONATHAN (1 Sam. 14:7 – 17), King SAUL (1 Sam. 16:21; 31:4 – 6), and JOAB (2 Sam. 18:15; 23:37; 1 Chr. 11:39). Another of their duties was to slay those wounded in the onslaught of their masters. While the chieftains threw the heavy javelins and shot the arrows, the armor-bearers used clubs and thick swords to dispatch the enemy wounded. Several kings of Israel were either killed by them or pleaded with their own armor-bearers to kill them. They seem to have been rendered unnecessary after the CHARIOT was introduced and are no longer mentioned after the time of King DAVID. See ARMOR, ARMS.

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armory. This term translates the Hebrew phrase *bêt kēlāyw H1074 + H3998* ("his house of weapons," 2 Ki. 20:13 = Isa. 39:2) and the terms *nešeq H5977* (Neh 3:19, elsewhere usually rendered "weapons") and ôṣār *H238* (Jer. 50:25; NIV, "arsenal," elsewhere usually rendered "storehouse, treasury"). The development of BRONZE and IRON weapons, and the introduction of the HORSE and CHARIOT in WAR, necessitated a specialized division of labor for both armorers and their arsenals. One important location was the "Palace of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 Ki. 7:2 – 12; 10:16 – 17). Certain arms were stored in the temple compound (2 Ki. 11:10), and in the later days of the commonwealth, arsenals were located around Jerusalem (2 Ki. 20:13; Neh. 3:19). See ARMOR, ARMS.

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arms. See ARMOR, ARMS.

army. This English term occurs in Bible versions primarily as the rendering of Hebrew *ṣābā) H7372* and *ḥayil H2657;* cf. also Greek *strateuma G5128* (Matt. 22:7 et al.).

I. The patriarchal period and the conquest of Canaan. During the patriarchal age, the wandering in the desert and the conquest of Canaan, the tribes of Israel did not develop an independent military organization. As disputes about water resources and pasture areas were common events, and clashes between clans or even tribes were an organic part of life, there was no need for such an organization in this society. Usually every adult male was a trained warrior ("from twenty years old and upward, everyone able to go to war," Num. 1:30 NRSV), carrying his own arms day and night. At a time of danger each family or clan had only to gather its men and be ready in a short time to meet the enemy. Such was the case with Abram, who "led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen of them, and went in pursuit as far as Dan" (Gen. 14:14 NRSV). Later in this passage (v. 24 NRSV) the term for "young men" is used *(na(ar H5853;* cf. 2 Sam. 2:14). It is interesting to note that the same designation is used by the Egyptian King RAMSES II with reference to a special Canaanite corps serving in his army at the Battle of Kedesh (KADESH ON THE ORONTES) in 1180 B.C. (cf. Y. Yadin in *JPOS* 21 [1948]: 110 – 16).

The number of the trained men mentioned in Gen. 14 (318) is not common. Actually the size of the military units was completely dependent on the size of the clan or the tribe from which they were taken. For this we have an artificial fixed scheme: the largest unit mentioned in the Bible is the ten thousand *(rĕbābâ H8047,* cf. Deut. 32:30), which would have been derived from a coalition of a few tribes. The smaller unit was the thousand, though the Hebrew term *(elep H548)* is often used to designate a CLAN (e.g., Jdg. 6:15).

It seems therefore that the concept "thousand" in the Bible has two meanings: the first and

Wooden painted model of the Egyptian army during the Middle Kingdom (c. 2040 – 1640 B.C.). Discovered in Assuit, Egypt.

simple one stands for a regular military unit with a fixed number of warriors that might be divided into smaller units of hundreds or tens (i.e., units derived from the smaller parts of the tribe—the houses). The other appears as the equivalent term for a clan or a family (in the context of military duties); but in this case the number of soldiers was not fixed: it varied according to the size of each tribe. For instance, the family of the Danites sent only "six hundred men…armed with weapons of war" (Jdg. 18:11). Few scholars believe that the three hundred men chosen by GIDEON also were taken from his own family. As already stated, war played an important role in the tribe's life, and as

so was conducted according to well-established laws, initially perhaps unwritten, but well known to each of the tribe's warriors. A later echo of these laws is to be found in Deuteronomy, announcing the cases when certain people could be dismissed from fighting (Deut. 23:1 – 15).

In war, the leadership among the Israelites was usually the same one that governed them in time of peace: the ELDERS of the tribe or the clan. It seems that often, at a time of danger, new officers, who did not stem from this leadership but were able warriors, were elected. Such an officer might be the *)allup H477* ("chief," Gen. 36:15 – 43; Zech. 9:7; 12:5 – 6), a title found in Ugaritic texts too, and derived from the word *)elep* ("thousand"), which as already pointed out indicates a military unit. These officers had also the right to divide the spoil of war among the members of the clan, and in time of peace took care of military training, which was an important part in a man's education. According to 1 Chr. 12:24 – 38, it seems that each Israelite tribe had its own chosen weapon in which it specialized.

When summoned, every warrior came with his own arms and supplies sufficient for a few days. If war lasted longer than that, supplies were sent to the individual soldiers by their families at home (1 Sam. 17:17 – 18). A similar military system was established at that time also among the Canaanite inhabitants of the country, although they were dwelling in city-states. Even the size of their military units was the same, except that they were fixed according to the size or richness of the individual cities and not the size of the tribes. Tablets found in the city of MARI testify that when a few towns united in a coalition against a common enemy, they were able to send to war corps that numbered up to ten thousand men. A well-known example is the Canaanite coalition that fought the Egyptian King THUTMOSE III (1468 B.C.) near MEGIDDO, where more than three hundred Canaanite "kings" assembled together. Usually the Canaanite corps numbered between three hundred and one thousand men alone. Little cities were able to summon only a few hundred soldiers, the basic unit being ten.

Although similar in number, the organization of the Canaanite army was superior to that of the Israelites for several reasons. The Canaanites were under the absolute rule of kings who kept regular units of hired soldiers. These men were able to devote all their time to military equipment such as CHARIOTS. They also had developed an elaborate system of logistics.

II. The period of settlement and the judges.

With the beginning of the settlement, conditions changed. The wandering tribes found themselves inhabiting cities and villages they had to defend, and the military problems were quite different. They were still divided into tribes, but ties became loose, each tribe now primarily engaged in solving its own problems. Old institutions failed to unite the tribes in face of a common enemy, and this situation is clearly reflected in DEBORAH's song (Jdg. 5). The sense of loyalty to the family or clan became stronger, and soon clashes between the tribes themselves ceased. In course of time, people were more and more identified with their cities and villages; indeed, they are named by their cities, and not by their tribe (Jdg. 20:15; 1 Sam. 31:11).

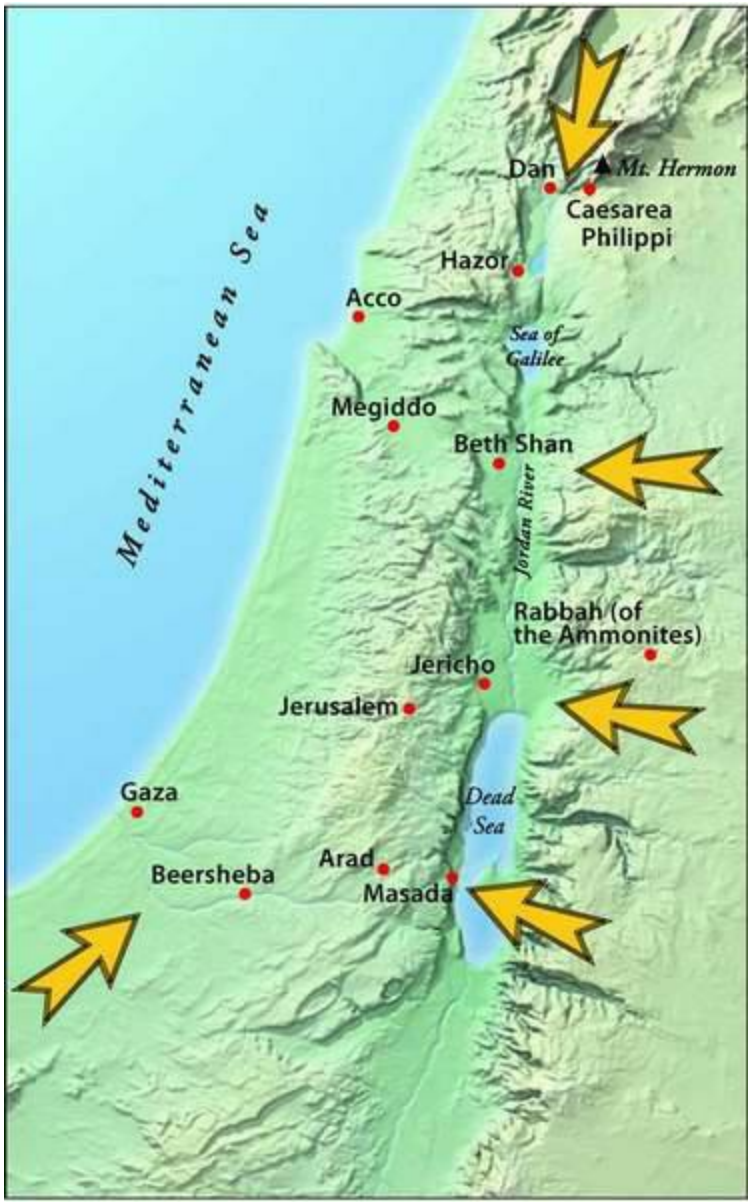
Soon it became obvious that against the Canaanites and the PHILISTINES with their developed military system and superiority of arms (IRON), stronger military organization was badly needed. Consequently, and for a short period, the institution of the judge was born. These new military charismatic leaders who relieved the earlier ones in time of distress, depended completely on personal courage and ability in battlefield, and solved the problem of a proper leadership. They were not able to change the general situation of the army, which, as in the previous period, was still in the stage of a militia, and could be summoned only for a short period. Moreover, the judges were not able to unite all the forces of the tribes even in the time of great danger, and usually they depended

upon their own tribe or upon a few others who dwelt in the immediate neighborhood. This situation is clearly reflected by the phrase: "In those days Israel had no king; everyone did as he saw fit" (Jdg. 17:6).

Under the steady military pressure of the Philistines, it became clear that good military leadership alone without a proper army would not save the nation. The necessity for permanent and central rule, which alone would be able to build such an army, was recognized by all. We are told that the demand for a king came from among the people, against the will of SAMUEL (1 Sam. 8:4 – 5). The transition period between the judges and the kings is symbolized by the leadership of SAUL. This first king started his career as a typical charismatic judge by showing his military talent in the war against the Ammonites, but later was appointed king by Samuel. He soon turned to build a regular army corps, probably enlisted from the tribe of BENJAMIN. This unit initially numbered about 3,000 men (13:2) but was steadily increased (14:52).

III. The period of the United Kingdom. It was not until the days of DAVID and SOLOMON that a standing army was created. David developed the first regular unit that he inherited from Saul and turned it into a well-organized and efficient tool, with which he gained a large territory for Israel and defeated all his enemies. Solomon completed the task by adding some new corps, as units of war chariots.

The biblical sources testify that David's army was composed of two different parts: the regular army and the militia. The regular army itself was built from two different groups, each of them derived of different ethnic elements. The first group was Israelite and developed from out of the band that gathered around David while he was wandering in the Judean border lands. Many of them were from his own family: "David left Gath and escaped to the cave of Adullam. When his brothers and his



Invasion routes.

father's household heard about it, they went down to him there. All those who were in distress or in debt or discontented gathered around him, and he became their leader. About four hundred men were with him" (1 Sam. 22:1 – 2). This band increased later to six hundred people (1 Sam. 23:13; 27:2); they wandered with him, raided villages and little towns, and lived on the plunder collected there, later becoming the core of the regular army. At the head of this band stood a little group numbering no more than thirty men called the "heroes" or "mighty men" (Heb. *gibbôr H1475),* who were the military elite (cf. B. Mazar in *VT* 13 [1963]: 310 – 20). These men were later appointed to the highest posts in the regular army and in the militia as well (2 Sam. 23:9; 1 Chr. 11:12). Together they formed the military institution called the "Thirty," which served probably as the council of war (2 Sam. 23:23). The second group serving in the regular army was composed of hired non-Israelite mercenaries (Kerethites, Pelethites, and Gittites). These people served as the king's bodyguard, and were used mainly in time of internal clashes against the king's personal enemies, since he could always depend on their loyalty (2 Sam. 15:18).

David did not fail to reorganize the bigger part of his army, the militia: "This is the list of the Israelites—heads of families, commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds, and their officers, who served the king in all that concerned the army divisions that were on duty month by

month throughout the year. Each division consisted of 24,000 men" (1 Chr. 27:1). It should be emphasized that although the number twelve is used here again as the basic number for division, it is obviously not based on the twelve tribes of Israel, but on a territorial scheme. Each unit composed of 24,000 men served one month every year. At time of danger it was rather easy to gather all of them, as their staff officers were regular army men who served the king during the whole year. When gathered, it should have been an enormous army for those days.

The reorganization of the militia could be accomplished only after an overall numbering. This task was given to JOAB (2 Sam. 24). "Joab reported the number of the fighting men to David: In all Israel there were one million one hundred thousand men who could handle a sword, including four hundred and seventy thousand in Judah" (1 Chr. 21:5). The numbering was actually forced on Joab who, being a regular army officer, did not like the militia. Other numberings took place in the time of JEHOSHAPHAT (2 Chr. 17:14) and AMAZIAH (25:5), and were probably practiced until the end of the Judean kingdom.

Solomon, who inherited a well-developed army from his father, added to it some new units, among them corps of war chariots and horsemen (1 Ki. 10:26). He was also the first Israelite king who systematically fortified the main cities of the kingdom. Three of the city gates he built have been discovered in the excavations of HAZOR, MEGIDDO, and GEZER (9:15).

IV. The period of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. With the division of the kingdom the army was divided too. In Judah it was based on the people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and in Israel on the people of the other ten tribes. We have no evidence about general changes in the organization of the two armies. It seems that both of them were divided into the same two parts as in the previous period: a regular army and a militia. The main power of the two armies continued to be—at least in the first years—the corps of war chariots. For this hypothesis we have good evidence not only in the biblical sources, but also in the Assyrian documents and archaeological finds. A cuneiform tablet dated to the reign of SHALMANESER III, king of Assyria, describes the battle near the Syrian city of Qarqar (853 B.C.), which was conducted against a coalition of twelve Syrian kings. Among them appears AHAB of Israel, who brought with him about 2,000 war chariots, more than all the other kings together. (It seems that this formidable army included also that of the kingdom of Judah, as the kings of the two countries were allies, 2 Ki. 3:7; but even so this number is quite impressive).

After Y. Yadin's new excavations at Megiddo (see *BA* 33 [1970]: 66 – 96), it became evident that the famous stables discovered there earlier (with places for 450 horses or 150 chariots), which were previously connected with Solomon, are in fact from the days of Ahab. Biblical sources preserved also some titles of the officers who served in these corps, as that of ZIMRI, "commander of half his chariots" (1 Ki. 16:9 NRSV). At the end of the 9th cent. B.C., the chariot corps were defeated, so that in the days of King JEHOAHAZ nothing was left "except fifty horsemen, ten chariots and ten thousand foot soldiers, for the king of Aram had destroyed the rest and made them like the dust at threshing time" (2 Ki. 13:7).

The destruction of the main fighting power of the two kingdoms had driven the armies out of the open battlefield, where they used to meet their enemies in the previous period. The main military efforts were now concentrated in fortifying the walls of the cities to prepare them for long siege. Fine examples of this work were uncovered in the excavating of many Israelite and Judean cities. In a few of them (Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Gibeon, and Jerusalem) elaborate water systems were also found. The archaeological finds bear evidence also to a logistic system practiced in the last days of the Judean kingdom as to the collecting of supply into the king's storage cities. These are jar handles

stamped with the Hebrew word *lmlk* ("to the king") above the royal emblem and the name of the city.

The other units of the armies of the two kingdoms were organized as they probably were in the days of David and Solomon. Each of them divided into little units of a regular army with some mercenaries and the militia. An interesting new bit of evidence about the mercenaries was discovered in the excavations at Tell ARAD, a Judean southern border fortress about 19 mi. E of BEERSHEBA. Here was found a Hebrew ostracon (see OSTRACA) dating to the 8th cent. B.C. in which certain soldiers are referred to as *ktym* (inhabitants of CYPRUS), an apparent reference to Greek mercenaries (see Y. Aharoni in *BASOR* 197 [Feb. 1970]: 16 – 42; *ANET,* 569; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], 1:51). Another new witness to the existence of Greek soldiers in Judah (dating to the end of the 7th cent. B.C.) was found in a little Judean fortress on the sea coast not far from ASHDOD, called now "Mezad Hashavyahu," where most of the pottery discovered consisted of imported E Greek vessels. In this place also was found a Hebrew ostracon containing a letter of complaint sent to the captain (śr) of the fortress by one of the Judean soldiers who served under him (cf. J. Naveh in *IEJ 10* [1960]: 129 – 39; *ANET,* 568).

Because of a unique Assyrian relief found at NINEVEH, we have the opportunity to glance at the Judean army in time of war. This relief describes the storming of the city of LACHISH at 701 B.C. by the armies of SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria. The Judean soldiers are depicted fighting from above the walls and the gate of the besieged city. The rare Assyrian relief is until now the only extant document in which one can see the dress and weapons (including one war chariot) of the Judean army in the biblical period. Relying on this description, R. D. Barnett (in *IEJ 8* [1958]: 161 – 69) tried to prove that Judean soldiers were later enlisted into the bodyguard of the Assyrian king.

Another valuable glimpse into the everyday life of the Judean army at that time is given by some ostraca discovered in the excavations at Arad and Tell Beersheba, which were at that time southern border posts of the kingdom. These ostraca deal with small cargoes of supply sent with little groups of soldiers. Each of them, even in the smallest quantity, was carefully recorded, and the record was kept in the fortress office (see *ANET,* 568 – 69). There exists also another Hebrew ostracon, this time from the city of Lachish, found in the room inside the city gate, and addressed to its military officer. It is a letter written at the time when the Babylonian army was approaching the region in the last days of the kingdom. In the letter the officer is informed that the neighboring city of AZEKAH already had been captured by the enemy (see *ANET,* 322).

V. Postexilic period. After the fall of Israel and Judah, the country was divided into many satrapies ruled first by the Assyrians and later by the Babylonians and the Persians. There is no doubt that in this period the army units who were stationed here were but part of the general military organization of these empires. It is also evident now that the existence of Jewish troops did not end with the fall of their independent kingdom. This evidence is drawn from the well-known ARAMAIC papyri found at ELEPHANTINE in Egypt, dating to the 5th cent. B.C. The papyri reflect the life of a Jewish military colony, formed probably already by the Assyrians, but surviving until the end of the 5th cent. B.C., when destroyed by the Egyptians. The soldiers were organized in a unit called *dgl* ("battalion, detachment") that was under the command of a Persian officer (cf. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* [1923], 10 – 11 et al.). The same term (which is also common in Qumran) is used in an ostracon found at Arad, written in Aramaic script and dating also to the end of the 5th cent. B.C.; it seems therefore logical to assume that another Jewish unit was stationed in this desert post.

At any rate, a revival of the Jewish army eventually took place, but not before the country regained its independence during the period of the HASMONEANS. First it existed as scattered guerrilla

bands, and later—under John Hyrcanus—as paid soldiers, Jewish and Gentile alike (Jos. *War* 1.2.5 §61; 1.5.4 §117). In the year 63 B.C. Palestine was conquered by the Romans, who brought with them their own army. For a short period they let their vassal kings, HEROD and his successors, keep their private little armies, in part composed of hired Thracians, Germans, Gauls, and Greeks *(War* 1.33.9 §670). This army ceased to exist after the first war against the Romans (A.D. 69 – 73).

The last war fought by a Jewish army against the Romans was in the year A.D. 132, when the second rebellion under the leadership of BAR KOKHBAH took place. About this war and the army who fought it, we are now in the possession of important new evidence, discovered in the sensational excavations in the Judean desert. (See further W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Development* [1930]; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study* [1963]; L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* [1984]; T. R. Hobbs, *A Time of War: A Study of Warfare in the Old Testament* [1989]; R. Drews, *Early Riders: The Beginnings of Mounted Warfare in Asia and Europe* [2004].) See also WAR.

E. STERN

Ama ahr'nuh (Vulg. *Arna)*. One of the ancestors of EZRA (2 Esd. 1:2), apparently corresponding to Zerahiah (Ezra 7:4).

Aman ahr'nuhn (אַרְנָן *H820,* possibly "ibex" or "quick"). A descendant of DAVID through Hananiah, son of ZERUBBABEL (1 Chr. 3:21). According to the NRSV (which follows LXX), Arnan was the son of Rephaiah and the father of Obadiah, but the precise relationship is left ambiguous by the NIV (following the MT, which says lit., "the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah"). See REPHAIAH.

Ami ahr'n*i* (Ἀρνί *G767* [not in NIV]). Son of Hezron, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:33 NRSV). However, the Lukan genealogy is textually uncertain at this point. The NIV, following CODEX ALEXANDRINUS and many other witnesses, which read *Aram G730,* translates "Ram" (KJV, "Aram"; see Matt. 1:3; Ruth 4:19; 1 Chr. 2:9 – 10). See ARAM (PERSON) #4; RAM (PERSON).

Amon ahr'nuhn (אַרְנוֹן *H818,* possibly "rushing [stream]"). A river (modern Wadi el-Mujib) beginning in the hills of northern ARABIA and flowing some 20 mi. westward to enter the DEAD SEA opposite EN GEDI. A network of tributaries referred to as the "valleys of the Arnon" in the biblical narrative (Num. 21:14 RSV) add to the flow. For most of its journey, the river now courses through a deep gorge some 2 mi. wide at the top and only some 100 ft. wide at the bottom. The steep banks, rising in places to 1,700 ft., are limestone capped with basalt.

The Arnon is first mentioned in the biblical record as forming the boundary between MOAB and the AMORITES (Num. 21:13). It also formed

Looking NE into the valley of the Arnon River (Wadi el-Mujib).

the southern boundary of the territory assigned to REUBEN (Deut. 3:12). Israel was commanded to cross the Arnon from S to N and take its first territorial possessions there (Deut. 2:24). The MOABITE STONE indicates, however, that Moabites lived N of the wadi by the time of OMRI (see *ANET,* 320), thereby implying either incomplete or impermanent settlement by Israel. The river was evidently forded in many places, and there are still traces of an old Roman road and bridge to be seen.

H.G.ANDERSEN

Arod air'od. See ARODI.

Arodi air'uh-d*i* (אֲרוֹדִי *H771;* gentilic אֲרוֹדִי *H772,* Arodite"). Son of GAD and eponymous ancestor of the Arodite clan (Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:17; in the latter passage, MT reads *)ăaôod* [cf. KJV, NRSV, Arod"], but "Arodi" is supported by several ancient versions).

Aroer uh-roh'uhr (עֲרוֹעֵר *H6876* [often עֲרֹעֵר], prob. "juniper"; gentilic עֲרֹעֵרִי *H6901,* "Aroerite"). (1) An ancient city E of the JORDAN on the N bank of the river ARNON about 14 mi. from the DEAD SEA and known as ʿAroʿir in modern times. Initially it indicated the southern limit of the AMORITE kingdom of SIHON and was taken by Israel under MOSES (Deut. 2:36; 3:12; 4:48; Josh. 12:2). Aroer (along with other conquered cities) was evidently repaired by the descendants of GAD (Num. 32:34) before being assigned to REUBEN (Josh. 13:7, 16; Jdg. 11:26 [MT *ʿărʿōr];* cf. 1 Chr. 5:8). It was one of twenty towns that JEPHTHAH took from the Ammonites (Jdg. 11:33; see AMMON). JOAB'S cen for DAVID began at Aroer (2 Sam. 24:5). In the days of JEHU, HAZAEL, the powerful Aramean king, took

the city from Israel (2 Ki. 10:33). Also about this time, MESHA, king of MOAB, "built Aroer and… made the highway in the Arnon (valley)" (MOABITE STONE, line 26; see *ANET,* 320). Aroer evidently remained Moabite until the time of Jeremiah, who prophesied against it (Jer. 48:18 – 20). Aroer, along with Damascus and Ephraim, is also condemned by Isaiah (Isa. 17:2 MT, contra NRSV; if MT is correct here, this Aroer may refer to a different, unknown city in SYRIA). (See further *NEAEHL,* 1:92 – 93.)

(2) A city near RABBAH (Josh. 13:25; Jdg. 11:33). The site has not been positively identified; some think it is the same as #1 above.

(3) A city in the NEGEV some 20 mi. SE of BEERSHEBA and known today as Khirbet ʿArʿarah. David shared his Amalekite spoils with the people of Aroer (1 Sam. 30:28). Two sons of "Hotham the Aroerite" were among David's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:44); however, some argue that the allusion here is to a site in TRANSJORDAN, thus #1 or #2 above. (See *NEAEHL,* 1:89 – 92.)

H.G.ANDERSEN

Arom air'uhm (Αρομ). Ancestor of some exiles who returned with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:16). The name is not found in the parallel lists (cf. Ezra 2; Neh. 7).

aroma. See ODOR.

aromatic cane. This phrase is the NRSV rendering of *qĕnēh-bōśem H7866 + H1411* in Exod. 30:23

(NIV, "fragrant cane"; lit., "cane of spices"). The aromatic cane *(Andropogon aromaticus)* is not the sugar cane as people know it today, but a grass that gives out a strong smell when bruised and that has a taste of ginger. Cows and goats like it, but when eaten it can taint their milk and even their flesh. When processed, it produces an oil called ginger grass. It is similar to the lemon grass *(Andropogon schoenanthus)* found in Palestine, as well as ARABIA and INDIA. There would have been no difficulty in importing the ginger grass to Palestine, for there was a regular caravan traffic between the two countries. It is thought that the QUEEN OF SHEBA brought King SOLOMON large quantities of spiced cane (1 Ki. 10:2, 10, where the word "spices," *bōsem,* may indefinitely refer to *Andropogon aromaticus).* It must be remembered that she brought the SPICES, presumably, from ETHIOPIA, where the canes would have grown well.

The NRSV uses "sweet cane" in three passages. In one of them it renders Hebrew *qāneh haṭṭôb,* lit "the good [precious] reed" (Jer. 6:20; NIV, "sweet calamus"). In the other two, the word *qāneh* ▪ appears by itself (Isa. 43:24; Ezek. 27:19; NIV, "[fragrant] calamus]"; cf. also Cant. 4:14, where both versions use "calamus"). The native or wild cane found throughout Palestine in streams and ditches is *Saccharum biflorum,* and this could have been the one mentioned. Many students feel, however, that the plant referred to was the true *Saccharum officinarum,* that is, sugar cane. The ancient Hebrews probably did not make sugar from this plant, but it was chewed or used in its natural form for sweetening drinks and food. HONEY was, of course, the chief sweetener in the OT days. See also FLORA (under *Gramineae).*

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Arpachshad ahr-pak'shad. See ARPHAXAD.

Arpad ahr'pad (אַרְפָּד *H822,* meaning uncertain). KJV also Arphad (Isa. 36:19; 37:13). The name of

a province and its chief city located in the northern region of SYRIA near the city of HAMATH, with which it is invariably associated in the Bible. The modern Tell er-Refad, 25 mi. N of ALEPPO, most probably marks the site today. The violent history of Arpad led to its being used as a proverbial expression attributed to the Assyrians (2 Ki. 18:34; 19:13; Isa. 10:9; 36:19; 37:13). The city was overrun by the Assyrians in 740 B.C. under TIGLATH-PILESER III and in 720 B.C. by SARGON II. The inability of Arpad and Hamath to withstand such attacks led to the Assyrian claim that Israel too would not be able to stand.

T.MCCOMISKEY

Arphad ahr'fad. KJV alternate form of ARPAD.

Arphaxad ahr-fak'sad (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד *H823,* derivation uncertain; Ἀρφαξάδ *G790).* Also Arpachshad (only in OT). (1) Son of SHEM and grandfather of EBER (Gen. 10:22 – 24; 11:10 – 13; 1 Chr. 1:17 – 18,24; Lk. 3:36). The birth of Arphaxad is the first recorded birth after the flood. Many suggestions have been made concerning the nation of which he was the progenitor. The terminal letters *(kšd)* suggest to some the Kasdim or CHALDEANS. Others identify the name with Arrapkha (Kirkur) in Assyria. The first suggestion has merit, since Assyria is already represented in the Table of NATIONS in the person of ASSHUR (Gen. 10:22; if Arphaxad is regarded as the progenitor of the Assyrians, that would mean that the Chaldeans are not represented at all in the Table of Nations).

(2) The name of an otherwise unknown, and possibly fictional, ruler of the Medes (Jdt. 1:1).

T. MCCOMISKEY

array. This English noun, as part of a larger phrase, is often used in the KJV to translate the Hebrew verb *ʿārak H6885* ("to put, prepare, arrange") when it occurs in military contexts (e.g., 1 Sam. 4:2, "And the Philistines put themselves in array [NIV, deployed their forces] against Israel"). On the basis of archaeological finds, such as representations of armies in the fields and formations of miniatures, as well as an Egyptian tomb of the twelfth dynasty at Assiût, it is known that ancient warriors were well-drilled and highly organized in mass movements and tactics. A number of words in both OT and NT refer to specific types of military groups. See ARMY; WAR.

W. WHITE, JR.

array, holy. This phrase is used by the ASV and RSV to render Hebrew *hadĕrat-qōdeš* in four passages (1 Chr. 16:29; 2 Chr. 20:21; Pss. 29:2; 96:9; KJV, "the beauty of holiness"; NIV, "the splendor of his holiness"; NRSV, "holy splendor"). The phrase is used always in connection with the public WORSHIP of Yahweh and seems to mean that in such worship it was necessary that the priests dress in proper attire. For such an occasion only dress that would honor him would be suitable; anything else would dishonor him. Some have suggested that it is Yahweh himself who is depicted as being clothed with the beauty of holiness.

S. BARABAS

arrogance. See PRIDE.

arrow. See ARMS, ARMOR.

arrow-snake. Name given sometimes to the *Coluber najadum* (or similar species), referring to a SERPENT that coils itself and darts forward. The term is used by the NJPS and other versions to render Hebrew *qippôz H7889,* which occurs only once (Isa. 34:15), but this word more probably refers to an OWL. The KJV mg. has "arrow snake" as an alternate rendering *of šĕpîpōn H9159* (Gen. 49:17); see VIPER.

Arsaces ahr'suh-seez (Ἀρσάκης). An Old Persian name borne by several Medo-Persian kings. It was also the name of the founder of the PARTHIAN empire (c. 250 B.C.) and was then assumed as a title by subsequent Parthian kings. The Arsaces who is said to have captured the Seleucid ruler Demetrius II (1 Macc. 14:2-3; cf. 15:22) was Mithridates I. (Cf. also Jos. *Ant.* 13.5.11 §186. Appian, in *The Syrian Wars* 67, confuses this Arsaces with the earlier ruler Phraates.) The Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidae became one of Rome's greatest threats. See PERSIA III.E.5.

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Arsareth ahr'suh-reth. KJV Apoc. form of ARZARETH (2 Esd. 13:45).

arsenal. See ARMORY.

Arsiphurith ahr-sif'uh-rith (Αρσιφουριθ). KJV Azephurith. A man whose 112 descendants returned to Jerusalem with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:16 NRSV, but see the text and apparatus in A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta,* and in R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I,* Septuaginta 8/1 [1974], 90). This name is thought to be a textual corruption for *Ariphos,* that is, HARIPH (Neh. 7:24 = Jorah in Ezra 2:18).

art. This article is limited to a survey of the processes and achievements of the Syro-Palestinian area in biblical times, though the influence of peripheral areas and times will be noted. Primary concern is with painting, carving, engraving, and sculpture, as well as the temporal progression of decorative themes and patterns, leaving the objects decorated to separate consideration, since these are the vehicles, not the art element itself. See also ARCHITECTURE; SEAL; TEMPLES.

1. Art before 3000 B.C.
    1. Linear art
    2. Sculpture
    3. Carving
    4. Pottery
2. Art from 3000 B.C. to the Israelite conquest
    1. Influences in Syria
    2. Sculpture
    3. Carving
    4. Pottery
3. Israelite era to the exile
    1. Influence of second commandment
    2. Art in Israel
    3. Temple decoration
    4. Carving

I. Art before 3000 B.C. The Syro-Palestinian area did not have the support of a well-founded, native civilization by which to produce a significant art. In spite of this lack, however, three examples of preliterate, prehistoric art of startling character require consideration.

A. Linear art. At Teleilat Ghassul (c. 3600 – 3400 B.C.) was unearthed a splendid example of linear art in polychrome fresco, the central feature being a large, eight-armed design arranged around a circular center filled with an eight-pointed star. Encircling the star is a field containing stylized dragons with other figures of geometric character. A second fresco portrays a bird in very natural posture, an equal for which it is scarcely possible to find in Egypt. A third composition presents a group of three figures, the dress of one indicative of royalty, possibly a worship scene. The star design suggests derivation from the painted pottery of Tell Halaf (see GOZAN), where similar designs were applied to the inside of shallow bowls and platters, indicating migration of the art form into the Jordan Valley.

B. Sculpture. JERICHO has produced an example from c. 6500 B.C. of near sculpture (G. Garbini, *The Ancient World* [1966], 70 – 71) for rewarding contemplation in a series of plastered skulls characterized by extremely sensitive modeling of the plaster in imitation of the planes of the face, reminiscent of oriental features. Formation of the eyes by cowrie shells adds the necessary touch of realism and indicates the perceptive imagination of this ancient artist. A slightly later painted terra-cotta head was already indicative of a decadent trend but represented a unique occurrence of terra-cotta as an art form. From the Amuq Plain in SYRIA came a

Plaster mask with shells for eyes. This work of art from Jericho dates to around 6500 B.C.

steatite figurine from the early part of the Neolithic Period (L. Woolley, *The Art of the Middle East* [1961], 104). It is remarkable for its quite literal character, though of steatopygous form.

C. Carving. It should be noted that the earlier Natufians of Palestine, c. 8000 B.C., were not unconscious respecting artistic endeavors and frequently adorned the bone handles of their sickles with carved animal heads (W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine* [1960], pl. 10). Other artistic Natufian efforts are revealed in carved bone neck (K. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land,* 5th ed. [1985], pl. 4), a singular arrangement in pairs of shapes like golf club heads, but beautiful in form.

D. Pottery. This art form came to Jericho with the Pottery Neolithic A people (Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 62), having a distinctive slip ware style of decoration of chevrons and triangles, with red slip burnished (i.e., polished), forming an attractively decorated ware of good contrast and quality. These examples indicate an early and high level of artistic ability indicative of excellent creative thought in both real and abstract design. While a wealth of examples from the period has not been unearthed, meagerness should not be used to conclude that they were unproductive of pleasing art. What was lacking was an age that could provide the necessary leisure time for thought and achievement. See POTTERY.

II. Art from 3000 B.C. to the Israelite conquest. The date of 3000 B.C. is taken as a demarcation, since it is generally accepted as the beginning of the historical period.

A. Influences in Syria. One of the earliest occupied sites along the Phoenician coast was Byblos (GEBAL). Its earliest contact with one of the greatest of the art worlds, Egypt, occurred in the time of Snefru (third dynasty, c. 2615 – 2565 B.C.). Contact with Mesopotamia took place some three centuries later in the era of westward expansion under Sargon I (2360 – 2305). After each initial

contact, traffic both ways was regular and at times intense. However, having no central government, the SyroPalestinian area could not produce a distinctive art form of its own; it remained basically an imitative area. Egypt's influence in Syria is evidenced by the presence of vases with gold lids found in Byblos, the lids bearing cartouches of Thinite pharaohs. At Tell el-Judeideh, near ALALAKH, were found six bronze statuettes from c. 2700, and Mesopotamian cylinder seals were found with them. The style of dress of the statuettes is distinctly Syro-Anatolian, but the presence of the seals indicates a casting process from SUMER, the lost wax method (H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* [1959], 134). After 2000 a new life appeared in the area when the AMORITES invaded the lands.

The primary motifs in twelfth-dynasty (1991 – 1786 B.C.) coastland Syro-Palestine were Egyptian, as evidenced in art objects found in Byblos, both those made in Egypt and native copy works. This influence continued strongly down through the eighteenth dynasty and into the Ramesside Age (D. Harden, *The Phoenicians* [1962], 180). Of lesser influence was Mesopotamia, evidenced by the glyptic art of cylinder and stamp seals, but showing a mixture of Egyptian tendencies. The shift toward Assyrian motifs in the 1st millennium B.C. points up the fact that art forms generally reflect the art of the stronger ruling power (ibid.). When the HITTITE people were in control, their costumes and attributes were present. HURRIAN domination is indicated by the prominent white-on-dark painted pottery.

About the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., two silver figurines of grotesque shape were produced, a completely local product, without evidence of Egyptian influence. Slightly later two copper statuettes appeared, one a standing god, another a seated goddess, showing Hurrian influence in UGARIT, under Hurrian control (Woolley, *Art of the Middle East,* 108). Both the silver and copper figures appear modeled in the round from the front, while from the side they show a flat back, necessitated for bending to produce the seated figure (ibid., 103). The flatness indicates that the figures were intended to be viewed from the front, a "convention." The idols were provided with inlaid eyes, and indications are that the idols were goldleafed. Headdresses are Hurrian.

Cretan influences are seen in the presence of Middle Minoan (early 2nd millennium B.C.) polychrome pottery as indicated by spiral designs on a fragment of a silver bowl. It was in the 15th and 14th centuries, however, that Mycenaean influence became clearly evident in the presence of quantities of Mycenaean pottery. It was in the latter half of this period that Egyptian influence appeared again with the reestablishment of its power up to the Euphrates. An example is a gold-encased copper statuette of BAAL dating from the 15th cent. and like Byblian work. The gold dish and gold bowl from Ugarit of the 15 – 14th cent. represent an extremely skillful workmanship (Woolley, *Art of the Middle East,* 115). From the 14th cent. comes a stela of the weather god that reveals an imitation of the Egyptian motif of the king overcoming his enemies.

From the Early Bronze "obelisk" temple of Byblos a multitude of bronze figurines, both in the round and flat, demonstrate the capabilities of the smith, but are of low artistic quality. A gilt bronze statuette with left arm extended is capped with a Hurrian miter of divinity, having finely worked features but with flattened torso in obvious contrast to cruder attempts. The attitude of the body is otherwise Egyptian. Certain other statuettes appear to be direct copies.

The arts of PHOENICIA as a native skill are not distinguished in general, are notably inferior, and are characterized by a monotonous tedium due to uninspired copying. Rare originality is exhibited in the Ugarit gold dish, thus emphasizing the average efforts exhibited elsewhere, which indicate the existence of almost a pattern book of examples.

B. Sculpture. In Phoenicia sculpture cannot be known as other than crude. The silver figurine of Ugarit (Woolley, *Art of the Middle East,* 112) is illustrative. The statue of Idrimi of Alalakh (15th cent. B.C.) is primitively executed in angular squarish lines, with attenuated chin and glaring eyes reminiscent of Sumerian styles. An attempt to produce a standing figure in the Egyptian manner of the "colossus of Byblos" is disconcertingly primitive. The bust of King Yarim-lim of Alalakh (18th cent.) is, however, finely executed and shows evidence of use of the best technical knowledge of late Sumerian craftsmanship.

C. Carving. Cylinder seal carving in Syria reached a high degree of perfection and often surpassed its Mesopotamian models, indicating that the Amorites did not destroy completely the culture, though many mounds show destruction at the time of their advent. IVORY carving came into great prominence in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C. Chief examples come from MEGIDDO and Byblos, with the crested griffin being an import from Crete by the Aegeans (Frankfort, *Art and Architecture,* pls. 148 – 49). Other examples reveal Mesopotamian influences, while still others exhibit influence from Egyptian styles. Excellent taste and handicraft are exhibited, surpassing at times in line and form their inspirations, the artists meanwhile adapting and developing a style of their own.

D. Pottery. In Palestine proper at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, burnishing (smoothing of the surface) reached a high peak of finesse (Proto-Urban A, Tell el-Farah are earlier examples). Another method of decoration was the use of bands of red and brown, with veining in use in the N areas, designated grain wash, as if done by a coarse hair brush. In the S the bands were solid. In Syria at the beginning of the period, the Khirbet Kerak red-and-black burnished ware dominated the scene (Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 124 – 29). At the time of the Amorite invasion, a new pottery characterized by incised patterns of straight and wavy lines appeared (ibid., 136).

About 1600 B.C. a distinct break in pottery appeared (beginning the Middle Bronze period) with a progressive dissociation of pottery from Syrian forms as the truly native Phoenician styles began to develop. A prominent and widespread characteristic is the ubiquitous deep red slip, highly burnished, while in many cases others have a combed finish. In the Middle Bronze II era, however, distinct changes occurred. The burnished red slip had started to die out and a burnished cream slip appeared. In addition, there appeared the black background decorated with chalk filled punctures. The Late Bronze period ushered in a bichrome, black-and-red painted pottery distinguished by friezes divided into panels ornamented with birds and fishes (Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine,* 96, 98, fig. 21), which reflected Hurrian influence. In the latter half of the period, Mycenaean pottery with its distinctive polychrome banded ware and pilgrim flask "target" pattern helped to date the era (1400 – 1230 B.C.; ibid., 100, fig. 22).

III. Israelite era to the exile. This period begins, according to archaeologists (Kenyon, *Archaeology,* 206), in the 13th cent. B.C. Within the period 1400 – 1200 no complete break in the Palestinian culture appeared (ibid., 209). However, when Late Bronze I moved into Late Bronze II (c. 1480), there was a deterioration, but no break. On the other hand, destruction did tell its story during this period. For instance, Megiddo VIII terminated about 1350, according to destructive signs, and VI was divided by destruction, but the culture continued; these signs were not necessarily indicative of Israelite conquest (ibid., 212ff.). From the 14th cent. onward, destruction overtook many cities and general decline of culture followed.

A. Influence of the second commandment. It has been held by some that the second commandment (Exod. 20:4 – 6) forbids artistic endeavors, whereas it actually forbids the practice of IDOLATRY *through* the use of idols or other means. The fact that CHERUBIM were embroidered into the inner veil of the tabernacle (Exod. 26:31), that the walls of Solomon's temple were carved with figures of cherubim and palm trees (1 Ki. 6:29), and that both tabernacle and temple had figures of cherubim at the mercy seat in the Holy of Holies indicates that the second commandment did not preclude the production of art works.

One should look for other causes for the low level of artistic efforts among the Israelites as compared with the Phoenicians. One should give consideration to Israel's lack of technical and artistic abilities. Only BEZALEL (Exod. 35:30 – 35) appeared to have the requisite basic technical skills that were filled out by God's special gift of the Holy Spirit both for increased capabilities and the teaching of others. The need for technical competence ceased after the completion of the tabernacle, and their lives as slaves in Egypt, and nomads for forty years after the exodus, did not create any growth of technology. In the days of David and Solomon recourse was taken to hire Phoenicians of TYRE for fine and monumental building knowledge and skilled artisans (see BUILD, BUILDING; TEMPLE, JERUSALEM). The emphasis of the Scriptures is otherwise against the great and the grandiose so that the Israelites would not be like the other nations around them and then turn away from God.

B. Art in Israel. Stimuli in Israel during the premonarchical period were not toward development of artistic achievement, for this time, when everyone was doing what was right in his own eyes, was characterized by disintegrative forces. For a distinctive art to develop there must be a central government under whose auspices leisure time may encourage meditation or the development of an art form, which Israel did not have. This occurred only briefly in the era of David and Solomon.

In the era after the temple, except for the ivory carvings of Samaria, artistic endeavor was still lacking in Israel (Judah and Israel), due to the fact that the labor lavished on the temple and the palaces of the kings of Israel and Judah apparently drained the artistic and technological capabilities of the Hebrews (see ARCHITECTURE for the postSolomonic period). Leaving the temple to separate consideration, a survey of Israelite art to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. is next for consideration.

The era of Solomon was filled with construction projects: the temple, his house of the forest, building of store cities, and the outpost of Palmyra (TADMOR, 1 Ki. 9:18). The division of the kingdom brought an end to the opportunity for developing a significant art style. Decorative features of idolatrous shrines at Tell el-Far(ah (TIRZAH) and from TRANSJORDAN show the use of scroll-topped columns, the so-called tree-of-life motif. Slightly later were the proto-Ionic scroll form capitals in Samaria of the Ahab era with a more foliate type found on a stone slab at Ramat Rahel. Examples in Syria of strikingly similar decorative features show the northern influence on Palestinian art (C. Roth, ed., *Jewish Art [1961],* 86).

From ancient KARNAIM (Amos 6:13) came a basalt sculpture of a lion in the round, already showing Assyrian influences in execution of the mane, from the late 9th or early 8th cent. It is likewise reminiscent of the lion gates of the Syro-Hittites of earlier times. One feature of monumental art lacking in Israel was the statue of the kind at, or carved on, the city gate, found frequently on Syro-Hittite art and at Assyrian palaces, the famous bull *colossi.* Only the head from Megiddo, in frontal style with large staring eyes, approached this sort of representation, and beyond this, little has appeared (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 98).

Of the plastic arts, denunciatory passages in the prophets describe them as sheet overlays of gold

or silver nailed to a wooden base (Isa. 40:19 – 20; 44:9 – 20; Jer. 10:3 – 5), familiar from archaic Greece, ceasing after the 7th cent. B.C. Pottery techniques, either by casting or by wheel, supplied an innumerable number of Astarte (ASHTORETH) figures, such as the "pillar Astarte" wheel made from Lachish, having large, almond shaped eyes and hair arranged in curls, which reflected a much older Egyptian style. From Lachish came a greatly stylized clay figure of a man on horseback, in many respects only suggestive of the actual shape of the living forms. Such is the common man's art (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 101).

For glyptic art, inspiration came from two directions. Down to the time of Ahab, seals had been mainly a "blob" type, but improvements came at this time in their content and execution. One source of inspiration was from N Syria, as represented in the well-known lion "seal of Shema, servant of Jeroboam." The treatment of mane and belly hair, open mouth, and well defined body muscles betrays N Syrian styles, derived from Assyrian examples.

The second source of inspiration is evidenced in the reproduction of seals with Phoenician motifs and characteristic treatment where strong Egyptian influence is discernible through Phoenician techniques. Judean seals improved on these sources to the extent of elegance of representation and style of script used, as is shown on the Yaazanyahu seal from Tell en-Nasbeh (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 107).

C. Temple decoration. Carved wood liners of the interior walls were accented with gold leaf, and the doors were similarly treated. Some concept of the character of the carving may be gained from consideration of the Samarian ivories of the next century. With Egyptian influences strong in Phoenicia, one could look for a tendency to the low relief characteristic of much of the monumental decorative style of Egypt. Carving in wood and overlaying with gold was characteristic Phoenician art (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 85). See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM for a description of the architectural features of Solomon's temple.

D. Carving. As the crude terra-cotta figurines displayed the poor man's art, the rich man's art was particularly the carved ivory inlays, especially those from Samaria. Of the two royal courts, Jerusalem and Samaria, only the "ivory house" of Ahab in Samaria (1 Ki. 22:39) is mentioned, though doubtless ivory ornamentation was not unknown in Jerusalem, for Sennacherib reported ivory among the booty he carried off in Hezekiah's fourteenth year. The ivories from Ahab's palace are the flat-plaque type to be applied as inlays to either wall paneling or furniture, as examples from other areas attest. Style is in low relief and in some cases was developed with glass inlays (cf. Woolley, *Art of the Middle East,* 118) or paste to intensify the effect of the carving. Others were additionally decorated with gold.

Motifs were varied, being of two classes. One is designated Syrian. Examples include two female sphinxes on either side of a sacred tree, the faces wholly Syrian in style; an unguent vase showing a female with Asiatic features; a woman's head with coiffure and circular crown was wholly Syrian. A second class was designated Phoenician, an example being "the woman at the window" who had an Egyptian wig (Harden, *The Phoenicians,* 61). This example from Arslan Tash, N Syria, is paralleled by another from the same, depicting a female with attributes of the Egyptian goddess Isis. The feature of embodying Egyptian elements but done in a manner inferior to better Egyptian models betrayed them as Phoenician. They were fashioned by Phoenician craftsmen or were booty carried off by the Assyrians.

Over the hundred years from the late 9th to the 8th cent. a large repertory of motifs developed,

and even something of outstanding character, such as the lioness attacking a young Negro, a lapis-inlaid ivory from Nimrod. In general the artist was in complete command of his medium and exhibited a better-than-ordinary sense of composition. Certain characteristics of technique and form in the examples of the Syrian and Phoenician ivories reflect the techniques of some of the 14th and 13th cent. Mycenaean work that became known to Syria through the Ugarit gateway.

E. Pottery. Hebrew pottery in the monarchical period developed little by way of decoration other than a simple geometric design. While seals did carry artistic designs, pottery did not, perhaps because the seal carver may have been a foreigner while the potter was a native Hebrew working under a strong restraint imposed by a faulty interpretation of the second commandment. A few decorative examples have survived, however. Tell Qasileh furnishes the illustration of a spirited, shaggy horse, and Lachish yields a pot bearing an incised drawing of two rather crude but graceful gazelles nibbling at a lotus flower (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 110), the sacred tree motif from an earlier era.

A remarkable experiment outside the Hebrew area was shown in the Philistine anthropoid coffins. These were cylinders of baked clay, with a lid formed at the area of the head and shoulders and a face modeled on it (cf. G. E. Wright in *BA* 22 [1959]: 55, 61). Those from BETH SHAN show a certain stylization but a rather crude artistic execution. From the pottery found with these and the sarcophagi in other areas, the users were the Philistines who came from the Aegean, revealed by the style of decorations of their characteristic pottery (ibid., 62), thus showing the entrance of this decorative influence into the Hebrew cultural periphery, which the latter never adopted.

F. Painting. Ezekiel was familiar with the distinctive monumental wall paintings of the Assyrians (Ezek. 23:14 – 15), and perhaps implied the emulation of them in Judah, but no examples have appeared, probably because of the many destructions on the land.

IV. Jewish art to A.D. 70

A. Influence of the exile. Data on the art of Israel in the Persian era is meagre; information from the Bible does little to suggest style during this era. The struggle to erect a viable state, though a vassal one, absorbed the country's energy. Attempts to decorate show through, almost incidentally, in the scathing remarks of Haggai about the invidious paneled decoration of homes while the temple lay in waste (Hag. 1:4). There is even less data respecting the rebuilt temple or its decoration, except a recognized and greatly inferior character.

Other influences began to be felt, a forerunner of later events. Greek trading posts in increasing numbers were established along the coast, and distinctive Greek pottery began to appear as far inland as Tell en-Naṣbeh. This "invasion" of Greek culture reached its climax under ALEXANDER THE GREAT, but the collision with Jewish attitudes did not occur for another 150 years. An example of Ptolemaic decorative art is seen in the Tobiad palace at Araqel-Amir in Transjordan (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 123), distinguished by the use of the Greek Doric order entablature with Corinthian columns and a shorter second story decorated with the monumental lions reminiscent of Assyrian styles.

B. Maccabean-Hasmonean era. Typical HASMONEAN decoration may be seen on the base of the temple candelabra depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome; the dragons have animal faces while the prototype of the temple of Apollo at Didyma has human faces. JOSEPHUS testified that the table of showbread had typical Greek legs, that is, ending in lion paws (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 126). Coins of the

period show a crudeness that later (after A.D. 300) gave way to designs quite like the Attic standards for artistic achievement. In the Hasmonean era occurred a sudden shift from human representation to ritual symbols, and plants as fruit motifs. Among the first were coins depicting the temple and the ark within (A. Muehsam, *Coin and Temple* [1966], pls. V-XI).

C. New Testament period. HEROD the Great was a hellenized Edomite fully committed to the values and propagation of Greek culture. The art of the period was characterized by the introduction of the human form into art expression in Judean and Palestinian areas and even of figures from the repertory of Greek and Roman divinities. One school of Rabbinic thought, that of HILLEL the elder, did not object to the use of human figures for ornamental purposes. Grecian architectural forms began to be used on sepulchres (Roth, *Jewish Art,* 199ff.). Josephus recorded that the royal porticoes of Herod's temple used the Corinthian style columns as its principal decorative motif. A fragment of stucco decorative work of the vault of the Huldah Gate passage from Ophel to the temple area shows a series of squares with varied patterns associated with rosettes and grapevines.

Herod built numerous other architectural monuments in Judea, one of the best being at CAESAREA, the remains suggesting the ornamentation to be the classic Greek system. His palace complex at MASADA featured structures on several levels, one being the Corinthian column characteristic of the royal portico. Josephus's description of Herod's palace in Jerusalem (*War* 5.4.4) indicates the blending of eastern and western influences.

D. Principles of Style. These are determined from decorative elements found on tombs, sarcophagi, and ossuaries. One example is the floral decoration of the tympanum of the cave of Jehoshaphat in Jerusalem. Freedom and stylization combine in a single example. The tympanum of the tombs of the Sanhedrin differs in that the whole area was filled, indicating a *horror vacuity* but excellent technical execution in incised high relief, a system exclusively Judean of the period. Ossuaries of the next era, the 1st cent. A.D., perpetuated this style, and it reflected carving in wood. In all cases the pattern was geometrical or floral, as in the use of the acanthus leaf. Another expression was the shift from the strictly geometrical pattern of petals arranged daisy-like inside a circle to a pattern with the petals carved so that the tips all pointed in the same direction around the circle, somewhat tangential to it, showing an imaginative adaptation of the oriental "whirling wheel." Thus there arose an ability

Various geometric and floral designs are exhibited on this ossuary from Jerusalem that may be as early as the 1st

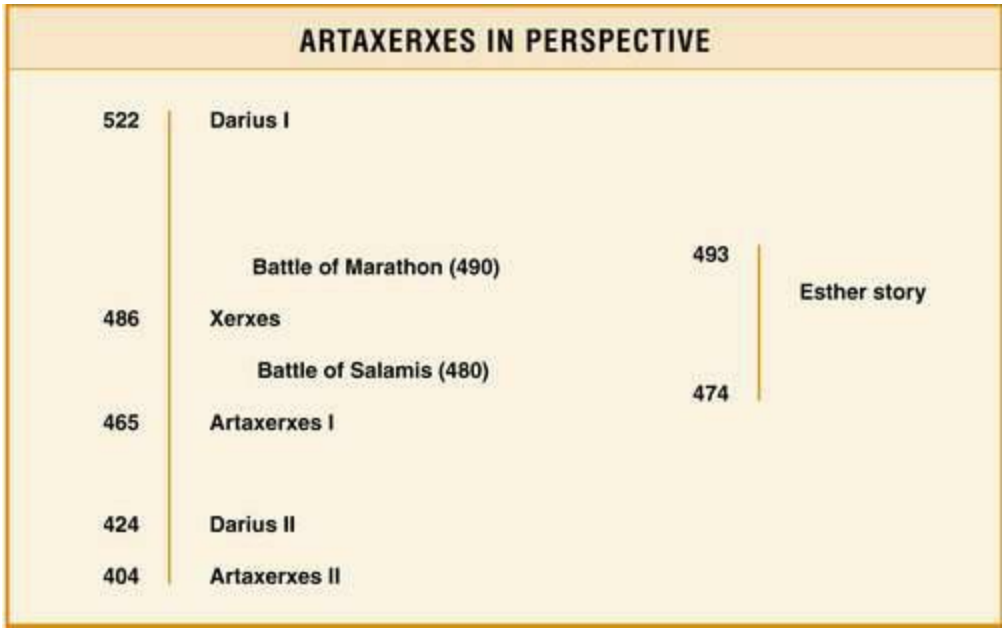
to take several elements and easily and pleasingly transform them into a single compositional group. Coupled with it is the display of such themes on a plain, unadorned background, the better to emphasize the design, in contrast to the oriental mode of using an entire surface between borders.

V. Conclusions. Syria-Palestine did not produce a particularly enduring art at any age. Lying as it did between two great political powers of Egypt and Mesopotamia, it was robbed of the economic basis for enduring productions. Where given an opportunity, however, distinctive examples were produced, but lacking the economic base of longterm political quietude, stopped short of intimated perfection. Israel's debacle in A.D. 70 similarly brought an end to a flowering art form. (In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the article, see S. Moscati, *Historic Art of the Ancient Near East* [1963]; P. Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East* [1980]; A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000 – 586 B.C.E* [1990]; D. Collon, *Ancient Near Eastern Art* [1995]; E. *Stern, Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods, 732–332 BCE* [2001].)

H.G. STIGERS

Artapanus ahr'tuh-pay'nuhs (Ἀρτάπανος). A Jewish writer who lived in Egypt probably in the 2nd cent. B.C. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA *(Strom.* 1.23 §154; trans. by J. Ferguson in *The Fathers of the Church,* 85:137) refers to him as the author of a work entitled *Concerning the Jews* and mentions one story included in it. EUSEBIUS (*Praep. Ev.* 9.18,23, 27, quoting summaries by Alexander Polyhistor) has preserved three sections from the work, dealing respectively with Abraham, Joseph, and Moses during the time they were in Egypt. Artapanus places special emphasis on Moses, who is identified with the Greek figure Mousaeus, reputed teacher of Orphius. Moses is said to have invented boats and other devices; the Egyptian priests referred to him as the god Hermes. (For an English trans. and introduction, see *OTP,* 2:889 – 903.)

Artaxerxes ahr'mh-zuhrk'seez (אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא *H831;* Aram. אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא *H10078* [both with spelling variations]; from Pers. *Artakhshathra,* "Arta's Kingdom"; LXX Ἀρταξέρξης). There were three Persian kings with the name of Artaxerxes, but external evidence indicates which of the three was NEHEMIAH's patron. The ELEPHANTINE papyri show that in 408 B.C. SANBALLAT was an old man whose work as governor of Samaria was to all intents and purposes in the hands of his two sons (E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* [1911], 1:29). This means that the Artaxerxes in whose reign Nehemiah lived must have been Artaxerxes I (464 – 424), since obviously Sanballat was then in the prime of life. It would be impossible to identify the reigning



Inscribed bowl of Artaxerxes I (5th cent. B.C.). The inscription reads: Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Xerxes the king, of Xerxes son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian, in whose house this drinking-cup saucer made of silver was made.

king with Artaxerxes II or III. Therefore, in making EZRA overlap Nehemiah, the Chronicler intended to place Ezra also in the same reign. Ezra came to Jerusalem in 458, that is, the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:7), and Nehemiah in 445, the twentieth year of the same reign (Neh. 2:1). (See J. S.Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem [1958], 5 – 6.)*

This means, then, that the Artaxerxes of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah was Artaxerxes I Longimanus, the son and successor of XERXES I (the Ahasuerus of Ezra 4:6 and the book of Esther). He is probably the Artaxerxes of Ezra 4:7 – 23, but this identification presupposes that vv. 6 – 23 are somewhat parenthetical, providing further information on the subject of opposition from a later period (for a defense of such an understanding of that problematic passage, cf. Wright, *Date of Ezra,* 17 – 26). It should be added that several years after the events of Ezra 4:7 – 23, Artaxerxes was generous

to the Jews in general and to Ezra and Nehemiah in particular. The latter was even the royal cupbearer. It was probably Artaxerxes' decree (445 B.C.) permitting Nehemiah to return to Jerusalem as governor of civil affairs and to rebuild the walls and fortifications (Neh. 2) that marked the beginning of the seventy "weeks" of Dan. 9:24 – 27 (cf. J. F. Walvoord, *Daniel* [1970], 252). (See further A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* [1948], 232, 289 – 90, et passim; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 6; P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* [2002], chs. 14 – 15.)

K.L.BARKER

Artemas ahr'tuh-muhs (Ἀρτεμᾶς *G782,* contracted form of Ἀρτεμίδωρος "gift of Artemis"). One of two men whom PAUL contemplated sending as a replacement for TITUS on CRETE (Tit. 3:12). He must have been a coworker of considerable ability and experience. Tradition makes him bishop of LYSTRA.

Artemis ahr'tuh-mis (Ἄρτεμις ***G783,*** meaning uncertain). A goddess worshiped throughout the Greek world. Artemis may have had a pre-Hellenic origin, perhaps at EPHESUS, in which city her cult was undoubtedly grafted on to that of an Asiatic FERTILITY goddess (cf. Acts 19:24 – 27; the name Diana, used in KJV, is the Roman counterpart of Artemis). It may be significant that the name yields no clear Greek meaning, and it is idle to speculate on the form and shape of the original concept of the deity and her functions. In historical times her sphere was the uncultivated earth, the forests, and the hills. Homer gave her the title, "lady of wild things," the virgin huntress, armed with bow and arrows.

Artemis was widely venerated as the goddess of the forests and of hunting. This statue from Cyrene dates to the 2nd cent. A.D. and is a replica of an earlier Hellenistic work.

Other functions were acquired. For example, her role as a city goddess was the result of her popularity among women because she was invoked in childbirth. Etiological myths accounted for this office by stories of Artemis's horror at her mother's birth pains, or by the quite contradictory tale that after Leto had borne her painlessly on the island of Ortygia, she herself fulfilled an obstetric function at the subsequent birth of her twin brother APOLLO on the island of Delos. The most probable explanation of Artemis's function as a goddess of birth is that, in spite of her classical virginity, in ultimate origin she was one of the many mother goddesses of the pre-Hellenic world.

Some forms of her ritual seem to have involved the simulation of beast shapes. For example, in one part of Attica little girls in saffron dresses, imitating perhaps the pelt of a bear, danced before her image and were said to "play the bear." Does this suggest that the original form of the deity was animal? At Halae a pretense of human sacrifice was made by drawing a few drops of blood from a man's throat with a sword, and this may very well represent an original prehistoric practice and a recollection of some horrifying ritual of fertility worship. It was the Artemis cult of a barbarous people of the Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea) that gave rise to the simulated sacrifice at Halae (this cult was allegedly introduced by Orestes, the hero of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris).* (See further

DDD, 99 – 105; *OCD,* 182 – 84.)

At Ephesus, where, as above mentioned, the cult of Artemis was merged with that of an Anatolian fertility goddess, a mighty temple, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, was built. Here some cult object, possibly a meteoric stone, was associated with Artemis (Acts 19:35). Amazons, the warrior maids of Asia Minor, are said to have founded the cult of the Ephesian Artemis, and certainly the girls who served the temple were dressed in short skirts with one breast bare, huntress-fashion. Coins and surviving images seem to depict Ephesian Artemis as many-breasted, but the multiple protuberances may be stylized bunches of grapes or figs, symbols of fertility (other interpretations have been suggested). The shrine in Ephesus had become a tourist attraction and an economic asset in the days of the city's commercial decline. The ire of the silversmiths who made little models of the temple for tourists and pilgrims is told in the brilliant Acts narrative. See also GREEK RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

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artificer. This English term is used a few times by the KJV to translate the Hebrew noun *ḥārāš H3093* (e.g., Isa. 3:3; in the NT, cf. the term *technitēs G5493).* It refers to the expert craftsman in any of the major mediums of art, such as stone, wood, metals, gems, or clay. According to the biblical record, TUBAL-CAIN was the first of this guild (Gen. 4:22). Jewelers and metal workers of various skills worked on the furnishings of the temple (1 Chr. 29:5) and were sufficiently numerous to occupy a section of the city of Jerusalem (1 Chr. 4:14; Neh. 11:35). Masons and carpenters were employed in the restoration of the temple under Josiah (2 Chr. 34:11). Silversmiths and goldsmiths found making idols a profitable business (Hos. 11:2; Acts 19:24, 38), though it was forbidden under the Mosaic law (Deut. 27:15). The artificers and craftsmen formed an important segment of the middle class in Hebrew society who were deported to Babylon at the time of the exile. See also CRAFTS; OCCUPATIONS V.C.

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artisan. See CRAFTS; OCCUPATIONS.

Arubboth uh-ruhb'ith (אֲרֻבּוֹת *H749,* pl. form of אֲרֻבָּה *H748,* a word referring to a lattice or window). KJV Aruboth. A town in one of the twelve administrative districts from which provisions for SOLOMON's household were obtained by BEN-HESED, an official of Solomon's court (1 Ki. 4:10, mentioned with "Socoh, and all the land of Hepher"). The site is now identified by various scholars with Khirbet el-Ḥammam, 17 mi. NW of SHECHEM and thus within the hill country of MANASSEH (cf. Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 50). The name may be preserved in the nearby town of ʾArrabeh. It is thought that ARBATTA was the form of the name in the Maccabean age (1 Macc. 5:23; cf. also Narbata in Jos. *War* 2.14.4 §291).

Arumah uh-r*oo*'mah (אֲרוּמָה *H777,* "lofty"). The town in which ABIMELECH, the son of Jerubbaal (GIDEON), lived after he had been driven from SHECHEM (Jdg. 9:41; NRSV also reads "Arumah" as a conjecture in v. 31 [MT *bĕtārmâ;* NIV, "under cover"]). The site is identified with modern Khirbet el-ʿOrmah, 5 mi. SE of Shechem.

Arvad ahr'vad (אַרְוָד *H770,* derivation uncertain; gentilic אַרְוָדִי *H773,* "Arvadite"). The most

northerly town in PHOENICIA, situated on a rocky island called now Ruad (opposite the coastal town of Tartus, Syria). The island lies a short distance off the Syrian coast directly opposite CYPRUS. In Greek and later sources it is called Arados/Aradus. In ancient times it was heavily built over to spite its diminutive size of less than a mile in circumference. Arvad ruled over much of the neighboring coast for centuries. Although few surface remains are extant, various scenes of Aradus appear on Assyrian reliefs (the Bronze Gates of SHALMANESER III, 858 – 824 B.C.) and Arvadite coins. The city is first mentioned in TELL EL-AMARNA as *arwada* (Letters 101, 105,109); in the records of TIGLATH-PILESER I (1114 – 1076 B.C.) it is called *armada,* while subsequent annals usually spell it as *aruada* (e.g., Aššurnasirpal II, Annal III, et al.). The city is mentioned only twice in the OT as a place that supplied sailors and soldiers for TYRE (Ezek. 27:8, 11). Its inhabitants, the Arvadites, are also mentioned in the Table of NATIONS as descendants of CANAAN (Gen. 10:18; 1 Chr. 1:16). (Cf. D. Harden, *The Phoenicians* [1963], 23 – 28, 48 – 52, 166 – 67, 191 – 210.)

W.WHITE,JR.

Arza ahr'zuh (אַרְצָא *H825,* perhaps "pleasing" or "woodworm"). The steward of ELAH, king of Israel, at the palace in TIRZAH, where ZIMRI murdered the king during a drinking debauch (1 Ki. 16:9 – 10).

Arzareth ahr'zuh-reth (Lat. *Arzareth or Arzar plus et).* KJV Arsareth. A region beyond the EUPHRATES River to which the Assyrians supposedly took the ten tribes after the destruction of the northern kingdom, and from which it was expected that they would return in the last days (2 Esd. 13:45). This name (the first part of which appears to reflect the Hebrew word *)ereṣ H824* ("land"), may be a reference to "the country of Ararat," but more probably it corresponds to the Hebrew phrase "another land" *(ereṣ)aḥeret,* cf. Deut. 29:28 [MT v. 27]).

Asa ay'suh (אָסָא *H654,* perhaps "healer" [BDB] or "gatherer" [Noth, *IPN,* 181]). (1) Son of ABIJAH and third king of JUDAH after the division of the kingdom (1 Ki. 15:9 – 24; 2 Chr. 15 – 17). (2) Son of Elkanah and father of Berekiah, listed among the Levites who resettled in their towns after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:16). The rest of this article treats only King Asa of Judah.

I. Family. His mother MAACAH (1 Ki. 15:10) is named also as mother of Abijah, Asa's father (15:2; cf. 2 Chr. 11:2 – 21; 13:2). Some resolve this problem by emending "son" (1 Ki. 15:8) to "brother"; however, Maacah may have remained queen mother after Abijah's short reign (taking *)ēm H562,* "mother," in v. 10, to mean "grandmother"; cf. NIV).

II. Chronology. Asa reigned from the twentieth year of JEROBOAM I to AHAB's fourth (i.e., 911/10 to 870/69 B.C., according to E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* rev. ed. [1983], 83 – 87). A chronological problem centers on the war with BAASHA of Israel, who according to the consistent synchronisms (1 Ki. 15 – 16) died in Asa's twenty-sixth year. The chronicler records ten years of peace (2 Chr. 14:1), a covenant in the fifteenth year (15:10 – 15), and Baasha's attack in Asa's thirty-sixth year (16:1). In 15:19 the sentence "there was no more war until the thirty-fifth year" ("more" is an addition) seems, from the context, to qualify purposely the information in 1 Ki. 15:16. The suggestion that "thirty-fifth" and "thirty-sixth," in the chronicler's source, were reckoned from the division, and that Asa's political success in 896/95 was the reason for Baasha's action (Thiele),

requires an almost impossibly rapid sequence of events (while "the thirty-sixth of Asa's reign" implies surprising lethargy on the part of Baasha). It is also difficult to believe that Asa, in 896, turned at once to the Syrians for help; this problem arises equally with KD's emendation, "fifteenth… sixteenth." W. F. Albright (in *BASOR* 87 [Oct. 1942]: 23 – 29), to preserve the reading in 2 Chr. 16:1, would shorten REHOBOAM's reign (emending, e.g., 12:13; 13:1); the logic of this solution is dubious.

III. Religious policy. Asa gave up the pagan cults supported by Rehoboam and Abijah, confiscating to the temple their dedicated treasures (1 Ki. 15:15). His victory at MARESHAH enabled him to go further (2 Chr. 15); encouraged by Azariah son of Oded, he renovated the altar in the temple court and held a great assembly to make a fresh covenant with the Lord, using booty (presumably from the southern campaign) for sacrifices. This revival, following his military success, drew supporters from Israel. Asa even deposed the queen mother for her idolatry. His policy toward the HIGH PLACES is not clear; 2 Chr. 14:3 mentions the abolition of high places (but as related to "foreign" cults), whereas in 1 Ki. 15:14 = 2 Chr. 15:17, they are said to have survived. The persistence of (Yahwistic) shrines is often noted in Kings.

IV. Military campaigns. The chronicler relates Asa's victory at Mareshah over a large invading army under one ZERAH the Cushite, leading to a thanksgiving ceremony in his fifteenth year (2 Chr. 14:9); he also remarks (v. 1) that Asa's reign began with ten years of peace. According to KD, a series of campaigns in the S was implied; Mareshah may have been the culmination of a five-year war, or else

Asa's victory over Zerah took place here in the region of Mareshah (Tell Sandahannah; view to the NNE).

some years were needed to exploit the victory and reoccupy the Gerar-Beersheba area. Certainly the war resulted in southward expansion, carried on by JEHOSHAPHAT (note the adherence of Simeonites, 2 Chr. 15:9; Amos 8:14 mentions a cult at Beersheba).The presence of Ethiopians and Libyans in Zerah's army (2 Chr. 16:8), and of nomads in the region (14:15), may indicate that SHISHAK had set up a buffer state after his invasion (W. F. Albright in *JPOS 4* [1931]: 131 – 61, esp. 146 – 47). Identification of Zerah with Shishak's successor Osorkon I has been proposed, but in that case one

would have expected him to be described in Chronicles as "king of Egypt."

The statement in 1 Ki. 15:16 that "there was war between Asa and Baasha…throughout their reigns" can hardly mean all-out campaigning (cf 15:6; 2 Chr. 12:15). Abijahs victory left to Asa a temporary settlement, a frontier N of BETHEL, and a hostile neighbor. Asa's successes impelled Baasha to definite action; he began by occupying RAMAH, well inside the frontier and on the ridge leading to Jerusalem. To counter this threat, Asa purchased the help of BEN-HADAD I of Aram, who invaded Galilee and drew off Baasha. Asa reoccupied Ramah, dismantled the works, and used the material to fortify GEBA and MIZPAH (cf. Jer. 41:9). The call-up of every able-bodied man in Judah for this task is especially noted.

Ramah is the modern er-Ram; Isa. 10:29 suggests a site SW of Geba and near GIBEAH. Mizpah might well be Tell en-Naṣbeh, on a defensible spur commanding the approach to Ramah (F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* [1933–38], 2:388–89, locates Geba here); this would secure the northern boundary of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:21 – 24). W. F. Albright (in AASOR 4 [1924]: 90 – 103) argues strongly for identifying Mizpah with Nabi Samwil, being in sight of Jerusalem (see 1 Macc. 3:46) and making better sense in the narrative of Jer. 41 (v. 14 supports this argument, but his remaining evidence is less positive). The two theories go with two views of Asa's action; Albright's position, ultra-defensive, involves pulling back from Ramah to Nabi Samwil and Gibeah (read for Geba, 1 Ki. 15:22; the third fort appears to have been hastily reconstructed). It is more probable that, pursuing a defensive strategy, Asa followed up Baasha's retreat by seizing strong frontier positions. Geba would then be modern Jebaʿ, overlooking the Wadi es-Suweiniṭ eastward.

V. Closing years. Reliance on Syrian help earned a reproof from the prophet Hanani; Asa reacted harshly to this and to some popular opposition (2 Chr. 16:10). His last years were marked by sickness (prob. dropsy) and loss of faith, but he was greatly honored at his funeral. According to Thiele, Jehoshaphat was coregent during his father's last four years. (Asa appears in Matthew's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST as *Asaph,* Matt. 1:7 – 8; see ASAPH #5.)

J. LILLEY

Asadias as'uh-dz"uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HASADIAH (Bar. 1:1).

Asael as'ay-uhl. KJV Apoc. form of ASIEL (Tob. 1:1).

Asahel as'uh-hel (עֲשָׂהאֵל *H6915,"God* has made"; cf. ASAIAH). (1) Son of ZERUIAH (DAVID's sister) and brother of JOAB and ABISHAI (1 Chr. 2:16). As one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam. 23:24), he was made commander of a division of 24,000 soldiers in David's army (1 Chr. 27:7). Asahel was noted for bravery and fleetness (2 Sam. 2:18; 23:24). In the Battle of GIBEON he pursued ABNER, the commander of ISH-BOSHETH's troops, to kill him. Abner was aware that the hour had arrived for David to lead the nation, and that contention among the military leaders could only be a detriment to the best interests of the nation; thus he slew Asahel, after warning him, in vain, to forbear (2 Sam. 2:18 – 23). As it turned out, David's accession to the throne was delayed. When Abner finally effected the union of the nation under David, it cost him his life. At HEBRON, ironically enough, in the gate of this city of refuge, years after Gibeon, Joab slew Abner to avenge Asahel's death (2 Sam. 3:26 – 27). Some scholars have found fault with the statement in 1 Chr. 27:7, which mentions Asahel as the fourth of David's monthly captains (even though Asahel had died before David became king). However, this verse appears to take notice of a posthumous honor to Asahel, who was represented by his son ZEBADIAH.

(2) A Levite sent by King JEHOSHAPHAT to instruct the people throughout the realm in the law of Moses (2 Chr. 17:8).

(3) A Levite overseer of the temple who supervised the offerings during the reign of HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 31:13).

(4) The father of a certain Jonathan who opposed EZRA the scribe when the latter told those who had returned from the EXILE to divorce their non-Jewish wives (Ezra 10:15; however, the Vulg. of this verse, as well as the LXX and the Vulg. of 1 Esd. 9:14, say that Jonathan supported Ezra). This Asahel may be the same as the AZAEL mentioned in 1 Esd. 9:34 NRSV.

C. L. FEINBERG

Asahiah as'uh-hz"uh. KJV alternate form of ASAIAH (2 Ki. 22:12, 14).

Asaiah uh-zay'yuh (עֲשָׂיָה *H6919,* "Yahweh has made"; cf. ASAHEL). (1) Son of Haggiah and a descendant of MERARI. He is listed among the Levites whom DAVID put in charge of the MUSIC in the tabernacle. He also had a part in bringing the ARK OF THE COVENANT from the house of OBEDEDOM to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 6:30; 15:6, 11).

(2) A clan leader of the tribe of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:36). He assisted in dispossessing the inhabitants of GEDOR during the reign of HEZEKIAH (vv. 38 – 40).

(3) An official under King JOSIAH; he was part of the deputation sent by the king to consult HULDAH the prophetess regarding the book of the law found by HILKIAH (2 Ki. 22:12, 14 [KJV, "Asahiah"]; 2 Chr. 34:20).

(4) The firstborn of the SHILONITES; he and his family were among the first to resettle in Judah after the Babylonian captivity (1 Chr. 9:5 NIV and most versions; the TNIV reads "Shelanites" on the basis of Num. 26:20). The designation "the firstborn" *(habbĕkôr)* in this context is unusual; note that Neh. 11:5 reads "Maaseiah son of Baruch" (*maʿăšêâ ben-bārûk).* See MAASEIAH #16.

Asaias uh-say'yuhs (Ασαιας). One of the descendants of Annan who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:32 [KJV, "Aseas"]; apparently corresponds to ISHIJAH in the parallel list, Ezra 10:31).

Asana uh-sah'nuh. KJV Apoc. form of ASNAH (1 Esd. 5:31).

Asaph ay'saf (אָסָף *H666,* "gatherer" or "[God] has added"). (1) The most prominent person bearing this name was the son of Berakiah, of the Levitical family of GERSHON, who headed the service of MUSIC in the reigns of DAVID and SOLOMON (1 Chr. 6:39; 15:17, 19; 16:5; 2 Chr. 5:12). Superscriptions of twelve psalms (Pss. 50 and 73 – 83) indicate Asaphic authorship. On the basis of the contents of these poems, it has been suggested that there were two Asaphs, one who composed Pss. 50, 73, 76, 78 and possibly 75, 77, 82, all in David's time. However, Pss. 74, 79, and probably 83 fit the time of the Babylonian EXILE. The style of Asaph is distinctive, forceful, and spiritual. He is referred to as a prophet and poet (2 Chr. 29:30; Neh. 12:46).

Asaph was one of David's three musicians along with HEMAN and ETHAN (or JEDUTHUN). Asaph is first mentioned in connection with the transfer of the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Jerusalem from the

Hittite basalt relief depicting a musical procession.

home of OBED-EDOM (1 Chr. 15:16 – 19). He led the service of music in the tent where the ark was kept (1 Chr. 16:4 – 7, 37). The other chief musicians performed the same ministry at GIBEON (16:41 – 42). With Heman and Jeduthun he was under the king's direct supervision (1 Chr. 25:6).

Four of Asaph's sons conducted under him and participated in the dedication of the temple (2 Chr. 5:12). The "sons of Asaph" are mentioned as choristers in the temple (1 Chr. 25:1 – 2; cf. 2 Chr. 20:14). The office seems to have been hereditary. From all indications, in addition to leading the singing and sounding the cymbals before the ark, Asaph headed a school of music, where his children were said to number 148 (Neh. 7:44). The sons of Asaph do not appear to be very prominent before the exile. Some 128 members of his family returned from Babylon (Ezra 2:41) and served in Zerubbabel's temple (3:10). The sons of Asaph of later times formed a guild and were prominent in the revivals of the nation's faith. They shared the ministry of music with the descendants of KORAH in the later period of OT history.

(2) The father of Joah, who was the recorder under King HEZEKIAH (2 Ki. 18:18; Isa. 36:3, 22).

(3) An officer under ARTAXERXES Longimanus of Persia (465 – 445 B.C.) who was designated as the keeper of the king's forest in Palestine (Neh. 2:8).

(4) The name Asaph in 1 Chr. 26:1 is probably an abbreviation or a scribal error for Ebiasaph

(cf. LXX and 9:19; see ABIASAPH).

(5) The earliest Greek MSS read "Asaph" in the Matthean GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:7–8, *Asaph),* but the reference is certainly to ASA *(Asa,* a secondary reading found in most witnesses). It is not clear why Matthew would have spelled the name as he did.

C.L.FEINBERG

Asaramel uh-sair'uh-mel (Ασαραμελ many MSS read Σαραμελ). A name of uncertain origin on the inscription set up in memory of SIMON MACCABEE and his brothers (1 Macc. 14:28 [LXX v. 27]; KJV, "Asaramel"). The second part of the name seems to represent the Hebrew words *(am)ēl*, "people of God." The first part may reflect Hebrew *ḥāṣēr H2958* (in which case the name refers to a location, "the court of God's people") or *śar H8569* (thus a title applied to Simon, "prince of God's people").

L.L.WALKER

Asareel uh-sair'ee-uhl. KJV form of ASAREL.

Asarel as'uh-rel (אַשַּׂרְאֵל *H832,* possibly "God has bound [with a vow]" or "God has filled with joy"). KJV Asareel. Son of Jehallelel and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:16).

Asarelah as'uh-ree'luh (אַשַּׂרְאֵלָה *H833* [variant יִשְׂרְאֵלָה *H3777],* possibly "God has bound [with a vow]" or "God has filled with joy"). One of the sons of ASAPH who assisted their father in the prophetic ministry of MUSIC (1 Chr. 25:2; RSV, "Asharelah" [following some Heb. MSS], while other scholars emend the text so that the name reads "Asarel"). The pattern into which the sons of Asaph fall in 1 Chr. 25:9 – 14 indicates that Jesarelah, who was the head of the seventh company of temple musicians appointed by lot under David (v. 14), should be identified with Asarelah.

Ascalon as'kuh-lon. KJV Apoc. form of ASHKELON (1 Macc. 10:86 et al.).

ascension of Christ. The EXALTATION OF CHRIST to the presence of the Father in glory after his RESURRECTION from the dead.

I. Anticipations in the OT. Three men in the OT have unusual circumstances recorded with regard to the end of their life on earth: ENOCH (Gen. 5:24), ELIJAH (2 Ki. 2:11; LXX *analambanō,* see below), and MOSES (Deut. 34:6). Rabbinic legends of later JUDAISM considerably embellished these statements into ascensions that took these people to heaven without dying. Similar legends grew around other lesser personages, such as ELIEZER (Gen. 15:2; 24:1 – 67), Pharaoh's daughter (Exod. 2:5 – 10), JABEZ (1 Chr.4:10), and EBED-MELECH (Jer. 38:7 – 13). There were also stories of temporary translation into heaven of ABRAHAM, ISAIAH, BARUCH, and EZRA. These may bear resemblance to the experience of PAUL, who recalls how he was "caught up to the third heaven" (2 Cor. 12:2 – 4).

Such rabbinic stories, as well as the accounts of communications between heaven and earth (as in Gen. 28:12; Isa. 14:12 – 14), doubtless helped form the background of the apostles' understanding of the event, but hardly paralleled in any sense the ascension of Christ. Perhaps the clearest anticipation in the OT is found in the Royal Psalms (Pss. 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 61, 72, 89, 110, 132) and

others, which look forward to the exaltation of David's Son to a position of universal authority. In particular, Ps. 110:1 is quoted in Acts 2:34 and in Heb. 1:13; 10:12 – 13 with reference to Christ's ascension. Similarly Ps. 16:8 – 11 is quoted in Acts 2:25 – 33, and Ps. 68:18 in Eph. 4:8).

II. The Gospels and Acts. Anticipatory references to the coming ascension are found in the narrative of Lk. 9: "They spoke about his departure *[exodos H2016],* which he was about to bring to fulfillment at Jerusalem" (v. 31); "…the time approached for him to be taken up *[analēmpsis G378]* to heaven" (v. 51). John makes repeated references to the coming time when Jesus would be "glorified," an inclusive word signifying the whole process of death and resurrection, but also ascension (7:39; 12:16,23; 13:31 – 32; 17:5).

Jesus spoke repeatedly of going to his Father (Jn. 7:33; 14:12, 28; 16:5, 10, 28), and on one occasion specifically of his ascending *(anabainō G326,* Jn. 6:62). Though Jn. 12:32 refers primarily to his being "lifted up" on the cross, many see a further reference to Jesus' ascension. In the apocalyptic discourses, Jesus spoke of coming again on the clouds and in great glory with the angels —words that clearly anticipate his prior return to heaven (Matt. 16:27; 24:30; Mk. 8:38; 13:26 – 27). It was his similar statement on oath to the high priest that convicted him of blasphemy (Matt. 26:64). After his resurrection he referred again to his coming ascension (Jn. 20:17).

The Gospel of Mark records (in the textually doubtful ending) that the Lord "was taken up [passive of *analambanō G377]* into heaven and he sat down at the right hand of God" (Mk. 16:19). Luke tells us that it was while he was in the act of blessing his disciples that he left them and that he "was taken up [passive of *anapherō* ***G429]*** into heaven" (Lk. 24:51, although this clause is missing in some early witnesses).

But the only detailed account of the ascension is that given in Acts 1:6–11. While the compressed narrative of Luke's gospel suggests that the Lord ascended on the evening of resurrection day, Luke makes clear in his second volume that it was actually forty days later. The location was on the BETHANY side of the ridge of the MOUNT OF OLIVES (Lk. 24:50; Acts 1:12). He repeated to the disciples the promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit, bringing power for worldwide witness (Acts 1:8), and then, in their full view, "he was taken up [passive *of epairō* ***G2048]*** and disappeared from sight in a cloud" (v. 9). While they gazed upward, two angelic messengers told them, "This same Jesus, who was taken *[analambanō]* from you into heaven, will come back in the same way you have seen him go into heaven" (v. 11).

The speeches in Acts reveal that the essence of the apostles' preaching was that the same Jesus who went about doing good and mighty deeds, and who died in accordance with God's plan, was raised from the dead (of which the apostles, and all in Jerusalem,

Tower of the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. (View to the N.)

are witnesses, Acts 2:32), and ascended to heaven, where he is now seated at God's right hand. From there he has bestowed the gift of the HOLY SPIRIT, and will one day come to establish his kingdom. Foundational to their experience of the living Christ was the fact of the ascension (2:33 – 36; 3:20, 21; 7:55 – 60). It was the ascended Christ in glory who appeared to Saul (9:3 – 5; 22:6 – 8; 26:13 – 15).

III. The Epistles and Revelation. Paul's personal experience of Christ started from his recognition of the ascended Lord. The SECOND COMING of Christ is the main theme of his letters to the Thessalonians. Believers are waiting "for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead" (1 Thess. 1:10), who "will come down from heaven, with a loud command" (4:16). In Romans and 1 Corinthians Paul lays stress mainly on the resurrection, but he clearly thinks of that event as leading to Christ's present exaltation (1 Cor. 15:20 – 28, 47 – 49; Rom. 1:4 – 5; 6:9). Christ who was raised from the dead is now at the right hand of God, making intercession for us (Rom. 8:34).

In Ephesians there is particular emphasis on the ascension as that which makes Christ supreme authority over all things, especially to the CHURCH (Eph. 1:20 – 23). Believers share with Christ "in the heavenly places" (2:6). The ascension is closely connected with the gifts of the exalted Lord to his church (4:7 – 12). In Phil. 2:6 – 11 the supreme exaltation of Christ is shown to follow his deep humiliation. Now Christians are citizens of heaven, from where they await the Savior (3:20). The only reference in the pastoral epistles to the ascension is in what seems to be an early Christian hymn, "He was revealed in flesh…taken up in glory" (1 Tim. 3:16).

The ascension of Christ and his present work at God's right hand are central to the theme of the epistle to the Hebrews. This truth implies that he holds a position of supreme authority (Heb. 1:3 – 13). He "who has gone through the heavens" is now our great high priest (4:14), the forerunner who has entered within the veil for us, a high priest after the order of MELCHIZEDEK (6:19, 20). As such, he maintains in heaven an eternal ministry of intercession on our behalf (7:24 – 25; see INTERCESSION OF CHRIST). This heavenly ministry of the ascended Christ is the central thought the writer wishes to emphasize (8:1). Christ now serves in the eternal tabernacle, the real (as opposed to the shadowy earthly) holy place, where he has obtained eternal redemption for us (9:11 – 14, 24). The present

session of Christ at God's right hand indicates the sufficiency of the one single sacrifice for sins he offered, and the assurance of his ultimate victory when all enemies are subdued before him (10:12 – 14).

The only reference in Peter is 1 Pet. 3:22. Here the author invites those who suffer to consider Christ, who also suffered and died, but was raised from the dead, and is now at God's right hand. The Apocalypse repeatedly refers to the living Christ who is in heaven, who also is working in the churches and in the world, and who will come again in triumph to reign (Rev. 1:7, 13 – 20; 5:5 – 13; 14:1 – 5; 19:11 – 16). The connection of this Christ with the One who lived and died (1:18; 2:8; 5:6) shows that such a picture of the exalted Lord necessarily involves his prior ascension.

IV. Objections. It is argued that the picture of a body ascending contravenes the law of gravity. However, the real problem is that we know so little of the Lord's resurrection body. It was different from the body laid in the tomb, yet essentially the same. Thus the resurrected Lord could be seen, touched, handled, recognized; he could eat and drink; yet he could also appear and disappear, enter a room when the doors were shut. There is no greater problem in the ascension than in the resurrection.

A second objection is that the account seems to suggest that heaven is located a short distance above the earth; modern science makes such a picture untenable. But surely this criticism takes the narrative in too literal a sense. The language is symbolic. We should picture Christ as transferring, not from one position to another, but from one condition to another. As C. S. Lewis comments, "Perhaps mere instantaneous vanishing would make us feel more comfortable…But if the spectators say they saw first a short vertical movement and then a vague luminosity (that is what 'cloud' presumably means here as it certainly does in the account of the Transfiguration) and then nothing—have we any reason to object?" *(Miracles* [1947], 186). Perhaps the contemporary scientific mind would prefer to think, in Einsteinian terms, of matter transformed into enormous energy, but would this not also be but a symbol of a reality beyond adequate expression in terms taken from the physical universe?

Luke's writing throughout is that of the careful historian who verified his facts from original written sources and from direct interrogation of eyewitnesses (Lk. 1:1–2). For an event that stands as the critical junction point between his two volumes and is essential for the theme of Acts—namely, the continuity of Jesus' deeds and teachings in his ascended state (Acts 1:1, 2)—it would be incredible that he should not verify the details of their experience firsthand from the surviving apostles. Our knowledge of the bodily appearances of the risen Lord to his disciples through the weeks subsequent to the resurrection is based on solid historical evidence; it is equally dependable that these bodily appearances came to an end, when our Lord at the ascension reassumed his position of supreme authority "at God's right hand."

V. Significance. The exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God meant for him the clear demonstration of his victory (Eph. 4:8) and the resumption of his immediate fellowship in glory with the Father (Jn. 17:5) in the place of honor (Ps. 110:1), power (Acts 2:33), and eternal joy (Ps. 16:11). In some sense at least, because of his willingness to suffer and die, the ascension leads him into greater glory than he had in his pre-incarnate state. God has now "hyperexalted" him (*hyperypsoō G5671,* Phil 2:9).

The ascension of Christ does not mean for Christians his physical remoteness, but his spiritual nearness (Matt. 28:20). It issued in our Lord's present life in heaven for us. It enabled him to send forth the Holy Spirit (Jn. 16:7; Acts 2:33) to convict the world of sin (Jn. 16:8), and to indwell his

disciples (Jn. 14:17), giving power for witness (Acts 1:8; 4:8, 31), and creating a new and radiant fellowship (Acts 2:42 – 47; 2 Cor. 13:14; Phil 2:1 – 2). The ascension meant that Christ took his perfect manhood with him into glory. Now, in the heavenlies, he does not continue to offer his blood (W. Milligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord* [1891], 266). The sacrifice for sin has been made once for all (Heb. 7:27; 9:12; 10:10 – 14). But as our high priest who understands our human temptations, he is able to sympathize (Heb. 4:1 – 5), succor (2:18), and save (7:25). By virtue of the ascension he is now head of the church (Eph. 1:20 – 23; Col. 1:17) and Lord of all (Phil 2:11). He is our advocate with the Father (1 Jn. 2:1), ever interceding for us (Rom. 8:34; Heb. 7:25). His presence in heaven assures us that we shall follow (Heb. 6:18 – 20), and we await his coming again to receive us to himself (Phil 3:20 – 21; 1 Thess. 4:16 – 17; Heb. 9:28). (Cf. also H. B. Swete, *The Ascended Christ* [1910]; P.J. Toon, *The Ascension of our Lord* [1984].)

D.G.STEWART

Ascension of Isaiah. Also known as the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah.* The title *Anabatikon Ēsaiou* (The Ascension of Isaiah) was used as early as the 4th cent. by the Christian writer EPIPHANIUS *(Panarion* 40.2). ORIGEN (*Comm. on Matt.* at 13:57) called the work *Apokryphon Ēsaiou* (The Apocryphon of Isaiah). Two other titles given to the complete work, *Diathēkē Hezekiou* (The Testament of Hezekiah), and *Horasis Ēsaiou* (The Vision of Isaiah), apply only to sections within the document. Evidently the work was well known in early Christian centuries, since it was mentioned by several church fathers. In modern times it came to light in 1819 when R. Laurence published an Ethiopic MS (E^1) of part of it.

I. Unity. Most modern scholars think the work is a composite of three major sections joined by editorial additions: (1) the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* 1.1—3.12; 5.1 – 16; (2) the *Testament of Hezekiah* 3.14—4.18; and (3) the *Vision of Isaiah* 6.1—11.40. Needless to say, scholars disagree on the exact limits of a given work, especially in ch. 1, which some consider editorial additions; others regard this chapter as part of the *Martyrdom* (1.7 – 13 seems to be used by PseudoChrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum).* A. Dillmann *(Ascensio Isaiae* [1877]) thought that an edition combined the early Jewish martyrdom with the Christian visions, and that the *Testament* was added later. R. H. Charles *(The Ascension of Isaiah* [1900]) thought that there were three independent works combined by the final edition. J. A. Robinson (*HDB,* 2:500) believed a Christian author had added his own material to the *Martyrdom* (cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic,* 3rd ed. [1963], 124n.). Some have carried this tendency even further, denying the unity of both the *Martyrdom* and the *Vision.* On the other hand, defenders of the unity of the entire work (except 11.2 – 22) have not been wanting (e.g., F. C. Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* [1914], 45ff., 72ff.).

II. Authorship. Little is known concerning the authorship of the *Ascension of Isaiah.* The contents would indicate that the section known as the *Martyrdom* originated in Jewish circles, while the *Testament of Hezekiah* and the *Vision of Isaiah* seem to have come from Christian circles. C. C.Torrey *(The Apocryphal Literature* [1945], 133 – 35) regarded the entire composition as Christian, and this view has been defended recently (e.g., by E. Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae: Commentarius* [1995]). R. H. Charles *(APOT,* 2:158) points out that the following passages are understandable only on the basis of a Semitic background. In 2.1 the clause "Manasseh *[mnšh]* ...did not remember *[nšh,* lit., 'forgot']" reflects a play on the sound of the words. In 1.8 the proper name Malchira may be a derivative of *mlky rʿ* ("my king is evil"). The "wooden saw" *(priōn xylinos)* he

thinks is a mistranslation of 5.11 *(mšwr(r,* a saw for sawing wood). It seems impossible to go beyond these general statements regarding authorship.

III. Date. The complete work as it now stands probably did not exist prior to the latter part of the 2nd cent. of our era. G. T. Stokes (in *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols. [1877 – 87], 3:300) dates the completed work in the 3rd cent. Most scholars would date parts of it as early as the 1st cent. Charles pointed out that the *Martyrdom* was known to the writer of the *Opus imperfectum* and to the church fathers Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, and probably Justin Martyr *(Dial.* 120.14 – 15); it is even possible that it was known to the anonymous author of Hebrews (cf. Heb. 11:37). On the grounds that 2nd-cent. Christians would not be likely to circulate a Jewish work, Charles dates the *Martyrdom* in the 1st cent.; R. H. Pfeiffer *(IB,* 1:424) dates it even earlier. A date toward the end of the 1st cent. is also likely for the *Testament of Hezekiah* (cf. the allusion to NERO in the description of the antichrist [4.2 – 4], and the apparent reference to 3.17 – 18 in *4 Bar. 9.20).* The *Vision,* on the other hand, is usually dated around the middle of the 2nd cent., although the evidence for such a conclusion is hardly definitive.

IV. Text. Various MSS and versions of the work, in whole or in part, have been discovered. Basically, they seem to fall into two groups, stemming from two Greek forms that go back to the 3rd cent. and that Charles labeled G^1 and G^2. The latter Greek text is actually attested in a papyrus fragment (dated to the 5th or 6th cent.) that contains most of 2.4—4.4; it has also been preserved in translations of the *Vision* (one Latin and two Slavonic MSS). G^1 is preserved only in translation, primarily in a reliable Ethiopic version (attested in several MSS), which is in turn the basis for all modern translations; moreover, one Latin MS preserves 2.14—3.12, and some Coptic fragments have been published. A substantial reworking of G^1 known as the "Greek Legend" is extant in a 12th-cent. MS., but it has only limited value. (English trans. and introduction in *OTP,* 2:143 – 76. Cf. also *NTAp,* 2:603 – 20.)

V. Content. The *Martyrdom of Isaiah* is a sermonic account or MIDRASH of 2 Ki. 21:16. In it Isaiah prophesied events in the reign of MANASSEH, including Isaiah's own martyrdom. Manasseh would be a follower of Beliar (BELIAL) and be indwelt by Sammael/Satan (an equation also found in Jewish and Gnostic texts; see GNOSTICISM). After Hezekiah's death, Manasseh led his people into apostasy, encouraging witchcraft, fornication, and lawlessness (2.1 – 8). When Isaiah fled to the mountains, Belchira, the false prophet, found him and accused him before Manasseh of (1) prophesying the destruction of Jerusalem, (2) claiming that he was God (cf. Exod. 33:20, contra Isa. 6:5), and (3) calling Jerusalem "Sodom" and its rulers "Gomorrah" (3.1 – 12). Belchira (Malchira) tempted Isaiah to recant by promising the prophet his freedom and the reverence of the king and people. Isaiah did not yield and so died a martyr by being sawn asunder. This legend of Isaiah's fate seems to be attested in JUSTIN MARTYR, TERTULLIAN, and the TALMUD *(b. Yebamoth* 49b; *b. Sanhedrin* 10.2).

The *Testament of Hezekiah,* an apocalyptic section, contains a vision that Isaiah reported to King HEZEKIAH. It reveals the descent of the Beloved (a term for the MESSIAH found throughout *the Ascension of Isaiah)* from the seventh heaven, his incarnation, earthly career, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension. Then follows a sketch of early church history, revealing apostasy before the SECOND COMING of Christ. There would be unworthy leaders and pastors. The OT prophets would be ignored (as in Gnostic heresy). Beliar would assume a royal form and be guilty of matricide (4.2.;

cf. Nero). Beliar acts like Christ by performing miracles and, like Yaldabaoth in Gnostic myth, calls himself God (4.6). He erects an image of himself to be worshiped and demands sacrifice. His reign is said to last three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days (1332 or 1335 days, 4.11 cf. Dan. 12:12). After this the Lord and his angels return and defeat Beliar and his hosts. Then follows a messianic reign for those living and sharing in the first resurrection. Afterward there is a second resurrection and the judgment of the godless who are annihilated by fire. This section of the *Ascension of Isaiah* resembles Rev. 13 (cf. Mk. 13; 2 Thess. 2:1 – 12), which some commentators have viewed as a reference to Nero. Common elements are the destruction of ANTICHRIST by Christ, the first resurrection of only the righteous, and their participation in the messianic kingdom, a second resurrection, and judgment by fire. However, in the *Testament* the righteous, without physical bodies, dwell in the seventh heaven.

The last section, the *Vision of Isaiah,* has linguistic similarities to the preceding one, but its general content is more Gnostic. In a vision Isaiah is taken into the seventh heaven—the abode of God, the Beloved (Christ), the Holy Spirit, and the righteous dead (in spiritual bodies). Beneath the seven heavens is the firmament wherein dwells Sammael/Satan, ruling over the earth and physical bodies (which, in typical Gnostic fashion, are evil). The *Vision* gives a Docetic account of Christ's birth (without labor after two months of pregnancy). See DOCETISM. Christ does not reveal his identity. When Christ is grown he performs miracles. His death on the cross is secured by Beliar. The *Vision* recounts his descent into hell, resurrection, stay on earth for 545 days (again a Gnostic conception), and the commissioning of the Twelve. After his ascension to the seventh heaven, he is seated at the right hand of the Great Glory, with the Holy Spirit on the left hand.

This vision is the cause of Manasseh's execution of Isaiah. The *Vision* closely parallels the typically Gnostic, perhaps Ophite, drama of the descent of the Redeemer from heaven. In the Gnostic myth a preexistent Christ descends from the seventh heaven. He is disguised as a resident as he passes down through seven successive spheres. A virginborn Jesus becomes the receptacle for the Christ. At the moment of crucifixion, Christ leaves Jesus who is put to death. Christ assists Jesus to rise in a spiritual resurrection. He receives knowledge, stays with his disciples for 545 days and teaches them the mysteries. At his ascension he is seated at the right hand of Yaldabaoth, where he welcomes those who knew him in the flesh when they put off their earthly bodies. (See J. Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One: The Christology, Social Setting and Theological Context of the Ascension of Isaiah* [1996].)

A.K.HELMBOLD

Ascent of Blood. See ADUMMIM.

ascents, song of. A term found in the titles of Pss. 120 – 34 and probably indicating that they were especially appropriate for pilgrims "going up" to Jerusalem to worship. See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS VI.D.

asceticism. The practice of severe self-denial and austerity, usually as a means of religious improvement. The Bible includes some examples of a rigorous lifestyle (cf. JOHN THE BAPTIST), but it also condemns regulations that involve a "harsh treatment of the body" (Col. 3:20 – 23; cf. 1 Tim. 4:3). Both within and outside the Christian church, asceticism has often been fueled by a nonbiblical, dualistic philosophy that views the body in negative terms, for example, as a prison from which the soul needs to be released. See also DUALISM; GNOSTICISM.

Asclepi US as-klee'pee-uhs (Ἀσκληπιός). Also Asclepios, Asklepius. (1) One of the heroes of Homer's *Iliad* and the most prominent god of healing in Greek mythology, known to the Romans as Aesculapius. According to one tradition, he was the son of APOLLO. Asclepius was reputed to have worked great acts of healing, including raising a man from the dead. During the ancient church

The medical symbol of Asclepius.

period, the miracles attributed to Asclepius were used by pagans to attack the Christian faith. (See *OCD,* 187 – 88.)

(2) A document partially preserved in Coptic in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC VI, 8). Consisting of a dialogue in which Hermes Trismegistus expounds the mystery of true saving knowledge to Asclepius, it was originally known as *The Perfect Dialogue,* a lost Greek work that was probably written before A.D. 400 and that was part of the HERMETIC WRITINGS (see also GNOSTICISM). The Coptic version includes only sections 21 – 29 of the original, but the document is preserved in its entirety, also under the title *Asclepius,* in a free Latin translation from the Greek (for an English trans. of the Coptic fragment, see *NHL,* 330 – 38).

Aseas as'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of ASAIAS (1 Esd. 9:32).

Asebebia as'uh-bee'bee-uh. KJV Apoc. variant of SHEREBIAH (1 Esd. 8:47).

Asebia uh-see 'bee-uh. KJV Apoc. form of HASHABIAH (1 Esd. 8:48).

Asenath as'uh-nath (אָסְנַת *664,* "she belongs to [the goddess] Neit"). Also Aseneth. Daughter of POTIPHERA, priest of ON. The pharaoh gave her to JOSEPH as a wife, and she became the mother of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH (Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20). Asenath is a subject of interest in Jewish tradition, especially in the apocryphal work JOSEPH AND ASENATH, according to which she renounced her heathen religion and became a worshiper of Yahweh when she married Joseph.

Aser ay'suhr. KJV Apoc. and NT form of ASHER (Tob. 1:2; Lk. 2:36; Rev. 7:6).

Aserer ay'suh-ruhr. KJV Apoc. variant of SISERA (1 Esd. 5:32; NRSV, "Serar").

ash. The KJV rendering of *)ōren H815,* which occurs only in Isa. 44:14 ("he planteth an ash"; NIV, "[he] planted a pine"). The only apparent reason for such a translation is the name *aran,* given to a kind of mountain ash in Arabia (*Fraxinus Ornus,* a flowering ash). It is more probable that the tree is the Aleppo PINE, a coniferous evergreen; thus the Hebrew term may really mean "conifer." The NRSV renders CEDAR (Akk. *ērinu;* cf. BDB, 75). Another possibility is "laurel" (*Laurus nobilis;* cf. *HALOT,* 1:90).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

ashamed. See SHAME.

Ashan ay'shuhn (עָשָׁן *H6941*, prob. "smoke," perhaps suggesting a desolate place). A town in the SHEPHELAH, possibly the same as BOR ASHAN (1 Sam. 30:30). Ashan was originally assigned to the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:42). Later it was either transferred to SIMEON or considered a border town on the boundary line of both tribes (19:7), and was finally designated a Levitical city of refuge (1 Chr. 6:59). On the basis of this last reference, many scholars follow the SEPTUAGINT and emend the text in Josh. 21:16 to read "Ashan" instead of AIN. The location of Ashan is uncertain. It has been identified with modern Khirbet ʿAsan, 1.5 mi. NW of BEERSHEBA (cf. *IDB,* 1:248), and with Tell Beit Mirsim, some 12 mi. SW of HEBRON. Some have argued that a distinction should be made between a Judahite and a Simeonite Ashan (the latter located in the NEGEV).

Asharelah ash'uh-ree'luh. RSV form of ASARELAH.

Ashbea. See BETH ASHBEA.

Ashbel ash 'bel (אַשְׁבֵּל *H839,* derivation disputed; gentilic אַשְׁבֵלִי *H840,* "Ashbelite"). Second son of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:1; listed as third in Gen. 46:21) and the progenitor of the Ashbelite clan (Num. 26:38). Some scholars equate Ashbel with JEDIAEL (1 Chr. 7:6).

Ashchenaz ash'kuh-naz. KJV alternate form of ASHKENAZ.

Ashdod ash'dod (אַשְׁדּוֹד *H846,* perhaps "fortress"; gentilic אַשְׁדּוֹדִי *H847,* "Ashdodite" [KJV, "Ashdothite" in Josh. 13:3]; Ἄζωτος *G111* [in Joshua, LXX has Ασεδωθ with spelling variations]). One of the five major PHILISTINE cities (cf. 1 Sam. 6:17) that were located on the coastal plain. Three of these were on or near the coast, and Ashdod was the northernmost of them, about 10 mi. N of ASHKELON. By NT times there may have been two towns with this name, for JOSEPHUS speaks of both a coastal Azotus (*Ant.* 13.15.4 §395) and an inland one *(en tē mesogeio, Ant. 14.4.4* §§75 – 76; cf. *War 1.7.7* §156).

In the time of Israel's conquest of the land of Canaan under JOSHUA, Ashdod was inhabited by the ancient Anakim people (see ANAK) and was assigned to the tribe of Judah along with other Philistine towns (GATH, EKRON, and GAZA, Josh. 11:22; 15:45 – 47). However, Judah did not actually occupy it at that early time, since Josh. 13:1 – 3 indicates that the Philistines were still in possession of the area. In the Israelite-Philistine struggles at the time of ELI the priest (1 Sam. 1 – 4), Ashdod figured prominently as the place to which the victorious Philistines took the Israelite ARK OF THE COVENANT. When the image of their heathen god DAGON in his temple at Ashdod was humiliated before the ark of the Lord, and many of the people died of serious illness, the captured sacred ark was sent to other Philistine cities (5:1 – 12). After further suffering from the plague, the rulers of Ashdod and the other Philistine cities sent the ark back to Israel with a trespass offering of gold (6:1 – 18).

Ashdod does not seem to have been controlled by Judah until the days of UZZIAH (c. 783 – 742 B.C.), who fought the Philistines and conquered the city (2 Chr. 26:6). Amos (c. 760 – 745) no doubt included these events in his prophecy against Ashdod (Amos 1:8; 3:9). Ashdod a little later had independence again, for according to Assyrian annals, the town is said to have revolted in the time of SARGON II (721 – 705). After this uprising, which evidently took place about 711, Sargon ordered Azuri, the local king of Ashdod, deposed, and he set up a younger brother, Ahimiti, in his place. Then when the local townspeople, whom Sargon calls HITTITES, continued the revolt under a self-appointed Greek named Iamani (i.e., Ionian) or Iadna, the Assyrian ruler marched on Ashdod, conquered it,

Ashkelon and Ashdod.

and punished it and Gath and Ashdudimmu (meaning "Ashdod by the Sea," a place that became more important later than inland Ashdod; cf. remarks above on two Ashdods in Christian times). Iamani, the Greek, fled to the territory of Musru, which was under Ethiopia's control. Ethiopia then surrendered the Greek to the Assyrians. Thus Ashdod and the surrounding territory became Assyrian *(ANET,* 286). It was in the light of this background that Isa. 20:1 – 6 warns Judah against getting involved with Ashdod, because Ethiopia would not support the cause against Assyria.

In the time of SENNACHERIB (704 – 681 B.C.) Ashdod, under a king named Mitinti, was still subject to Assyria, paid its tribute, and was given some of the towns that were being ruled by the king HEZEKIAH *(ANET,* 288). Another king of Ashdod, Ahumilki (Ahimilki), paid tribute to ESARHADDON (680 – 669) and to ASHURBANIPAL (668 – 633) as Assyria made campaigns against Egypt, Syria, and Palestine *(ANET,* 291, 294). Further, HERODOTUS (*Hist.* 2.157) states that the Egyptian King Psammetichus I (663 – 610) took Ashdod (he calls it Azotus) after a twenty-nine-year siege and later NEBUCHADNEZZAR conquered Ashdod and took its king prisoner, whom he mentions as being at his Babylonian court *(ANET,* 308). Likely the Ashdod remnant left was that group prophesied about, at least in part, by two Hebrew prophets (Zeph. 2:4; Jer. 25:20), and whose descendants were no doubt

a part of that group of Ashdodites who opposed the rebuilding of Jerusalem under NEHEMIAH and from whom some Jews had taken heathen wives (Neh. 4:7; 13:23 – 24). In the earlier days of DARIUS I (522 – 486), Zechariah prophesied about the further degradation of Ashdod (Zech. 7:1; 9:6).

Information about Azotus (as Ashdod was known in Greek sources) under the Egyptian Ptolemaic and Syrian Seleucid kingdoms is meager, though the city is probably alluded to in two early coins (Hebrew name in Greek letters; see *HJP* [1893], 2/1:77 n. 94a). Evidence from the books of the MACCABEES, in which there are frequent references to the Azotus district (1 Macc. 14:34; 16:10), shows that the area succumbed to Jewish power. Judas destroyed its altars and images (5:68) and Jonathan burned the temple of Dagon and the city with fire (10:84; 11:4). JOSEPHUS relates that Azotus belonged to the Jewish region in the time of Alexander Jannaeus (c. 104 – 78 *B.C.; Ant.* 13.15.4 §395).

Subsequently POMPEY rebuilt and repopulated Azotus and other cities of the whole area (Jos. *Ant.* 14.4.4 §75; *War* 1.7.7 §156; cf. also under Gabinius, *War* 1.8.4 §166). Later it came under HEROD the Great's control, who then willed it to his sister Salome *(Ant.* 17.8.1 §189; *War* 2.6.3 §98); she in turn probably willed it to the Empress Livia, the wife of Augustus (cf. *Ant.* 18.2.2 §31; *War* 2.9.1 §167). There seems to have been a considerable Jewish population in Azotus in the 1st cent. A.D., because Vespasian placed a garrison there during the Jewish War before the fall of Jerusalem *(War* 4.3.2 §130). The only NT reference to Azotus is in connection with PHILIP's preaching mission up the coast to CAESAREA (Acts 8:40). (See further *NEAEHL,* 1:93 – 102.)

W.H.MARE

Ashdodite, Ashdothite ash'duh-d*i*t, -th*i*'t. See ASHDOD.

Ashdoth-pisgah ash'doth-piz'guh. See PISGAH.

Asher ash'uhr (אָשֵׁר *H888,* "happy, fortunate" [possibly a popular etymology if the name was originally related to a deity; cf. ASHERAH]; gentilic אָשֵׁרִי *H896,* "Asherite"; Ἀσήρ *G818).* KJV Apoc. and NT, Aser. (1) Eighth son of JACOB, and the second by ZILPAH, the handmaid whom LEAH had given to Jacob because of her own barrenness. Asher was born in PADDAN ARAM in MESOPOTAMIA and was the full brother of GAD (Gen. 30:9 – 13; 35:26). At his birth Leah exclaimed, "How happy I am! The women will call me happy"; therefore the boy was named Asher (30:13). When Asher went down to Egypt he had four sons, Imnah, Ishvah, Beriah, and Ishvi, as well as a daughter, Serah (Gen. 46:17; 1 Chr. 7:30).

The name Asher has been confirmed as an authentic NW Semitic personal name in an Egyptian papyrus of c. 1750 B.C., but in the papyrus it is the name of a female slave. It is now thought improbable that inscriptions of Seti I (1303 – 1290) and RAMSES II (1290 – 1224) mention Asher as a vanquished tribe in Canaan, for the place name)isr as it appears in these Egyptian texts would represent the Hebrew consonants)ṣr (not)šr as would be the case if the Israelite tribe of Asher were intended; see K. A. Kitchen in *NBD,* 92). This conclusion would also eliminate the reference in Seti's inscription as a factor in calculating the date of the exodus. See EXODUS, THE II.

(2) The term Asher in the Bible usually refers to the tribe of which Asher son of Jacob was the progenitor. His descendants multiplied so that at the time of the exodus from Egypt the tribe numbered 41,500 fighting men (Num. 1:41). Before the invasion of Canaan this number had increased to 53,400. In blessing the tribes of Israel, Moses said, "Most blessed of sons is Asher; / let him be favored by

his brothers, / and let him bathe his feet in oil" (Deut. 33:24). Consisting of five main families (Num. 26:44 – 47), Asher shared the blessings, trials, and responsibilities of the wilderness wanderings (1:13; 2:27; 7:72; 13:13). In the course of the Israelite journey through the desert, flanked by the tribes of DAN and NAPHTALI, the position of Asher was to the N of the Tent of Meeting (2:25 – 30). After Israel left Mount Sinai, Asher served as rear guard together with Dan and Naphtali (10:25 – 28). From the ranks of Asher, Sethur served as a scout to explore the land of Canaan (13:13).

In the division of the territory of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, Asher was assigned by JOSHUA the fertile strip of coastland N of Carmel (see CARMEL, MOUNT) up to the N of SIDON, and eastward to the western slopes of the Galilaean hills (Josh. 19:24 – 31, 34). To the S the Carmel range served as the common border with MANASSEH, the Galilean hills separating Asher on its SE border from ZEBULUN, and on its NE side from Naphtali. Accurate detailed determination of the tribe's area is impossible, but a description of the boundaries is given in Josh. 19:24 – 31 (cf. Jdg. 1:31 – 32;Josh. 17:10 – 11). Archaeologists are not able to identify most of the places mentioned. See TRIBES, LOCATION OF.

The Levites descended from GERSHON were assigned four cities in the territory of Asher (1 Chr. 6:62, 74 – 75). Ahihud had the responsibility of allotting the land of Asher to the people of the tribe "for inheritance" (Num. 34:27). Their territory was an especially well-watered and fertile land that included some of the finest olive groves and orchards in the country. Moses' statement in Deut. 33:24 concerning Asher, "let him bathe his feet in oil," is a reference to the tribe's prosperity as a result of the OLIVE groves. This area is still renowned for its olive industry.

Asher does not occupy a prominent place in Israel's history. No significant leader is known to have come from the tribe, and Asher could not control her coastal cities. Asher apparently never overcame Phoenician dominance (Jdg. 1:31 – 32). It did not join in the battle against SISERA, the captain of JABIN, who ruled the neighboring territory to the E (4:2). Later the tribe did come to the aid of GIDEON against the Midianites (6:35; 7:23). At DAVID's coronation at HEBRON, 40,000 of Asher's fighting men were present (1 Chr. 12:36), but the name of the tribe is missing from other lists of his reign (27:16 – 22). SOLOMON ceded some of Asher's cities to the Tyrian HIRAM (1 Ki. 9:11 – 14). Apparently, the only Asherite of any significance was the prophetess ANNA, who praised God at the presentation of Jesus in the temple (Lk. 2:36). Many scholars are of the opinion that Asher was the least "Israelite" of all the tribes, not only because the tribe was geographically remote, but also because it failed to dominate the Canaanites culturally as well as politically in an effective manner. See also ASHURI.

(3) According to some scholars, Asher in Josh. 17:7 may be a reference to a town rather than to the tribe. If so, the site is unknown, although the modern village of Teyasir (c. 11 mi. NE of SHECHEM on the road to BETH SHAN) has been suggested.

A. C. SCHULTZ

Asherah uh-shihr'uh (אֲשֵׁרָה *H895,* also אֲשִׁירָה derivation uncertain). A Canaanite deity, goddess of the sea and the consort of EL; this name is used normally with the definite article (the fem. pl. form *)ăšērôt* is found in Jdg. 3:7 et al.). The same Hebrew term can also refer to the sacred wooden poles associated with her cult (usually masc. pl. form *ăšērîm).* The KJV translates this word with "grove," following the SEPTUAGINT (which most frequently renders it with *alsos,* "grove"; but see 2 Chr. 15:16; 24:18). The MISHNAH explained Asherah as a tree that was worshiped, and the meaning "tree, grove" will often fit the context, but there are other passages where such a rendering is unsuitable.

An examination of the contexts reveals the following: the object was made of wood (Jdg. 6:26),

The inscription on this plaque reads: Uriyahu the rich wrote it. / Blessed be Uriyahu by YHWH, / for from his enemies by his strength, / he has saved him / by Oniyahu / and by his asherah.

manufactured (1 Ki. 14:15), planted (Deut. 16:21), erected (1 Ki. 14:23; 2 Ki. 17:10), burned (Deut. 12:3; 2 Ki. 23:6, 15), cut down (Exod. 34:13; Deut. 7:5; Jdg. 6:25, 28, 30; 2 Ki. 18:4; 23:14; 2 Chr. 14:3; 31:1), overthrown (Mic. 5:14), destroyed (2 Chr. 34:4). With it were associated incense stands (Isa. 17:8), altars (Jer. 17:2), high places (2 Chr. 17:6), and other images (2 Chr. 34:4). It is twice called an "abominable image" (NRSV, 1 Ki. 15:13; 2 Chr. 15:16; NIV, "repulsive Asherah pole"). Women wove hangings for the Asherah (2 Ki. 23:7). See also HIGH PLACE; PILLAR.

Prior to the discovery of UGARIT, the deity Asherah was sometimes confused with ASHTORETH (Astarte). In the Ugaritic texts, however, Asherah is referred to as Athirat (also Elat) and is described as the progenitress of several gods, including BAAL, who was also associated with her (cf. Jdg. 3:7; 6:26 – 30; 1 Ki. 18:19; 2 Ki. 23:4). The TELL EL-AMARNA tablets preserve the personal name Abdi-Ashirta ("Servant of Asherah"), and other Akkadian texts from Mesopotamia mention the deity Ashratum (consort of Amurru). This goddess appears also in various other ANE sources.

Asherah is not mentioned in connection with the PATRIARCHS, but the Israelites were commanded to cut down or burn the Asherim of the Canaanites; they also were forbidden to plant any tree as an Asherah beside the altar of the Lord (Exod. 34:13; Deut. 12:3; 16:21). Unfortunately, the Israelite invaders appropriated for their own religious worship the "high places" of the Canaanites and also adopted Asherah (1 Ki. 14:23; 2 Ki. 17:10, 16; Isa. 17:8; 27:9; Jer. 17:2; Mic. 5:13 – 14). GIDEON was told to destroy his father's Asherah pole (Jdg. 6:25 – 26). The deity is not associated with the kings of the monarchy, but later, after the kingdom split, she is mentioned in connection with both the northern and southern kingdoms. King MANASSEH even introduced Asherah into the temple at Jerusalem (2 Ki. 21:3, 7); subsequently, JOSIAH brought the image out of the temple and burned it (23:4). (Cf. W. L. Reed, *The Asherah in the Old Testament* [1949], 1 – 116; John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* [2000]; J. M. Hadley, *The Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel and Judah: Evidence for a Hebrew Goddess* [2000]; *DDD,* 99 – 105.)

L.L.WALKER

Asherim uh-shihr'im. See ASHERAH.

Asherite ash'uh-rit. See ASHER.

Asheroth uh-shihr'oth. See ASHERAH.

ashes. Several Hebrew words are used to designate the products of combustion. The most common term is *)ēper H709,* used especially as a sign of mourning and penitence (2 Sam. 13:19; Esth. 4:1; Job 2:8; 42:6; Dan. 9:3); similarly, it may designate humiliation or abasement (Gen. 18:27; Job 30:19; Lam. 3:16; Ezek. 28:18). Destruction may be implied in Mal. 4:3. In other instances ashes are grouped with DUST to emphasize symbolically one's humiliation (Gen. 18:27; Job 30:19). Dust alone or with ashes also symbolizes worthlessness (Gen. 18:27; Isa. 44:20), and the phrase "proverbs of ashes" (Job 13:12) refers to worthless sayings. The NT equivalent for this term is *spodos G5075,* used in connection with mourning (Matt. 11:21; Lk. 10:13) and with ritual cleansing (Heb. 9:13).

The word *dešen H2016* designates the ash residue left from burning fatty sacrifices (Lev. 1:16; 4:12; 6:10 – 11). This residue included remains of both fuel and fat. The same word designates the remains of a burnt corpse (Jer. 31:40), thus acquiring something of a technical significance. Its use with respect to King JEROBOAM's altar (1 Ki. 13:1 – 5) indicates the nature of the sacrifices made there: they were like those offered in the temple, used at BETHEL with the purpose of rendering it unnecessary for Israelites to travel to Jerusalem. Jeroboam thus sought to tie people to himself (cf. 12:26 – 30), but such altars were contrary to Yahweh's words to him (11:36 – 38).

Finally, the term *(āpār H6760* ("dust") is used of the ashes of the red heifer (Num. 19:17; see HEIFER, RED). The fact that the blood was burnt with the body of this animal gave the ashes a sanctity providing for their use in cleansing. They were used to effect the purification of one who had touched a dead body. (The KJV uses the word "ashes" also in Exod. 9:8, 10, where the Hebrew term is better rendered "soot," and in 1 Ki. 20:38, 41, where the word really means "bandage" or "headband.")

H. G. STTGERS

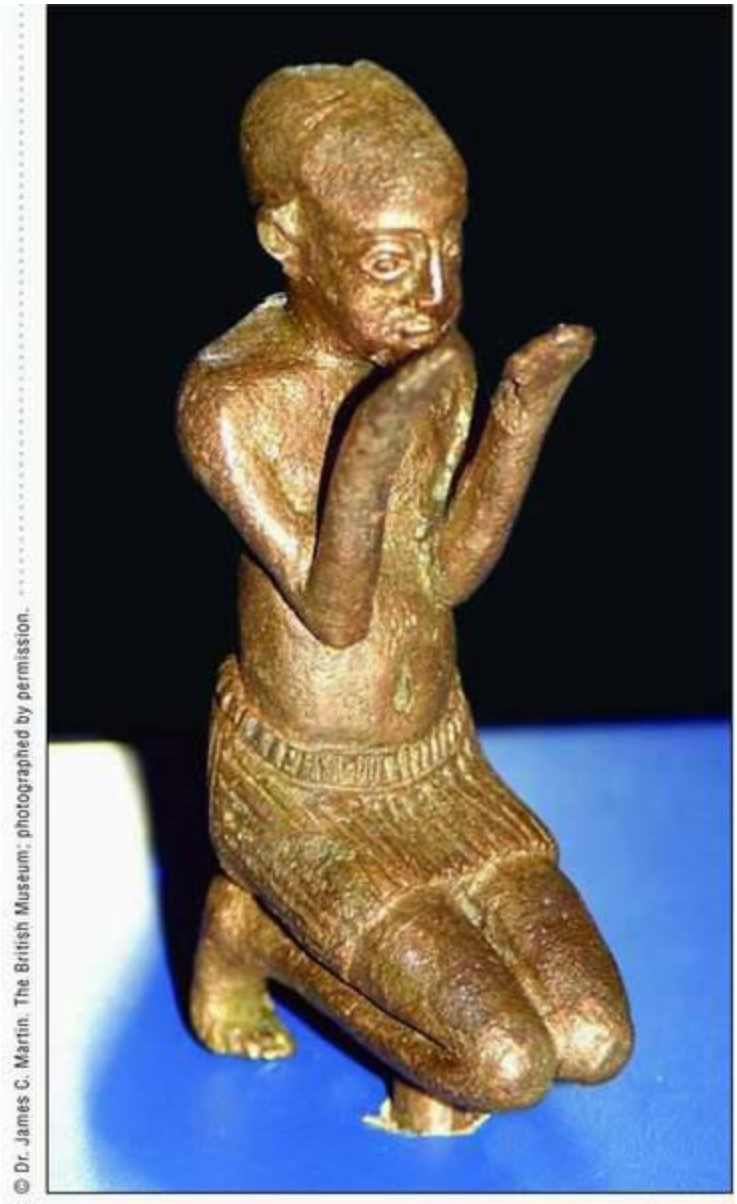
Ashhur ash'uhr (אַשְׁחוּר *H858,* possibly "black"). KJV Ashur. Son of HEZRON, descendant of JUDAH, and "father of Tekoa," which probably means that he was the founder or leader of the village of TEKOA (1 Chr. 2:24; 4:5). Some scholars, on the basis of the SEPTUAGINT reading (in 2:24), argue that Ashhur was the son of CALEB and that he was the same person as (or a brother of) Hur (v. 19). (The name Ashhur is not to be confused with ASSHUR.)

Ashima uh-sh*i*"muh (אַשִׁימָא *H860,* possibly Aram., "the name"). A deity worshiped by the inhabitants of HAMATH who had settled in SAMARIA (2 Ki. 17:30). Some have thought that the name is a corruption of ASHERAH, the Canaanite mother goddess. Others associate it with Eshmun, the chief god of SIDON. Since some female deities are referred to as Name-of-Baal in extrabiblical sources, it is possible that Ashima (if it reflects an Aramaic formation of *šum H10721,* "name") designated any of the Semitic goddesses thought to be consorts of BAAL (see also ASHTORETH). In Amos 8:14, the NRSV reads, "Those who swear by Ashimah of Samaria," which involves a slight emendation of the Hebrew (MT *)ašmat,* from *)ašmâ H873,* "shame").

Ashkelon ash'kuh-lon (אַשְׁקְלוֹן *H884,* meaning uncertain; gentilic 'אַשְׁקְלוֹנִי *H885,* "Ashkelonite" [Josh. 13:3; KJV, "Eshkalonite"]). An ancient Canaanite city situated on the Mediterranean sea coast about midway between ASHDOD and GAZA. It is mentioned in classical and biblical literature as one of the five cities of the PHILISTINES. The earliest mention of the city is in certain EXECRATION TEXTS from the 12th dynasty of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom; the name is written in hieratic characters and scratched on a small figurine (c. 1800 B.C.), probably representing the local ruler who was to be rendered hapless before Egyptian might through the ritual smashing of his image.

The city is mentioned in two letters from the cuneiform cache of TELL EL-AMARNA: NO. 287 written by Abdiḫiba, ruler of Jerusalem, and No. 320 written by a certain Widia of Ashkelon. Both were addressed to the pharaoh whom they served in the period (1400 – 1350). The city revolted and threw off the overlordship of the pharaoh RAMSES II after his defeat at the hand of the HITTITES under Muwatallis, and then Ramses had to recapture Ashkelon. In 1282 he recorded the event on the walls of his great temple at Karnak. Apparently the faithful following of the subject princes of Syria-Palestine was not assured, because in 1230 MERNEPTAH again reconquered the town and recorded the event on his famous stela from his temple W of Thebes. This is the inscription that contains the earliest mention of Israel yet discovered in Egyptian sources.

It is not known when the city was overcome by the Indo-European Philistines, but Ashkelon was in their hands from Joshua's time until well into the period of the Israelite monarchy (Josh. 13:3; Jdg. 1:18 [where the MT, but not the LXX, states that the tribe of Judah took the city]; 1 Sam. 6:17; 2 Sam. 1:20). The prophets inveighed against Ashkelon and her pagan inhabitants (Jer. 25:20; 47:5 – 6; Amos 1:8; Zeph. 2:4, 7; Zech. 9:5). The westward expansion of Assyria under the rule of TIGLATH-PILESER III ("Pul" in 2 Ki. 15:19 and 1 Chr. 5:26) caught the petty states of SYRIA, and Ashkelon was conquered in 734 B.C. But the cycle of conquest and rebellion took its course, and SENNACHERIB set out from his palace in NINEVEH in 701 against Sidka, the king of Ashkelon, who was defeated and carried off to captivity in Assyria. The Assyrians set one of their puppet rulers on the



Figurine of a kneeling worshiper discovered at Ashkelon.

throne of the city and both ESARHADDON (c. 677) and his successor ASHURBANIPAL (c. 667) collected tribute from their vassals.

The city was the victim of all the conquering hordes that poured down upon the remains of the Assyrian empire after the rise of Persia. In time it was overrun by the Scythians (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.105), the Chaldeans, and finally the Persians. Ashkelon became completely hellenized after ALEXANDER THE GREAT, and it became known as *Askalōn* (from which the English word *scallion,* through Latin, is derived, since the city was famous for its onions). The large Jewish population appears to have sided with the Maccabees, and having subsequently made peace with Rome, it was declared a free area (see MACCABEE). In the rebellion of A.D. 66 the Jews attacked Ashkelon and were thrown back in a furious assault (Jos. *War 2.*18.1; 3.2.1 – 2).

The city had a vivid history during the Islamic period and the Crusades. It was excavated by the Palestinian-Exploration Fund 1920 – 22. Further explorations were undertaken by L. Steger and D. Esse in 1985 (see *IEJ 37* [1987]: 68 – 72; *NEAEHL,* 1:103 – 12).

W.WHITE,JR.

Ashkenaz ash'kuh-naz (אַשְׁכְּנַז [*BHS*, אַשְׁכְּנַז] *H867)*. KJV also Ashchenaz. Son of GOMER and

grandson of JAPHETH (Gen. 10:3; 1 Chr. 1:6). He was the eponymous ancestor of a people mentioned by Jeremiah in association with ARARAT and MINNI (Jer. 51:27). Probably Ashkenaz is to be identified with the SCYTHIANS, a people who had settled near Lake Urmia in the region of Ararat (Urartu) in the time of Jeremiah. The Assyrian texts mention a tribe called the Ashkuza who, allied with the Manneans (Minni), fought against the Assyrians. The Scythians were a crude and warlike people who contributed to the unrest of the Assyrian empire and whose name became a synonym for BARBARIAN (cf. Col. 3:11). Their conquest of the CIMMERIANS (Gomer) is cited by HERODOTUS *(Hist.* 4.11 – 12). The name Ashkenaz is used with reference to Germany in Medieval Hebrew, and thus today the term *Ashkenazi* refers to Yiddishspeaking Jews from central and northern Europe (in contrast to *Sephardi* [see SEPHARAD], which designates someone who descends from the Jews who lived in Spain).

T. E. MCCOMISKEY

Ashnah ash'nuh (אַשְׁנָה *H877,* derivation uncertain). The name of two cities of the tribe of JUDAH, both in the SHEPHELAH. Their sites are unknown. One of them (Josh. 15:33, listed between Zorah and Zanoah) may be at ʿAslin, near the edge of the maritime plain of Judah, though another suggestion is Khirbet Wadi Allin, SE of BETH SHEMESH. The second town named Ashnah (v. 43, listed between Iphtah and Nezib) may be Idna, some 8 mi. WNW of HEBRON.

Ashpenaz ash'puh-naz (אַשְׁפְּנַז *H881,* perhaps Old Pers., "[keeper of the] inn"). The name (or title) of NEBUCHADNEZZAR's "palace master" (Dan. 1:3 NRSV; lit., "chief of his eunuchs"), responsible for bringing to Babylon certain Hebrew youths for training. See EUNUCH. The SEPTUAGINT (i.e., the Old Greek, not Theodotion) uses the curious name *Abiesdri* here (and in v. 11 for Heb. *melṣar H4915,* "the guard"; KJV, "Melzar").

Ashriel ash'ree-uhl. See ASRIEL.

Ashtaroth ash'tuh-roth (עַשְׁתָּרֹת *H6958,* from the name of the Canaanite goddess, Ashtoreth; gentilic עַשְׁתָּרָתִי *H6960,* "Ashterathite"). (1) A city in northern TRANSJORDAN, near ancient EDREI and N of the village of JAIR. It was the home of OG, king of BASHAN (Deut. 1:4 [KJV, "Astaroth"]; Josh. 9:10; 12:4; 13:12), and the site of the theft of horses mentioned in TELL EL-AMARNA Letter 197, where the name of the town is transcribed in cuneiform as *aštar-te.* After the Israelite conquest, Ashtaroth was allotted to the half-tribe of MANASSEH and settled by the descendants of MAKIR (Josh. 13:31). It was then given to the Levite clans descended from GERSHON (1 Chr. 6:71; cf. also Josh. 21:27, where BE ESHTARAH may be a scribal mistake for Ashtaroth). One of David's mighty men was Uzzia the Ashterathite. Most scholars identify Ashtaroth with ASHTEROTH KARNAIM, modern Tell ʿAshtarah, some 20 mi. E of the Sea of Galilee.

(2) The KJV and other versions use the form "Ashtaroth" also to transliterate the plural of ASHTORETH *(ʿaštōret H6956),* the Canaanite goddess (Jdg. 2:13 et al.). The NRSV has "Astartes," while the NIV renders it "Ashtoreths."

W. WHITE, JR.

Ashterathite ash'tuh-ruh-thz't. See ASHTAROTH.

Ashteroth Karnaim ash'tuh-roth-kahr-nay'im (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת קַרְנַיִם *H6959,* "Ashtaroth of the [two] horns"). A city inhabited by the REPHAITES, located on the KING'S HIGHWAY and sacked by four kings under the leadership of KEDORLAOMER in ABRAHAM's time (Gen. 14:5). It seems probable that the name refers to the city of ASHTAROTH and was so designated because of its proximity to the city of KARNAIM (modern Sheikh Saʿd, c. 23 mi. E of the Sea of Galilee; see Amos 6:3).

H. G. ANDERSEN

Ashtoreth ash'tuh-reth (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת *H6956).* The OT Hebrew name of the Canaanite goddess otherwise known as Astarte. The plural form *ʿaštārōt* is transliterated as Ashtaroth in the KJV and other versions (Jdg. 2:13 et al.)

I. Name and character of the goddess. The spelling of the name of this goddess, whose worship was widely practiced throughout the ANE, is confused because of the practice of the writers of the OT (or the MT scribes) to supplant the original vowels with those of another, usually derogatory, word. The original name in Canaanite was probably *ʿAshtart* (cf. Ugar. *ʿṯrt,* Akk. ISHTAR, Gk *Astarte),* but the vowels of the word *bōšet H1425,* "shame," were apparently infixed, thus preventing the ascription of any magical power or praise to the pagan deity. The worship of mother goddesses in the ANE and elsewhere in the old world is evidenced by the frequency of small FERTILITY CULT figurines excavated from sites as early as the Lower Paleolithic. The earliest written documents from Mesopotamian SUMER mention the goddess as Inanna, whose shrine and cult-center at Uruk (ERECH) stretches back before the protoliterate period of southern Iraq to the 4th millennium B.C.

According to various extant Sumerian legends, Inanna was the consort of the shepherd god Dumuzi (cf. TAMMUZ, Ezek 8:14), for whom she wept at his seasonal death. A revealing set of myths consists of the nearly identical Sumerian and Akkadian versions of *Inanna/Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World.* In this story Inanna (or Ishtar, whichever cultural manifestation is chosen) goes down into the underworld realm of the goddess of death, the condemned, and the underworld itself. This goddess, Ereshkigal or Irkalla, deprives Inanna of all her ritual garments and imprisons her as an impaled corpse.

The Akkadian version tells vividly the results of this deprivation upon the normal course of human and animal reproduction: "Since Ishtar went down to the Land of No Return, upon the heifer the bull does not leap, the ass does not impregnate the jenny. In the street the youth does not know the maiden" (author's translation). This sexual aspect of the worship of the mother goddess appears to have carried over into every culture of the ANE where her cult was practiced. Notice that the Hebrew word for "lambs" in a few passages that stress productivity (Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51) is the plural of *ʿašteret H6957* (which may mean "offspring, increase"), possibly reflecting an earlier belief that Ashtoreth/Ashtarte was responsible for the fertility of the flocks (there is no evidence, however, for the old suggestion that she was envisioned as a ewe).

Another feature of this worship in Sumer and later BABYLON was the annual ritual marriage held in connection with the national *akītu* festival, which was part of the New Year's celebration. Many ancient sources and primary CUNEIFORM texts affirm that at this rite a temple priestessprostitute enacted with the king the marriage of Dumuzi and Inanna. The equation of Inanna with Ishtar is proven by the interchangeability of the names in the various versions of the myths and the parallel use of their titles (e.g., TELL EL-AMARNA Letter 23, where the name of the goddess is glossed with the descriptive

phrase *ištar bêlit šamē,* "Ištar, Queen of Heaven," the precise translation of Inanna). In time, cuneiform literature utilized the name Ishtar as a general noun for "goddess." Even the Egyptians mention her name on several stelae of the Middle Kingdom period and thereafter frequently in the papyri of the New Kingdom. In Syria-Palestine she is depicted in art with Egyptian garments and attributes.

II. Ashtoreth among the Canaanites. The people of Israel must have come in contact with the cult of Ashtoreth as it existed among the other Asiatics and W Semites of Egypt. After the exodus they were in constant conflict with the worship of the fertility and vegetation deities of the natives of Syria-Palestine. The goddess Athtart appears frequently in the tablets from Ras Shamra (UGARIT); she is a foremost character in some eleven contexts. She is the companion of BAAL in several epics and has numerous appellations: Athtart of the Field, Athtart the Majestic, Athtart Name-of-Baal. In a list of offerings to various shrines, a temple in her honor is included. While her charm and appeal are often compared to the goddess ANATH, both are goddesses of combat and battle. Anath is more often associated with Baal in the Ugaritic texts, whereas Athtart is much more prominent in later Phoenician times. However, the interchange of functions and attributes is a common feature of the development of ANE pantheons. The polar attributes of these deities, love and war, are shown in their artistic representations, which show at all dates certain characteristics drawn from the prehistoric figures. Although the cult practices and rituals, as well as the depiction of the goddess, were always reminiscent of the earlier and cruder forms, yet her comprehension in the minds of her devotees reached extraordinary heights of poetry and drama, some aspects of which were later sublimated by the Hebrews to the worship of Yahweh.

III. Ashtoreth in the Old Testament. It is possible that in the OT, as in certain of the Ugaritic legends, a male deity Ashtar was involved who, like Ashtoreth, had astrological significance. The place of this male deity in the Canaanite pantheon is as yet unclear. The name Ashtoreth appears in the singular only in 1 Ki. 11:5, 33; 2 Ki. 23:13; the more common plural form is sometimes found with the plural of Baal (e.g., Jdg. 10:6). It was common for each local town in a system of archaic religious states to have a "Lord and Lady"; such formulas occur frequently, as in the case of the complete mixing of Yahweh and Baal in Jdg. 8:33, where the Israelites were worshiping BAAL-BERITH, "Lord of the Covenant."

Throughout history the Jews were constantly tempted to worship this pagan goddess and attend her rituals, and it was this forbidden practice that finally led to Israel's captivity and the seventy years in Babylon. There is no doubt, from the nude statuettes with exaggerated breasts and pudenda and the frequent association of sexual license mentioned by both biblical and classical authors in connection with Ashtoreth, that her rituals were offensive to the Jews at many points. Her cult was kept alive well into the Christian era and was probably finally eliminated by the spread of Islam throughout the ANE in the early Middle Ages. (See W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [1968]; J. Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* [2000]; *DDD,* s.v. "Astarte," 109 – 14.) See also ASHERAH.

W. WHITE, JR.

Ashur ash'uhr. See ASHHUR and ASSHUR.

Ashurbanipal ash'uhr-ban'uh-puhl (*Assyr. Aššurbān-apli,* "Ashur has created an heir," traditionally

identified with אָסְנַפַּר *H10055,* "Osnappar," Ezra 4:10). King of ASSYRIA, 669 to c. 626 B.C.

I. His reign. In May 672 B.C. ESARHADDON publicly designated Ashurbanipal to be the crownprince and future ruler of Assyria, while his twin brother Shamash-shum-ukin was given the same office in Babylonia. Among the vassal kings present to endorse this agreement would have been MANASSEH (Akk., *Minsē)* of Judah. In 669 Ashurbanipal came to the throne in NINEVEH and continued operations against Egypt, the northern and eastern tribes (Cimmerians and Manneans), Elam, the Arabs, and Babylonia. Campaigns in the latter country followed the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin, who interfered with the direct control Ashurbanipal exercised over the strategic centers of NIPPUR, ERECH, and UR. These dated their documents by the years of the Assyrian king's reign. Ashurbanipal advanced to support the beleaguered garrisons and defeated the Elamites, cutting off Babylon from its supporting tribesmen. Babylon itself fell after a two-year siege, and Shamash-shum-ukin committed suicide in his burning palace. In 640 ELAM was invaded and SUSA (Shushan) sacked, some of its inhabitants being exiled to SAMARIA (Ezra 4:10).

The end of Ashurbanipal's reign is obscure, for few contemporary records and references are extant after 639 B.C. The aging monarch seems to have withdrawn to HARAN, leaving one son, Ashur-etil-ilāni, in control of Assyria proper, and another, Sin-shum-lishir, to oppose the new Chaldean dynasty led by NABOPOLASSAR in 626. The general decline of the Assyrian authority at this time was perhaps the cause and opportunity for the defection of the outlying vassal states, including Egypt and Judah, which now took steps to assert their independence.

II. Operations in the West. On accession, Ashurbanipal continued the expedition against Egypt on which his father had died. The primary aim was to defeat the Nubian TIRHAKAH. The latter, however, retreated to Thebes, and the Assyrians contented themselves with restoring the local Assyrian governors in the NILE delta and capturing the rebel leaders. At this time Ashurbanipal claims to have received tribute, as had his father, from twenty-two kings of Syro-Palestine including Ba(al, king of Tyre; Manasseh, king of Judah; Qaushgabri, king of Edom; Musuri, king of Moab; Sili-Bel, king of Gaza; Mitinti, king of Ashkelon; Ikausu, king of Ekron.

Soon Egypt interfered again in Palestinian affairs and Ashurbanipal dispatched a punitive force in 664/3 against Tirhakah's successor Tandamane (Tanut-Amun), who abandoned M EMPHIS and was besieged in THEBES, which was sacked. The destruction of Thebes (No-Amun) was described in Nah. 3:8 – 10 and used as an example of what would happen to Nineveh in its turn. Egypt was shown to be an unreliable ally, a "bruised reed" (2 Ki. 18:21 KJV). Ashurbanipal, relieved of pressure in the N by his alliance with Gyges of Lydia, now turned to punish Arvad and Tyre and left a reinforced garrison at Gezer. In later operations he plundered the Arabs of Kedar, Moab, Edom, and N Arabia, thus effectively isolating the small hill state of Judah from whom, according to one list, he exacted ten minas of silver as tribute.

III. The scholar. Ashurbanipal claimed to be able to read and write the CUNEIFORM script. At Nineveh he amassed copies of Babylonian literary texts, including the epic of creation, hymns, omens, and other traditional and scientific works that formed a royal library representing 6,000 or more

This cuneiform text is known as the Autobiography of Ashurbanipal; it recounts his early life and education prior to being crowned king.

texts. He also built extensively at his capitals of ASSHUR and Nineveh, decorating the palace at the latter site with new style sculptures portraying his military and hunting successes. (For relevant documents, see *ANET,* 294 – 300; cf. also A. K. Grayson in *CAH,* 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], 142 – 61.)

D.J.WISEMAN

Ashuri ash'uh-ri (אַשּׁוּרִי *H856).* Also Ashurite. The name of a region or of a people group in N Israel over whom ISH-BOSHETH, the son of SAUL, ruled in his brief reign of two years (2 Sam. 2:9). If the term refers to a place, its location is unknown. The reading "Geshurites" (Vulg. and Syr.), though accepted by some scholars, is probably incorrect, since it appears that GESHUR was independent at that time (2 Sam. 3:3; 13:37); neither can the name refer to the Assyrians (who had not yet occupied any part of Canaan) or to the Arabian ASSHURITES (Gen. 25:3; these inhabited regions outside of Israel). The TARGUM interprets the name as a reference to the tribe of ASHER, and some scholars agree by emending the text to read "Asherites." It has also been suggested that the term refers to a western enclave of this tribe (cf. D. Edelman in *PEQ* 117 [1985]: 85 – 91).

Ashurite ash'uh-rit. See ASHURI; ASSHURITES.

Ashurnasirpal II ash'uhr-nas'uhr-puhl (Assyr. *aššur-naṣir-apli,* "Ashur has guarded the heir"). King of ASSYRIA 884 – 859 B.C., son of Tukulti-Ninurta I, and father of SHALMANESER III. Although Ashurnasirpal continued the practice of raiding the tribes to the N (Mushki) and E of Assyria to keep the trade routes open, his main aim was the revival of Assyrian influence in the W. He invaded BitAdini, an Aramean state between the rivers Balih and EUPHRATES (cf. 2 Ki. 19:12; Ezek. 27:23; Amos 1:5). In a major expedition in 877 via CARCHEMISH and the ORONTES, he reached the Mediterranean and took tribute from TYRE, SIDON, Byblos (GEBAL), and Amurru (see AMORITES). This led directly to the subsequent marches to the W and to Israel by his successors.

Ashurnasirpal built extensive walls, temples, and a palace at Kalhu (CALAH, Gen. 10:11 – 12). The palace was decorated with bas-reliefs and paintings

Alabaster stela of Ashurnasirpal II discovered in Nimrud (9th cent. B.C.). It depicts the king with symbols of various gods, and includes a cuneiform inscription detailing his achievements.

describing his wars and hunts. A stela recounts the foundation of the city in 879 B.C., when 69,579 people were feasted for ten days (this figure is consistent with the number of inhabitants of NINEVEH as estimated in Jon. 4:11). The majority of these were the prisoners of war used in the construction work who formed the nucleus of the population. (Texts and translation in A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., 2* vols. [1991 – 96], 1:189 – 397.)

D.J.WISEMAN

Ashvath ash'vath (עַשְׁוָת *H6937,* perhaps "blind" or "unintelligent"). Son of Japhlet and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:33).

Asia ay'zhuh (Ἀσία *G823,* derivation uncertain). The ancient Greeks used this term in a general way to refer to the lands E of them, that is, the blunt peninsula later known as ASIA MINOR, as well as the

countries beyond it. (According to HERODOTUS, *Hist.* 4.45, many thought that Asia was named after the wife of Prometheus.) In the NT this name refers invariably to a Roman province that comprised nearly one-third of the W end of Asia Minor. To the NE lay BITHYNIA; to the E were GALATIA, LYCAONIA, and PISIDIA; to the SE, LYCIA. Such a description is geographical rather than political; the grouping of these areas within the Roman provincial system varied from time to time.

Asia was the richest and best endowed part of the great peninsula. It contained the whole western coastline and the adjacent islands. Its great cities were ancient seats and centers of Hellenic and Hellenistic civilization, with its science, philosophy, and literature. Its hinterland extended back over the old river valley trade routes to the heights of the Anatolian plateau. It was an area rich in natural resources and established industry. Its woolen fabrics, particularly from LAODICEA, were world famous. It had great harbors like that of SMYRNA, and from remote times had controlled the western termini of great arteries of trade and commerce that drew wealth from the central highlands and the depths of continental Asia.

Asia became a Roman province by an unexpected series of events. The western end of Asia Minor had always been subject to change. From the imperial days of the HITTITES to the heyday of PERSIA and the Seleucid successor empire of ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, authority centered further E and had found it difficult to control the European end of the peninsula. The independent Greek communities, with sympathies across the AEGEAN, may have been a factor in this unstable situation. The Athenian support of the Ionian revolt against Persia is an illustration from the middle of the 5th cent. B.C. But simple remoteness from the seat of power is sufficient explanation. The revolt of CYRUS, described in Xenophon's *Anabasis,* and the troubles of NEHEMIAH described in the OT are illustrations of this principle of imperial government (Edmund Burke dilated upon it in a speech urging moderation in dealing with the American colonists).

Out of the changing patterns of control and independence which the situation produced, the kingdom of PERGAMUM emerged in the 4th cent. B.C. to give something like two hundred years of comparative political stability. Under the Attalid line of kings (see ATTALUS), Pergamum was strong, prosperous, and firmly governed. Its rulers in the 2nd cent. were called upon to make fateful decisions. The eastern end of the Mediterranean was becoming aware of the growing power and significance of Rome. In her long quest for a stable frontier, Rome had been drawn into the Greek peninsula only to find that the Aegean Sea was no surer frontier than the Adriatic had proved. ANTIOCHUS III of Syria was as acutely aware of the fact as the Romans. He had watched the fall of the buffer area of metropolitan Greece with anxiety and was alarmed at the eastward flow of Roman power. Hence, he made a preventive thrust into Greece to anticipate Rome's establishment in old Hellenic territory as early as 190 B.C. With characteristic determination Rome met and frustrated his attack and finally defeated the king at Magnesia, deep in his own domains.

But it was obvious enough to the Roman Republic that Asia Minor was a broad land bridge reaching ominously W toward Europe. It was clear, too, that the stable frontier she sought was still elusive. After Magnesia, Rome overawed Bithynia, Galatia, and Pergamum, kingdoms that lay uncomfortably between the two rival powers; it also immunized the naval power of Rhodes, which in a maritime sense lay in a similar position of peril, and made her presence and her pressure felt along the whole tract of territory E of the Hellespont and the Bosporus. Rome was moving inevitably E. She had far to go.

In 133 B.C., Attalus III, last of the kings of Pergamum, recognizing the drift of history, solved his vexed problem of a successor by bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people. He stipulated that Pergamum and other Greek cities in his realm should be free from tribute, but the wealth of the area

still made it worthwhile for Rome to take up the legacy with alacrity. It was constituted the province of Asia. This was the worst period of Republican moral decadence, and the Roman officials and *publicani* fell on the rich land like vultures.

After half a century of suffering, a white-hot hatred of Rome found sanguinary expression when Mithridates rose against the Republic in 88 – 84 B.C. Over 80,000 Italian residents of Asia were massacred in one day. This situation explains the relief with which Asia accepted the rule of the emperors, when Rome's recurrent constitutional crises brought from the ruins of the Republic and its broken system the disguised, and finally patent, autocracy known popularly as the Empire, but more accurately as the Principate. Under the convenient fiction of partnership in authority, by which the provinces were divided into imperial and senatorial, Asia became a senatorial province with a proconsul, resident at EPHESUS, as its governor.

Tranquility returned, and no part of the Roman world was more dedicated to the power that made such comparative peace possible. Asia enthusiastically took up the state cult, the worship of the emperor and Rome (see EMPEROR WORSHIP). For the first two centuries of the Christian era, Asia was perhaps the most prosperous part of the empire. Fine monuments and noble ruins, together with the eulogies of Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides, and a wealth of significant coinage survive as evidence. The 3rd cent. brought decadence and a reorientation of the province, portentously, toward Constantinople rather than toward Rome. Roman history was moving E in another sense.

Asia was a complex of city territories, some of them maintaining the independence they had held since the days of the Pergamene kingdom. Urban councils and magistrates under a governor managed their affairs, often with the help of an officer

Asia Minor

appointed by the emperor. Nine administrative districts appear to have functioned, and unity was served by a *Koinon* or *commune Asiae,* a general assembly of all the cities in the province, which met consecutively in the chief urban centers each year and provided for the maintenance of the cult of Rome and Caesar.

PAUL's work at Ephesus established the Christian church in the province and secured the

primacy of this city. It was from Ephesus that JOHN THE APOSTLE administered the group of Christian communities to which he wrote his cryptic letters. This primacy of the great center of ARTEMIS worship was illustrated in A.D. 431 when the Third General Council of the church met in Ephesus, no doubt in the building whose ruins still stand near the great theater. Besides the seven churches of the apocalyptic letters, other Asian churches are mentioned or implied in the NT, for example, at TROAS, COLOSSE, and HiERAPOLis. The number increased greatly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. (Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 5.23 – 44 §§93 – 151; A. H. M.Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 2.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Asia Minor. The phrase *hē mikra Asia* (the Little Asia) was first used after NT times to denote the westernmost part of the Asian continent, that is, the peninsular mass between the AEGEAN Sea and the River EUPHRATES, and roughly equivalent to modern Turkey. It is also known as Anatolia (from Gk. *anatolē G424,* "rising [of the sun]," i.e., "east") and as the Levant (though the latter term usually includes the other countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean Sea). In the 2nd millennium B.C., the heartland of Asia Minor was the center of the great HITTITE empire, but the area was also home to various other people groups. During the 1st millennium B.C., it was frequently the scene of wars and political changes. By NT times, it had been organized into provinces under the Roman empire. See separate articles for the regions within Asia Minor mentioned or alluded to in the Bible: ASIA (which in the NT refers only to the westernmost Roman province), BITHYNIA, CAPPADOCIA, CARIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, LYCIA, LYDIA (PLACE), MYSIA, PAMPHYLIA, PISIDIA, PHRYGIA. Note also the articles on specific cities, such as ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, EPHESUS, PERGAMUM, TROAS, et al. (See S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* [2005].)

Asiarch ay'zhee-ahrk(Ἀσιάρχης *G825).* The word is used by the ASV and RSV as a straight transliteration of the Greek term in Acts 19:31 (NRSV, "officials of the province of Asia"; cf. also NIV). Similar officials are found in other provincial contexts; T. Mommsen *(The Provinces of the Roman Empire, 2* vols. [1886], 1:344 n., 346, 347 n.) mentions Galatarchs, Syriarchs, and Bithyniarchs. Little is known about this office, although it appears possible that the title was permanent, and that once a citizen had held the office, he continued to bear the honorary title. It is likely that a number of Asiarchs were in EPHESUS at the time of PAUL's clash with the guild of the silversmiths. Perhaps they functioned collectively, with the year's incumbent performing the duties of the office. Nor is it quite clear whether there was one Asiarch for each of the cities that formed the *Koinon* (community) of ASIA, the league of cities whose main function was the proper ordering and maintenance of the worship of Rome and the emperor. No part of the empire was as dedicated to EMPEROR WORSHIP as Asia. No doubt a certain power and dignity was attached to the office of Asiarch to which inscriptions bear testimony.

The puzzling feature of the story of the riot is the question of why the Asiarchs should seek to protect Paul from the devotees of ARTEMIS. Could it be that there was a certain tension at the time between the custodians of the imperial cult and the followers of Artemis, including those vested interests, religious and economic, that had grown up around the vast temple? W. M. Ramsay's comment is perceptive: "their friendly attitude is a proof both that the spirit of the imperial policy was not as yet hostile to the new teaching, and that the educated classes did not share the hostility of the superstitious vulgarity towards Paul…The eclectic religion which was fashionable at the time regarded new forms of cult with equanimity" *(St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen,* 14th ed.

[1920] 281). In other words, Luke's point in dwelling on the story is the same as that which he makes again and again in his book, that Christianity was not subversive. Like GALLIO, FELIX, FESTUS, and Agrippa II (see HEROD VIII), the Asiarchs add the weight of their testimony to Luke's contention that Paul was no rebel, nor was his teaching a menace to the Roman system.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Asibias as'uh-bi"uhs (Ασιβιας). One of the descendants of PAROSH who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (1 Esd. 9:26). He is called "Malkijah" in the parallel passage (Ezra 10:25 NIV, following MT), but there the SEPTUAGINT has *Asabia,* thus NRSV, "Hashabiah." See MALKIJAH ##4 – 6.

Asideans as'uh-dee'uhns. See HASIDEANS.

Asiel as'ee-uhl (עֲשִׂיאֵל *H6918,* prob. "God has made" [but see *HALOT,* 2:893]). (1) A Simeonite whose great-grandson, Jehu, is listed as a clan leader in the days of King HEZEKIAH (1 Chr. 4:35; cf. vv. 38 – 43).

(2) One of five scribes trained to "write rapidly" and commissioned to record the apocalyptic vision of EZRA on "many writing tablets" (2 Esd. 14:24; Latin, *Asihel).*

(3) An ancestor of TOBIT (Tob. *1:1, Asiēl).*

Asipha uh-sif'uh. KJV Apoc. form of HASUPHA (1 Esd. 5:29).

Askalon as'kuh-lon. NRSV Apoc. form of ASHKELON (1 Macc. 10:86 et al.).

Asklepius. See ASCLEPIUS.

Asmodeus az'moh-dee'uhs (Ασμοδαιος perhaps from Pers. *Aesma Daeva,* the Zoroastrian wrath demon). Also Asmodaeus. An evil spirit who plays an important role in the book of TOBIT. According to the account he fell in love with Sarah, the only daughter of Raguel of Ecbatana, and slew her seven successive husbands on their wedding night. His power over her was broken by Tobias, who, with the help of the angel Raphael, used a fish's liver and heart to drive Asmodeus away (Tob. 3:8, 17; 8:1 – 3). Some believe that the concept of Asmodeus is derived from ZOROASTRIANISM, with which the Jews became familiar during the exile. Asmodeus was prominent in later Jewish legend, especially in connection with Solomon. He appears in Milton's *Paradise Lost 4.*168 – 71.

Asmonaean az'muh-nee'uhn. See HASMONEAN.

Asnah as'nuh (אַסְנָה *H663,* perhaps "thornbush"). The head of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:50; 1 Esd. 5:31, LXX *Asana,* KJV "Asana").

Asnappar as-nap'uhr. KJV form of OSNAPPAR (ASHURBANIPAL).

Asom ay'suhm. KJV Apoc. form of HASHUM (1 Esd. 9:33).

asp. This English term is used by the KJV and other versions to translate most instances of Hebrew *peten H7352* (e.g., Isa. 11:8) and the one NT instance of Greek *aspis G835* (Rom 3:13). The Hebrew term probably refers to the cobra (cf. NIV), mainly the Egyptian, but also the closely related black-necked, or spitting, cobra. All references make clear that the reptile is venomous. In ancient Egypt the bite of the asp was used for suicide, suggesting that it belonged to the neurotoxic group (cobras), which kill quickly, rather than to the haemotoxic group (VIPERS), whose venom may take days to kill. Cobras have long been the traditional subject of snake charmers in Asia and Africa (cf. Ps. 58:4 – 5; in fact, all snakes are permanently deaf, and the charmer holds their attention by the movement of his pipe, not by its sound). See also SERPENT.

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aspalathus as-pal'uh-thuhs (ἀσπάλαθος). See CAMEL'S THORN.

Aspatha as-pay'thuh (אַסְפָּתָא *H672,* perhaps from a presumed Pers. name, *Aspa-pati,* "master horseman" [cf. R. Zadok in *ZAW* 98 [1986]: 105 – 10, esp. 107]). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:7).

asphalt. See BITUMEN.

Asphar as'fahr (Ασφαρ). A pool in the wilderness of TEKOA where Jonathan MACCABEE and his brother Simon encamped after fleeing from Bacchides (1 Macc. 9:33). Some scholars identify the site with modern Khirbet ez-Za(faran, about 5 mi. E of BETH ZUR.

Aspharasus as-fair'uh-suhs (Ασφαρασος). One of the leaders who returned from the EXILE with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 5:8; called MISPAR in Ezra 2:2 and MISPERETH in Neh. 7:7).

Asriel as'ree-uhl (אַשְׂרִיאֵל *H835,* meaning uncertain; gentilic אַשְׂרִאֵלִי *H834,* "Asrielite"). Son of GILEAD, great-grandson of MANASSEH, and eponymous ancestor of the Asrielite clan (Num. 26:31; Josh. 17:2). In 1 Chr. 7:14 (KJV, "Ashriel") he is described as the son (NIV, "descendant") of Manasseh through an Aramean concubine.

ass, donkey. The rendering of various Hebrew and Greek terms:)ātôn *H912,* "female donkey"; ḥămôr *H2791,* "[male] donkey"; (îr *H6554* [only Gen. 49:11] and (ayir *H6555,* "[young male] donkey, stallion"; (ārôd *H6871,* "wild ass"; *pere) H7230,* "wild ass"; *onos G3952,* "[male or female] donkey"; *onarion G3942,* "[young] donkey";pōlos *G4798,* "foal [of any animal]"). The English term *ass* is a very old word (from Latin *asinus,* prob. through Celtic), now generally obsolete except in biblical, figurative, and zoological usage. *Donkey,* a recent term (1785) of uncertain origin, has replaced it entirely for the domestic form. *Colt* is the young of a member of the horse tribe, almost synonymous with *foal. Heass* and *she-ass* are still used occasionally for male and female, correctly referred to as *stallion* and *mare. Jackass* is sometimes heard, and *hence jennyass* or *jenny,* more rarely. (See *FFB,* 5 – 7.)

I. Origin. The donkey is derived from the N African wild ass (*Equus asinus),* which once existed in

The donkey was a common mode of transportation and an important agricultural asset in antiquity.

several races from Somalia through the Libyan desert to Morocco. Three of these races survived into the Roman period: one in NW Africa; another in Nubia, between the NILE River and RED SEA; the third in Somalia. The first of these is extinct and the second probably so; the third is now protected and just survives. Ancient Egyptian evidence suggests that the donkey may have been used first in Libya, but its main development was in the Nile Valley, and the Nubian race is probably its main ancestor. Its domestication began at least in the early dynastic period (early 3rd millennium B.C.) and perhaps many centuries earlier than that. It is listed as being sent from Libya as tribute, and illustrated on panels c. 2650 B.C. As happened with other species also, domestication probably was attempted in several different areas, with subsequent mixing of the stock.

II. Description and uses. Gray and brown are the most common body colors, but there are true albinos, with no shoulder stripe, black, piebald, and skewbald. A few varieties may lack the vertical stripe on the shoulder, but most have both this and the clearly marked line along the back. The widespread legend that this stripe, forming a cross, dates from the Lord's entry into Jerusalem is pure fancy; this feature is inherited from the wild ancestor. Donkeys have now developed into many varieties, some as large as a thoroughbred horse, with others smaller than Shetland ponies. The home of the Nubian wild ass is semidesert mountain, so that it is both sure-footed and able to manage on poor forage. In contrast, the horse came from grassy plains, so it needs easier going and better food. For this reason the horse never replaced the donkey in hill country or even around the desert edge, and for many centuries the donkey has been the basic transport of poorer people, both nomadic and settled. Donkeys carried the loads and, at least for part of the journey, the women and children; the men seldom rode. In this way an average of 20 mi. a day could be maintained. The donkey spread slowly across Europe and did not reach Britain until medieval times (c. 10th cent.); although donkeys may still be seen widely in western Europe, they are used for serious working in only a few areas, including Ireland.

III. History of the donkey in Palestine and Mesopotamia. The donkey first appears in the biblical record at Gen. 12:16 among the gifts that Pharaoh gave Abram (ABRAHAM), but this was not Abram's first meeting with a donkey. The spread into Asia may have been slow, but there are records from Tell Duweir and Jericho during the early 3rd millennium B.C., and soon after this from all over Palestine and Syria. It is still uncertain when and where the donkey reached Mesopotamia. Tablets from Chagar Bazar (c. 1800 B.C.) list three different breeds and their rations, which proves it had been there for some time. This detail is important, for it relates to Abram and his journey from UR to CANAAN. The first part of the journey would have been from the EUPHRATES or TIGRIS Valley to HARAN, lying in the watershed between them. The stage across Syria to Palestine includes large stretches of near desert, which could not possibly be crossed by a large family party without the use of transport animals. Until the CAMEL came into service shortly afterward, pack donkeys were used for these desert crossings. (Cf. F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* [1963], ch. 15.)

IV. Importance to the Hebrews. The capacity to survive in hard, rough country made the donkey especially valuable in E Mediterranean lands. It had a range of uses, including grinding corn by using the grindstone (Matt. 24:41) and pulling simple plows; the OT gives no real evidence for the donkey pulling any wheeled vehicle (in Isa. 21:7, the KJVs "chariot of asses" should be "riders on donkeys"). Even a light wooden plow was more than one animal could manage efficiently, and since many households owned only one donkey, it was—and still is—usual to harness an ox and a donkey together. This was forbidden by the Mosaic law (Deut. 22:10), perhaps primarily for its moral lesson, but it was also humane, for these two have different gaits and do not work comfortably in a common yoke. Like all members of the horse tribe, the donkey was unclean for meat under the Mosaic law, because it has single hoofs and is not a ruminant. It was thus a measure of the people's desperation that a donkey's head was sold for eighty shekels (thirty-two ounces) of silver when BEN HADAD besieged SAMARIA (2 Ki. 6:25).

V. Significance in the biblical narrative. The main Hebrew words for "donkey" are not sharply differentiated in their usages, but *)ātôn* is found mostly in two incidents: the story of BALAAM (Num. 22) and the incident regarding the donkeys that belonged to SAUL's father (1 Sam. 9 – 10). Throughout the OT the donkey is portrayed as one of the basic possessions of the ordinary Hebrew, and out of 138 occurrences only a dozen are other than wholly literal. The many detailed instructions about the treatment of donkeys (e.g., Exod. 21:33) emphasize this point. There are also at least four injunctions about the safety of donkeys (Exod. 23:4 – 5, 12; Deut. 22:4), perhaps primarily because a poor owner's living depended on his single donkey, but there is also a humane content quite foreign to general sentiment in Arab lands today. The status of the donkey has changed little through the ages; it finds few mentions in NT, but it is notable that the Lord twice comments on the kind treatment of livestock, including donkeys (Lk. 13:15; 14:5).

Large numbers of donkeys are sometimes mentioned (e.g., Job 42:12, "a thousand"), but in most cases the word is singular, (e.g., Job 24:3, "they drive away the orphan's donkey"), giving the impression that the ordinary folk had just one. However, it was not thought undignified for wealthy men to ride on donkeys, and on two occasions it is specifically recorded that sons of the current judge of Israel did so (Jdg. 10:3 – 4; 12:13 – 14). Many similar cases are recorded (e.g., 2 Ki. 4:22). There is some evidence that in Palestine and surrounding countries it was correct in peacetime for a king to ride on a donkey, perhaps because the horse was so closely associated with war (cf. Zech. 9:9, echoed in Matt. 21:5). The use of donkeys on ceremonial occasions continued in some Muslim

countries; until the middle of the 20th cent., the family of the Sultan of Zanzibar rode on donkeys in processions. For four centuries the English word *ass* has been a metaphor for stupidity, but there is no hint of such a use in either OT or NT, even in two proverbial contexts (Prov. 26:3; Isa. 1:3). See also HORSE; MULE; WILD ASS.

G. S. CANSDALE

Assabias as'uh-b*i*"uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HASHABIAH (1 Esd. 1:9).

Assalimoth uh-sal'uh-moth. KJV Apoc. form of SHELOMITH (1 Esd. 8:36).

Assanias as'uh-n*i*"uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HASHABIAH (1 Esd. 8:54).

Assaphioth a-saf'ee-oth (Ασσαφιωθ). Head of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) that returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:33 NRSV [KJV, "Azaphion"]; called "Hassophereth" in Ezra 2:55).

Assar. See TEL ASSAR.

assarion (ἀσσάριον *G837).* The Greek term corresponding to the Roman *as,* a copper coin worth four quadrans and approximately one-sixteenth of a denarius (one day's wage for a laborer). The word, normally translated "penny," is used in the NT to signify a paltry amount (Matt. 10:29; Lk. 12:6, NIV "two pennies," could accurately be rendered "an hour's work").

assassins. This NRSV term (Acts 21:38; NIV, "terrorists") translates Greek *sikarios G4974* (from Lat. *sicarius,* meaning "dagger man, murderer"). It was a name given to, and borne by, fanatical Jewish nationalists who stood in the Maccabean tradition (see MACCABEE). Members of the band carried, hidden in their cloak, a dagger about the size of a Persian scimitar and curved like a Roman *sica.* Bold, courageous, and unscrupulous, bitterly opposed to the Roman overlords and to all collaborators with them, they mingled in the crowds (esp. on feast days), watched for an opportunity to wield their concealed weapons, and did not hesitate to kill even in open daylight. Roman rulers in Palestine had a healthy respect for them, and their bodyguards had to be on the constant alert against them. The very name *Sicarii* inspired terror in the countryside.

It is not known at what precise point in history they came on the scene, although JOSEPHUS traces their origin as far back as the onerous census levied in the governorship of QUIRINIUS (cf. Lk. 2:2). He wrote: "In those days the *Sicarii* banded together against those who consented to submit to Rome and in every way treated them as enemies, plundering their property, rounding up their cattle, and setting fire to their habitations, protesting that such persons differed not at all from Gentiles, by betraying in so cowardly a manner the hard-won liberty of the Jews and admitting their preference for the Roman yoke" (*War* 7.8.1).

There are occasional references to them in the historical record. A quisling, Jonathan, the son of the high priest Annas, was killed by them in cold blood. It appears that in A.D. 7 Judas the Galilean collected a band of the *Sicarii* and laid plans for an organized rebellion at Sepphoris, 4 mi. distant from Jesus' boyhood home at NAZARETH. The uprising was ruthlessly suppressed, and 2,000 of the rebels were crucified. It may be that the Lord had some early knowledge of them. They were active during the governorship of FELIX, who took strong measures against them; thus, Captain CLAUDIUS

LYSIAS sought to identify the apostle PAUL with an Egyptian leader who led 4,000 *Sicarii* into the wilderness (Acts 21:38). These men who took the law into their own hands played a leading role in the Jewish Wars. They held MASADA for a time and from that vantage point plundered the area. They eventually shifted their operations to Egypt and Cyrene and there continued their tactics of terror. See WAR, JEWISH; ZEALOT.

J. H. BRATT

assembly. See CONGREGATION.

Assembly, Great. See SYNAGOGUE, GREAT.

assembly, mount of. See CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF THE.

assembly, solemn. This phrase in the KJV and other English translations is the rendering of the Hebrew term *ʿăṣārâ H6809* (also *ʿăṣeret),* which implies the ceasing of work for a festive occasion (e.g., Num. 29:35; Deut. 16:8). It is normally used of sacred feasts, although in Jer. 9:2 (MT v. 1) it refers simply to an assemblage or crowd. The KJV also uses the phrase once (Zeph. 3:18) to translate the common Hebrew term *môʿēd H4595* (usually, "appointed time," as of a sacred season). The passage as a whole (Zeph. 3:8 – 20) is a comfort to the faithful in Israel. Therefore, as with all such promises, it refers to the coming of the MESSIAH and the institution of his kingdom (cf. Dan. 8:19 in reference to the end of the old covenant). The rendering "solemn assembly" is not wholly without merit, as long as the time of its appointment is maintained as the most important aspect of its meaning.

W.WHITE, JR.

Asshur ash'uhr (אַשּׁוּר *H855,* meaning uncertain). KJV and TNIV Ashur. One of the three sons of SHEM (Gen. 10:22; 1 Chr. 1:17; not to be confused with an Israelite named ASHHUR). His name was borne also by the patron deity, people, territory (cf. Gen 2:14), and capital city of ASSYRIA (out of almost 140 occurrences of the name in the OT, all but half a dozen or so are usually rendered "Assyria" or "Assyrians"). Asshur son of Shem was considered to be the founder of the Assyrian nation, whose king list refers to the earliest founders as tent-dwellers in the southern and western deserts (cf. Gen. 10:11). The name of the national god (often spelled Ashur) is not found in the Bible, although some see allusions to it (e.g., Num. 24:22 – 24; Ps. 83:8). It occurs as an element in many personal names (e.g., ASHURBANIPAL, ESARHADDON) and may well account for the name given to the capital city.

The ruins of the city of Asshur (modern Qalaʿat Sherqat) lie c. 56 mi. S of Mosul (NINEVEH) on the W bank of the TIGRIS River, bordering the great desert. Excavations by H. Rassam in 1853 and by the Deutsches Orient-Gesellschaft under R. Koldewey and W. Andrae (1903 – 14) reveal occupation of an archaic ISHTAR temple in Sumerian levels and during the Sargonic period, after it had

This gypsum block from Asshur (Ashur) is referred to as a foundation document; on it King Erishum I (c. 1900 B.C.) gave an account of the restoration of a temple dedicated to the Assyrian deity Ashur.

probably fallen to Sargon of Agade c. 2350 B.C. About this time the city is named in Old Assyrian texts, and from that time until it fell to the Medes and Babylonians (614 B.C.) it held an important place as a religious and political center. ShamshiAdad I built a temple to the god ENLIL, while the older shrine with its distinctive twin-towered ZIGGURAT dedicated to Anu and Adad was constantly renovated. A library of Middle Assyrian documents, including religious and legal texts collected by TIGLATH-PILESER I (1100 B.C.), is the primary literary source for this period of history. The graves of Neo-Assyrian kings and the New Year festival house built for the annual ritual outside the main city have also been uncovered.

D.J.WISEMAN

Asshurim ash'uh-rim. See ASSHURITES.

Asshurites ash'uh-r*i*'ts (אַשּׁוּרִים *H857).* Also Ashurites, Asshurim. An Arabian tribe descended (along with the LETUSHITES and LEUMMITES) from ABRAHAM and KETURAH through DEDAN (Gen. 25:3). They are not related to ASSHUR and the Assyrians.

Assideans as'uh-dee'uhns. See HASIDEANS.

Assir as'uhr (אַסִּיר *H661,* possibly "captive"). (1) Son of KORAH and descendant of LEVI (Exod. 6:24; 1 Chr. 6:22).

(2) A son of Ebiasaph (see ABIASAPH) and grandson of #1 above (1 Chr. 6:23, 37). Some scholars believe these genealogical lists are textually corrupt and that there was only one Assir.

(3) According to the KJV, a son of Jeconiah (i.e., JEHOIACHIN, 1 Chr. 3:17), king of Judah. Most scholars, however, regard the Hebrew word here not as a proper name, but as an adjective (cf. NIV, "Jehoiachin the captive").

ASSOS as'os (Ἄσσος *G840)*. Also Assus. A strategic strongpoint and city on the Gulf of Adramyttium in MYSIA, facing S toward the island of Lesbos. It is the modern Bahram Köi. Assos controlled the coastal road, over 20 mi. of which PAUL journeyed on foot (Acts 20:13 – 14), while his traveling companions rounded Cape Lectum by sea. The geographer Strabo *(Geogr.* 13.1.57) described the fortifications of the port. Its defenses and public buildings lay on a steep hillside rising to over 700 ft., terraced in a unified architectural scheme and connected with the artificial harbor beneath by a long stairway. Considerable remnants are visible, and some fine sculptures from Assos' temple of Athena are housed in Paris.

In the 4th cent. B.C. the port was the headquarters of a school of Platonic philosophers, among whom the great Aristotle was numbered. CLEANTHES, the Stoic, was born there. The ancient harbor has disappeared and is now cultivated ground, but the port still functions. Assos was part of the domain of the Pergamenian kings (see PERGAMUM) and later a port of the province of ASIA. Paul made his way from TROAS to Assos on foot for reasons not detailed in Luke's narrative. It may be supposed that, deeply burdened by the responsibilities of his Jerusalem journey and the growing evidence of global and united Jewish opposition both to the gospel and to Rome, he sought solitude for thought and meditation. (E. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* [1980], ch. 1.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Assuerus. azh'yoo-er'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of AHASUERUS (Tob. 14:15).

Assumption of Isaiah. See ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.

Assumption of Moses. See MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.

Assumption of the Virgin. In Roman Catholic doctrine, this term refers to that "privilege" of MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS, by which, having completed the course of her earthly life, she was "assumed" body and soul into heavenly glory. It is based on an apocryphal legend, the oldest evidence for which consists of 4th-cent. patristic quotations. (For a translation of the primary documents, see J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1993], 691 – 723.) Catholic biblical scholars today readily admit that there is no explicit reference to the assumption of Mary in the NT. They will even say that neither the NT nor any other early source (such as the APOSTOLIC FATHERS) gives us any genuinely historical information about the life of Mary subsequent to the episode mentioned in Acts 1:14. Most Catholic scholars now make it clear that Mary's assumption is not to be understood as historical fact, and they admit that what kind of existence is implied, and where, is not easy to determine. Nevertheless, Pope Pius XII in his 1950 encyclical *Munificentissimus Deus* used his infallible teaching authority to make the dogma of the assumption *de fidei* for all Roman Catholics. He insisted that in some sense the Scriptures must be seen as the ultimate foundation of the dogma. Catholic biblical scholars have thus sought implicit support for this teaching in the pages of the NT.

Mary's assumption is broadly based on 1 Cor. 15:14 – 22, which speaks of the basis for the resurrection of all Christians. Two other verses, however, traditionally have been used as the foundation for Roman Catholic thinking about the assumption: (1) In Lk. 1:28 (where Mary is addressed by the angel as being "full of grace") the term "grace" is interpreted in Aristotelian-Thomistic categories. This verse "anticipates" Mary's assumption because fullness of grace raises Mary beyond such imperfections of ordinary humanity as the grave. (2) In Lk. 1:42, the words "God's

blessing is on you above all women" (NEB) are seen as specifically achieved in her assumption. Other verses frequently seen as offering implicit support for the dogma are Rev. 12:1 (where devotional piety saw Mary as the "woman clothed with the sun") and Gen. 3:15 (where Mary is seen as the woman whose seed will bruise the serpent's head). Catholic writers also have meditated upon the idea of Mary as the new EVE (the old Eve was the first to experience death; the new Eve was the first to be delivered from death by Christ). For patristic and later theological developments, and for the debate over the death of Mary *(transitus Mariae),* see W. Burghardt, *The Testimony of the Patristic Age Concerning Mary's Death* (1957), and T. O'Meara, *Mary in Protestant and Catholic Theology* (1965). Protestants, too, see the dogma of the assumption as a result of postbiblical devotional piety and can even appreciate the factors that led to its rise. But no matter how much Christians may revere Mary, Protestants will insist that such a dogma should not be treated as a doctrine of the Christian faith. L. R.

L.R.KEYLOCK

Assur as'uhr. (1) KJV alternate form of ASSHUR (Ezra 4:2; Ps.83:8; NRSV and NIV, "Assyria"). (2) KJV Apoc. form of ASUR (1 Esd. 5:31).

assurance. The Christian doctrine of assurance is an essential ingredient of personal FAITH. Faith is the kind of knowledge of God in Christ that carries within it an absolute confidence that what it knows is surely true, and therefore, completely trustworthy and reliable. PAUL knew whom he had believed, and was therefore persuaded that Christ was able to keep what Paul had committed to him, against the day of destruction (2 Tim. 1:12).

Because the content of the assured knowledge of faith is good news, assurance is a profound sense of relief and a buoyant sense of joyous freedom. Faith is confident of the good news that God in Christ has once and for all, and in a manner that cannot be undone, overcome sin, death, judgment, and hell, and provided a freedom from the past that justifies and forgives and opens up the future to eternal life. The believer, therefore, experiences a joyful sense of liberation. Assurance is the quiet joy and joyous cry that nothing can separate the believer from the love of God in Christ. Knowledge without assurance is a contradiction in terms, as faith without certainty would be spiritual torture. The Christian who believes that faith is a risk, a leap in the dark, a decision made against the odds, is of all men most miserable, for it is then himself, his life, and his future which is at stake, being suspended on a hairline of uncertainty between heaven and hell, life and destruction. Nor does faith, understood as a human decision, carry the needed assurance, for the assurance is then grounded merely in a human action.

The assurance that characterizes Christian faith derives not from the believer, nor from his believing action, but from the object in which it believes. Nor does assurance rest on extrabiblical evidence. The certainty and absolute confidence that adheres in faith derives rather from the nature of that word of God to which the Holy Spirit bears witness. The word of God imparts to faith its knowledge, and no less that word imparts the quality of its own inherent certainty and truthfulness. There is no adequate external evidence to support faith. Faith rests upon that internal evidence of the word of God that gives rise to faith, and by which the knowledge and assurance of faith is shaped and informed. It is the word that creates faith, and it creates faith in its own image.

In actual life, however, the believer is often anxious, vacillating between faith and doubt. The joyous, liberating assurance of faith is often lacking in the true believer's life. He is often caught between storms without and doubts within. This lack of assurance does not flow, however, from the

nature of faith, but from his disbelief and faithlessness. Therefore, he often must cry, "I do believe; help me overcome my unbelief" (Mk. 9:24). But being a believer he lives by faith not by sight, by faith in God's history in Jesus Christ and not by his own internal or external experiences. Though the night of struggle be long, he knows that joy will come in the morning. Even when the judgment of God is upon him, he cries, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him" (Job 13:15, KJV), as did Christ himself on the cross.

J.DAANE

Assyria and Babylonia uh-sihr'ee-uh, bab'uh-loh'nee-uh. Two ancient kingdoms of MESOPOTAMIA. While Babylonia, the southern kingdom, occupied the plain between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, Assyria was generally bounded on the W by the Syrian desert, on the S by Babylonia, and on the N and E by the Armenian and Persian hills. The name of Assyria was also used to refer to the Assyrian empire, which reached its zenith in the 8th to 7th cent. B.C. and included Babylonia, ELAM, MEDIA, SYRIA, PALESTINE, and ARABIA, along with S ANATOLIA, CILICIA, and EGYPT.

Both Assyria and Babylonia enjoyed a long and impressive history. They shared a common Semitic language known as Assyro-Babylonian or Akkadian. An advanced civilization developed in Babylonia around 3000 B.C., and Babylonia remained more or less the cultural center of Mesopotamia until the 6th cent. B.C. Thus the two civilizations have much in common and are, in some ways, inextricably linked. Politically, however, power oscillated back and forth between them, Assyria being generally the leading power, especially in the period 900 – 600 B.C. This is the period in which Assyria figures prominently as an invader and oppressor in the biblical narrative, where Assyria is always carefully distinguished from Babylonia. See also ASSHUR; BABYLON.

4. Social life

I. Physical geography. The most important physical features of both Assyria and Babylonia are, of course, the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES river systems. Life in both kingdoms depended heavily upon the flow of the rivers and, in many cases, was at the mercy of the rivers. They figured largely in economic, social, and religious life. Vast irrigation and canal networks from ancient times are discernible in both areas.

Babylonia consists mainly of alluvial deposits from the two great rivers, and in its more southerly parts near the Persian Gulf it is very marshy. Assyria, on the other hand, is on a higher, and therefore drier, plateau. This plateau is broken by a number of ridges and secondary rivers. It lacks water for a considerable part of the year, and were it not for the canals, little of the rich and varied plant life cultivated there in ancient times could have survived. The climate of Assyria is a strongly continental one, the summer heat being oppressive, while the winter can bring frost and snow. Only a comparatively small portion of Assyria is habitable, and the wilderness regions provided an abundance

This cuneiform document, known as the Synchronistic History, deals with the relations and boundaries between Assyria and Babylonia from the 14th to the 8th cent. B.C.

of wild animal life which, according to many of the ancient texts, was the object of many hunting expeditions. The rivers provided a stock of fish, and the general landscape was suitable for grazing sheep, goats, and cattle. The mountains of Assyria provided ample building materials and also contained rich mineral deposits that were more or less systematically exploited by the ancients.

The main cities of Assyria were ASSHUR (often spelled Ashur; modern name, Qal)at Sharqat), the ancient capital, then NINEVEH or Ninua (Quyunjiq), CALAH (also Kalakh or Kalhu, now Nimrud), Arba)ilu (Irbil), Kakzu (Sadawah), Arrapkha (Kirkuk), MARI (Tell el-Hariri), HARAN (Harran), and Nasibina (Nesibin).

II. History

A. Prehistoric period. According to archaeological evidence, villages based on agriculture and shepherding seem to have developed first in the foothills of the Zagros mountains in Assyria. One of the earliest sites is Jarmo (c. 5000 B.C.), whose earliest existence was prior to the invention of POTTERY. A more advanced culture called Hassuna (after the site by that name) then spread over all of Assyria, and this was followed by the Tell Halaf culture, known for its use of COPPER and beautifully painted pottery. The Tell Halaf culture spread through Assyria and as far W as the Mediterranean. Tell Halaf culture, along with the similar Samarra culture somewhat to the SE, was replaced by the so-called Ubaid culture, which extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

While actual human settlements appear to be earlier in Assyria than in Babylonia, Gen. 10:11 – 12 does inform us that Asshur, Nineveh, and Calah, where pottery from the Hassuna to the Ubaid periods (c. 5000 – 3000 B.C.) has been found, were founded by immigrants from Babylonia. The origin of the actual population of Assyria is disputed, but southern influence seems to be inescapable, and there is also evidence of influence from the western deserts and the northern hills. There is little doubt that the Sumerians were present at Asshur by 2900 B.C. See SUMER.

Following the Ubaid period, the N and the S underwent different development. While the S took strong steps toward what is called the protoliterate period, the N passed through the Gawra and Ninevite stages of her prehistory with little innovation. Some building activity by kings of the Akkadian dynasty in the S took place in Assyria. In particular, we may mention that Sargon (c. 2350) built up Nineveh, and a building inscription of Amar-Su)en of UR (c. 2040 B.C.) has been found in Asshur.

B. Early period (to 900 B.C.) Not until the fall of the empire of Ur does Asshur really emerge from prehistory, however. According to an Assyrian king list, Assyria was now governed by independent rulers. Of the first thirty kings on this list, nothing is known from other sources, but beginning with the thirty-first king, Ilu-shuma, Assyria is brought to some measure of prominence. Outstanding among the various achievements was the establishment of trade colonies in Anatolia centered on Kültepe (near Caesarea Mazaca in Turkey). Tin and textiles were exported to Anatolia in exchange for silver. These colonies continued for some seventy years into the reign of Shar-rum-kin I, the thirty-fifth king on the list. The thirty-seventh king in the list is called Naramsin and is probably to be identified with the king of that name ruling over Eshnunna.

The next king was dethroned by Shamshi-Adad (1813 – 1781 B.C.), who came from Terqa on the middle Euphrates and who had already conquered Mari. Shamshi-Adad built temples in Asshur and

The Assyrian Empire.

established Shubat-Enlil as a new capital. The reigns of Shamshi-Adad in Assyria and HAMMURABI in Babylon overlapped for a period of about ten years. The death of Shamshi-Adad was a setback for Assyria and was to the advantage of Hammurabi. Shamshi-Adad's oldest son, IshmeDagan, succeeded him as the fortieth king in the list, and he evidently suffered defeat at the hands of neighboring peoples. Through various military operations, in fact, Hammurabi was, for the last ten years of his reign (c. 1800-c. 1760), able to rule over the entire area from the Persian Gulf to Mari and the Zagros mountains including Asshur. Hammurabi's united kingdom continued more or less intact for five generations of the dynasty which he founded, but eventually it broke up and Asshur regained independence.

Little is known of Assyria for approximately the next two centuries except that probably part of it, at least, was under the rule of the MITANNI kingdom. The letters of Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (AKHENATEN, c. 1360 B.C.) of Egypt found at TELL EL AMARNA speak of a system of great powers including Egypt, Mitanni, the HITTITE kingdom, Babylonia, and most probably also Assyria. Ashur-uballit I was the Assyrian king of the Amarna period, and together with the Hittites he destroyed the Mitanni kingdom and thereby established Assyrian rule in northern Mesopotamia. For the centuries following this time, rivalry between Assyria and Babylonia is characteristic. From Ashur-uballit down to about 1200 B.C., Assyria was the more powerful of the two, and Ashur-uballit played an active role in Babylonian politics.

Three very powerful kings followed Ashuruballit in the 13th cent. B.C., namely Adad-nirari I (1308 – 1275), Shalmaneser I (Shulman-asharid, 1275 – 1245), and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1245 – 1208). All three of these kings conducted significant military campaigns, and each was, in his own way, an empire builder. Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser both fought against the western part of northern Mesopotamia and won these areas as part of their empires. Tukulti-Ninurta gained a decided victory over the Kassite kingdom in Babylonia and evidently ruled over Babylonia for a time himself. He built a new palace in Asshur and later established a new capital across the Tigris from Asshur.

Assyrian power waned for a time after the death of Tukulti-Ninurta but was revived again by the rise of TIGLATH-PILESER I (Tukulti-apil-ešarra, 1115 – 1077 B.C.). Tiglath-Pileser expanded the bounds of the Assyrian empire further than any other leader before him, reaching as far W as the coast

of SYRIA, having successfully defeated various Aramean tribes. After the death of Tiglath-Pileser, Assyrian power once again declined, and during this time the Arameans in the W were able to found a kingdom centered on Damascus and were even able to put pressure on the borders of Assyria. See ARAM (COUNTRY).

C. Neo-Assyrian period (c. 900 – 612 B.C.). Assyria rises again, however, under the leadership of Ashur-dan II (933 – 910), Adad-nirari II (910 – 889), and Tukulti-Ninurta II (889 – 884). Ashurnasirpal II (Ashur-nasir-apli II, 884 – 859) and Shalmaneser III (Shalman-Asharid II, 859 – 824), in particular, led Assyria in a newperiod of expansion.

ASHURNASIRPAL subjugated the Aramean tribes of Mesopotamia and campaigned not only to the Mediterranean coast but also northward and into the Zagros mountains in the E. From this point on, Assyria exerted a continuous pressure on the W, and this eventually brought her into conflict with Israel. Ashurnasirpal built a new capital at Calah (Nimrud); his palace, decorated with the first known Assyrian relief art, was one of the first to be excavated in the 19th cent. More than 50,000 captives were used for the building of Calah, and besides artists, trained men also were employed in maintaining a park and various gardens.

SHALMANESER III, Ashurnasirpal's son, was able to hold the gains previously made and to advance the empire further. Of particular interest for OT studies is his confrontation with a coalition of ten kings headed by Bar Hadad I (prob. biblical BEN HADAD II, throne name Adad-ʾidri, i.e., Hadadezer) of DAMASCUS at Qarqar in 853 B.C. The Assyrian annals note that AHAB of Israel supplied 2,000 chariots and 14,000 men for the battle *(ANET,* 278 – 81). Not until after the death of Ben Hadad and Ahab was Damascus seriously besieged, and even then it was not taken. JEHU of Israel, along with other rulers, had to pay tribute to Shalmaneser *(ANET,* 281). Shalmaneser also conducted campaigns in the N and seized an opportunity to meddle in Babylonian affairs, making tributary the Arameans dwelling near the Persian Gulf.

Near the end of Shalmaneser's reign, his eldest son led a revolt against him, but the revolt was suppressed by his second son, Shamshi-Adad V, who ruled for a time (824 – 810 B.C.). Shamshi-Adad died young and his widow, Sammuramat (classical Semiramis), assumed control until their son, Adadnirari III (810 – 782), was of age. Assyria made little real advance under the leadership of Adad-nirari. He built a new palace at Calah, and affairs were generally peaceful there. By attacking HAZAEL of Damascus in 804, Adad-nirari relieved Israel of the attacks of Aram (2 Ki. 12:17; 2 Chr. 24:23 – 24) and also probably enabled JOASH to recover certain towns previously lost to Hazael (2 Ki. 13:25).

Adad-nirari died young and without descendants, which created some difficulty over succession. Thus there was some internal dissension in Assyria during the reign of Shalmaneser IV (781 – 772 B.C.), whose control was thereby weakened. He continued the policy of pressure against Damascus, and this may have contributed to JEROBOAM II's ability to expand the border of Israel to the "entrance of Hamath" (see 2 Ki. 14:25 – 28 RSV; NIV, LEBO HAMATH). Asshur-Dan III suffered a painful defeat in the N, an event marked by an ominous eclipse of the sun in 763, a date which therefore became important in Assyrian chronology.

In 745 B.C., TIGLATH-PILESER III (2 Ki. 15:29; 16:7 – 10), otherwise known as Tiglath-Pilneser (1 Chr. 5:6; 2 Chr. 28:20) or Pul(u) (2 Ki. 15:19; 1 Chr. 5:26), usurped the Assyrian throne and ruled for eighteen years. He was the son of Adad-nirari III and was able to establish a vast empire reaching from the Persian Gulf to the Armenian mountains and including Syria and Palestine. In a manner more or less typical of various Assyrian rulers, Pul deported conquered peoples and thereby established a

strong central administration. The history of Pul's exploits is somewhat fragmentary, but the Assyrian Eponym Canon lists for us the primary events.

Pul's first expedition was directed against the Arameans in Babylonia, and with some struggle, the Chaldean chief, Marduk-aplaiddina (MERODACHBALADAN) submitted. He campaigned against the N Syrian city states under Urartian rule beginning in 743 B.C. ARPAD was besieged for three years, and during this time Tiglath-Pileser collected tribute money from CARCHEMISH, HAMATH, TYRE, Byblos (GEBAL), REZIN of Damascus, MENAHEM of Samaria (see 2 Ki. 15:19 – 20), and other rulers. Interestingly, Menahem hoped his vassalage to Assyria would strengthen his own position, but in fact, because of it, Israel was eventually annexed to Assyria. Northern Syria was eventually organized as an Assyrian province called Unqi, and "Judeans" are mentioned as captives settled in Ullubu. They were probably taken after the death of Azariah (UZZIAH) of Judah, who for a time controlled some Aramean states in S Syria (2 Ki. 15:7).

With mounting opposition to Assyria, TiglathPileser again marched into the W (734 B.C.) and plundered various Phoenician seaports, imposing heavy tribute payments on ASHKELON and GAZA. The army stopped only at the "River of Egypt," and Rezin of Damascus, AMMON, EDOM, MOAB, and AHAZ of Judah all paid tribute (2 Chr. 28:19 – 21).

Judah began to receive attacks from Rezin of Damascus and PEKAH of Israel, along with Edomites and Philistines (2 Ki. 16:5 – 6; 2 Chr. 28:17, 18), but received little help from Assyria. When Damascus fell to the Assyrians in 732 B.C., Metenna of Tyre capitulated, and all of Israel was taken. TiglathPileser evidently arranged for the replacement of Pekah by HOSHEA on the throne of Israel (cf. 2 Ki. 15:30). Tiglath-Pileser lent some assistance to Ahaz, for which he probably had to make some concessions (2 Ki. 16:7 – 16). He extended his rule over ARABIA, the SABEANS, and Idibail (cf. ADBEEL, Gen. 25:13), and built a palace for himself at Calah.

SHALMANESER V (727 – 722 B.C.; throne name, Ululai) continued the same policy of war in the W as did his father, Tiglath-Pileser III. The most outstanding event of his reign was the failure of Hoshea of Israel to pay tribute after listening to promises of help from Egypt (2 Ki. 17:4). This resulted in the siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser, and according to the Babylonian Chronicle, the resistance of the city of Shamarʾin (Samaria?) was broken after three years (cf. v. 5). According to 2 Ki. 17:6, the king of Assyria who defeated Samaria took Israelite captives to the region of the upper Euphrates and Media. Interestingly, SARGON II, the successor of Shalmaneser V, claims the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. as his own victory, and it may be that Shalmaneser and Sargon together completed the capture of Samaria (v. 6 seems to permit this reconstruction).

Sargon II (722 – 705 B.C.), who succeeded Shalmaneser V, begins the last dynasty of Assyria. This dynasty is referred to as the Sargonid dynasty and, besides Sargon, includes Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. These four kings were outstandingly gifted, and under their rule, the Assyrian empire reached its absolute zenith. The annals of the kings, the Babylonian Chronicle, and certain state letters found at Nineveh, serve as sources for the history of the Sargonids.

Sargon fought many wars to enlarge the empire, and in particular he records that over 27,000 people were deported from the region of Samaria. The exact date cannot be determined, but the event broke Israel as an independent nation. The southern kingdom of Judah under HEZEKIAH was able to survive longer by paying tribute.

Sargon met the Egyptian armies of Raphia and defeated them there. Nevertheless, the Palestinians continued to lean on Egypt for support, and the events of this time figure largely in the prophecies of Isaiah. The Philistine towns of Ashdod and Gath were sacked by Sargon in 715 B.C., and he claims also to have subjugated Judah, though the OT does not refer to this event. Sargon

campaigned further in Syria and Cilicia and also against the Mannai. In the S, Sargon invaded Elam and sacked Susa and called himself "governor" of Babylon. Sargon first lived at Calah in Assyria, but in 713 he began building a new palace at Dur-šarrukin, "fortress of Sargon" (Khorsabad). Before he could complete the palace, however, he died in a campaign in Iran in 705. The palace with its many reliefs and inscriptions has been excavated.

SENNACHERIB (Sin-ahhe-eriba; 705 – 681 B.C.) succeeded to the throne upon his father's death and immediately became involved in suppressing revolts within Assyria itself. His other expeditions reached as far W as Cilicia, where Tarsus was captured in 698 B.C. Sennacherib differed from his father mainly in his attitude toward Babylonia. MERODACH-BALADAN (Marduk-apla-iddina) seized power in Babylonia in 703 B.C. with the help of Elam, but within a short time Sennacherib was able to defeat the coalition of Elamites, Babylonians, and Chaldeans. MerodachBaladan fled. Sennacherib then installed a man of his own choosing on the Babylonian throne. It was probably during his short reign that MerodachBaladan asked HEZEKIAH for help, a suggestion that Isaiah deplored (2 Ki. 20:2 – 19). In 701 Sennacherib marched W through Syria to besiege Sidon and then S to attack Ashkelon. He also conquered Lakhish (LACHISH) at this time (2 Ki. 18:13 – 14). The date of his attack on Jerusalem is not certain, but it seems probable that it was also at this time. According to both the biblical evidence (2 Ki. 19:35) and HERODOTUS *(Hist.* 2.141), the Assyrians attacked suddenly and withdrew.

Further operations were carried out in Babylonia in the years following 700 B.C. Sennacherib had to suppress revolts there and, in order to punish the Elamites for the help they had given the Babylonians, he had Phoenician and Ionian sailors manning Syrian and Assyrian ships as they sailed down the Tigris and Euphrates for the attack on ELAM. The war went on for several years with varying fortunes until Babylon was finally conquered in 689 B.C. The city was looted, destroyed, and flooded by a diversion of the river. It remained a wasteland for the remainder of Sennacherib's reign, and the god MARDUK was taken to Asshur.

Early in his reign, Sennacherib abandoned Duršarrukin and lived first in Asshur, then in Nineveh. Nineveh remained the capital of Assyria from this time onward. Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh was elaborately adorned with lively reliefs. The engineering skills of the time are also shown in the dams and aqueducts (esp. at Jerwan), which were built to insure a good water supply for the large parks and gardens around the city. Many captives, including Jews, were employed in these projects. In 681 B.C. Sennacherib was murdered by one or more of his sons. The details of the event are not clear and there appears to be some discrepancy between the OT and the Assyrian accounts (cf. *DOTT,* 70 – 73).

ESARHADDON (680 – 669 B.C.), Sennacherib's son, had served as viceroy in Babylon, and when he followed his father on the Assyrian throne he immediately began to rebuild Babylon and restore the temples in other Babylonian cities. In the N, Esarhaddon came into considerable conflict, not only with the CIMMERIANS, but also with another Asian people, the SCYTHIANS (Ishkuzza). The Cimmerians posed such a threat that Esarhaddon gave his daughter as a wife to Bartatua (Herodotus calls him Protothyas), the king of the Scythians, in order to obtain help. In the W, Esarhaddon continued to exact tribute from the various city states, but with increasing difficulty. It was TIRHAKAH of Egypt who promoted opposition to Esarhaddon, but he swiftly replied with increased levies, which he used for his constructions at Calah and Babylon. Assyrian records name MANASSEH (Menasi), as being obliged to pay tribute to Esarhaddon, and the OT indicates that he was taken captive to Babylon for a time (2 Chr. 33:11).

The way was now open for a full-scale attack on Egypt itself. The first campaign in 673 B.C. failed, but in 672 the Egyptians under Tirhakah (Taharqa, Tarku) were defeated, Memphis and

Thebes were taken, and Assyrian governors were installed. Thus, for a time at least, Assyria's dream of controlling the NILE delta was fulfilled. Esarhaddon then sought to consolidate and secure his power. He appointed Ashurbanipal as crown prince of Assyria and Shamashshumukin as crown prince of Babylonia. He spelled out his terms of vassalage, and all of the rulers, no doubt including Manasseh, had to swear eternal allegiance to Asshur (cf. 2 Ki. 21:2 – 7, 9). Nevertheless, revolts did break out in the empire, and it was while Esarhaddon was on his way to Egypt to suppress a revolt there that he died and was succeeded by his sons. (For the subsequent history, see BABYLON V.D.)

III. Language and literature

A. Language. The language of ancient Assyria and Babylonia, called Assyro-Babylonian or Akkadian, belongs to the E Semitic group of languages (see LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.A). The Akkadian system of writing was borrowed from Sumerian, the world's oldest written language. This CUNEIFORM script is not alphabetic but rather ideographic and phonetic. There were over 600 characters, each of which had one or more values. The combination of two characters could also have several values. The characters were inscribed in the soft clay of the writing tablets with a wedge-shaped instrument (see WRITING).

Assyro-Babylonian is the earliest recorded Semitic language; its history extends from c. 2400 B.C. into the 1st cent. A.D. and has been found anywhere from Persepolis to Egypt. Akkadian replaced Sumerian as a spoken language in the 3rd millennium B.C., though Sumerian, which is not Semitic, continued as a written language especially for religious purposes almost as long as Akkadian survived.

B. Literature. Among the vast quantity of tablets found, interesting types of word lists from the protoliterate period occur frequently. These are more or less standardized lists of the names of gods as well as of other words and concepts. The purpose seems to have been encyclopedic, as well as, perhaps, to provide spelling guides to pupils. From Old Babylonian times and on, these lists evidently served as vocabularies, Akkadian translations being added. Many of these vocabularies were arranged in three columns: the pictograph was in the middle column, the Sumerian pronunciation was given in syllabic form on the left, and the Akkadian equivalent, also in syllabic form, was given on the right. Some tablets contained a fourth column explaining the Akkadian word. Lists of Akkadian synonyms have also been found, as have paradigms of Sumerian words with Akkadian translations. Much of this literature must have been used for instruction in schools, though the actual encyclopedic character of the lists should not be forgotten.

Out of the earliest royal inscriptions, which were very simple, the Assyrians in particular developed a kind of literary form known as *annals.* The annals give detailed records of a king's exploits for any particular year. These are given in the third person and indicate that the Assyrians were able to take a more or less "objective" approach to historiography. The *chronicles are* similar to the king lists in their objectivity, but are more characteristic of Babylonia than of Assyria.

In Assyria there are, as well, certain chronological works referred to as "date lists" or "limmu lists." The chronological system of Assyria consisted in naming each year after a person who held the position of *limmu* or eponym. The king usually served as *limmu* for one year of his reign, but various other high officials in the government could also hold this office. For this system to be usable, it was, of course, necessary to keep a record of their sequence. Thus, various *limmu* lists have been found in addition to the king lists. One problem posed by these lists is that contemporary and overlapping

dynasties are given as though they were successive.

Religious literature is also well represented by various sets of tablets. These tablets usually contain omens gained from the inspection of such things as the liver of animals, or the movements and appearances of men, birds, animals, and planets. Along with these are texts recording observations concerning medicine, botany, chemistry, mathematics, geology, and law.

In addition to the materials noted above, a large quantity of literary compositions, in the true sense of the term, have been found. This includes myths, epics concerning the early kings, lamentations, hymns, tales, parables, and wisdom literature. One of the outstanding mythological texts is the so-called Epic of GILGAMESH, which tells of the search Gilgamesh made for eternal life and refers to the survival of Ut(a)napishtim through a flood by means of a specially built boat. There is also the Epic of Creation, called ENUMA ELISH ("When the gods") after its opening words, which tells of how Marduk slew the monster Tiamat and created the world out of her body. An epic giving the Descent of Ishtar into the underworld also exists. There are also a number of legends including that of Sargon of Agade, who was saved at birth by means of a reed basket placed on the Euphrates River. (This account has been compared with the OT record of Moses' survival.) There is also a legend of Etana, who flew to heaven on an

Assyrian limestone box with foundation tablets (c. 870 B.C., from Balawat, near Nimrud). These cuneiform texts give the titles and achievements of Ashurnasirpal II.

eagle, and the legend of Ena, the god who fought against Babylon. The wisdom literature includes the poem of the righteous sufferer, the so-called Babylonian Job, as well as many other works.

IV. Religion. In most respects, Babylonian and Assyrian religion differed little; indeed, the latter was derived from the former. This article will contain a general review of the basic features, a survey of the Mesopotamian pantheon, and a brief discussion of Ashur (also spelled ASSHUR), the Assyrian national god.

A. General features. The most basic feature of Mesopotamian religion in general was its pluralistic conception of deity. The many divine powers were seen in connection with various physical and natural phenomena. Each spirit was seen as constituting the will and the life force of the phenomenon with which it was associated. It was named according to its particular phenomenon and was pictured

in terms of it. Thus, the thunder was seen as coming from the mouth of a giant lion-headed bird. Those divine powers associated with such things as the earth, grain, flocks, and herds—that is, those things necessary for the economy—were of special importance, and the various images, temples, and rituals were designed to insure the "presence" of the god and to express the solidarity of humans with nature.

As this primitive religious consciousness developed, the forms of the divine powers gradually became more and more anthropomorphic. At first, some of the powers could be pictured in both human and nonhuman form, but the latter came to be more and more suppressed or even denied, and the anthropomorphic view became predominant. In a similar fashion, the god came to be more and more divorced from its natural phenomenon. That is to say, the phenomenon was seen as a distinct, nondivine entity, and the god was seen as the owner and controller of the phenomenon rather than as part of it. As further development took place in this same direction, the powers came to be seen as performing certain human functions and activities, particularly that of "ruler." The development of Mesopotamian society and government shifted power from relatively insignificant local chiefs and headmen to a more centralized government and a more imposing sovereign, which were then the subject of feelings of reverence and awe.

Such changes provided the model upon which religious developments could take place. Thus, from the late protoliterate period, the term *en,* which means "lord" or "manager," came to be applied to the gods (e.g., ENLIL, "Lord of wind"). Similarly, *lugal,* meaning "king," was used in the formation of the names of deities (e.g., Lugalbanda, Lugalmarada, etc.). The gods were now in a position to declare war on one another, to be responsible for the social and economic welfare of citizens, and to live in manor houses (i.e., TEMPLES). This development had the effect of reducing man to a position of absolute dependence upon, and servility to, the gods. The maintenance and protection of the temples then became imperative, lest the relationship between the gods and men should be broken.

The last major development to take place in Mesopotamian religion in general was the rise of the national gods, Marduk of Babylonia and Ashur of Assyria. This development began to take place around 1800 B.C. The old pantheon still remained, but MARDUK and Ashur were seen as supreme. The other gods were subservient and, in fact, were sometimes seen as being only aspects of the one, unified, supreme, god. Thus, for example, Nabu is "Marduk" of accounting while Adad is "Marduk" of rain. The national gods, besides being responsible for internal matters, served also as the defenders of the nation against external attack. The *absolute* authority ascribed to these national gods tended toward the complete subservience, self-abasement, and humble submission, of mortals to the (sometimes inscrutable) will of the gods.

B. The pantheon. The Sumerian pantheon contained some 3,000 to 4,000 gods, making it impossible to mention any but the most prominent ones here. There was a large group of deities associated with the marshy regions between Sumer and the Persian Gulf. These all represented powers vital to the livelihood of marsh dwellers and all belonged to the family of Enki, who was the god of fresh water and therefore also the god of ablutions and lustrations. Enki was married and had a very large number of offspring. Asalluhe, the city-god of Kv)or, was Enki's son and was also active in lustrations, though he was evidently the god of thunder showers originally. Dumuzi-abzu was the god of fertility and new life, while Nanshe was goddess of fish and fishing, and Ninmar was probably bird-goddess.

There was a large group of deities belonging to the fruit-growers in the S along the Euphrates. Thus, Ningishzida was throne-bearer, though it appears he was originally a tree-god, while Damu was god of the sap. There were also gods of the herding and farming regions lying further to the N. Thus Nanna often is pictured as driving his herd of cows across the sky, and the emblem of Utu is the

bison's head. Ninsun ("Lady wild cow") was the embodiment of all that was thought to be good in a herd of cows. Similarly, Inanna, Shara, and Ishkur, for example, served as the gods of the shepherds, while Ninhursaga served as the god of the donkeyherders. As to the gods of the farmers, Enlil ("Lord of wind") was the most prominent. His breath or word was thus not only the raging storm but also the moisture laden breezes, as well as the wind that drives away the chaff at harvest time. Also serving as gods for the farmers were Ninlil, goddess of the grain, Ninunta, god of thunder and lightning, and Bau, goddess of the dog, besides many others.

The Akkadian pantheon is less well known than the Sumerian, though the general features were the same. There were gods of rain and thunder showers just as in the Sumerian herdsman's pantheon. There were also many gods of war and battle. The most significant feature of the Akkadian pantheon, however, was the existence of I1, the major god, and the

This panel from a palace in Nimrud (c. 860 B.C.) depicts King Ashurnasirpal pouring a libation over a dead bull.

triad of astral gods, namely, Sin (god of the moon), Shamash (god of the sun), and Ashtar or Ishtar (goddess of the morning and evening star). Ea, probably the river god, occurs frequently as well.

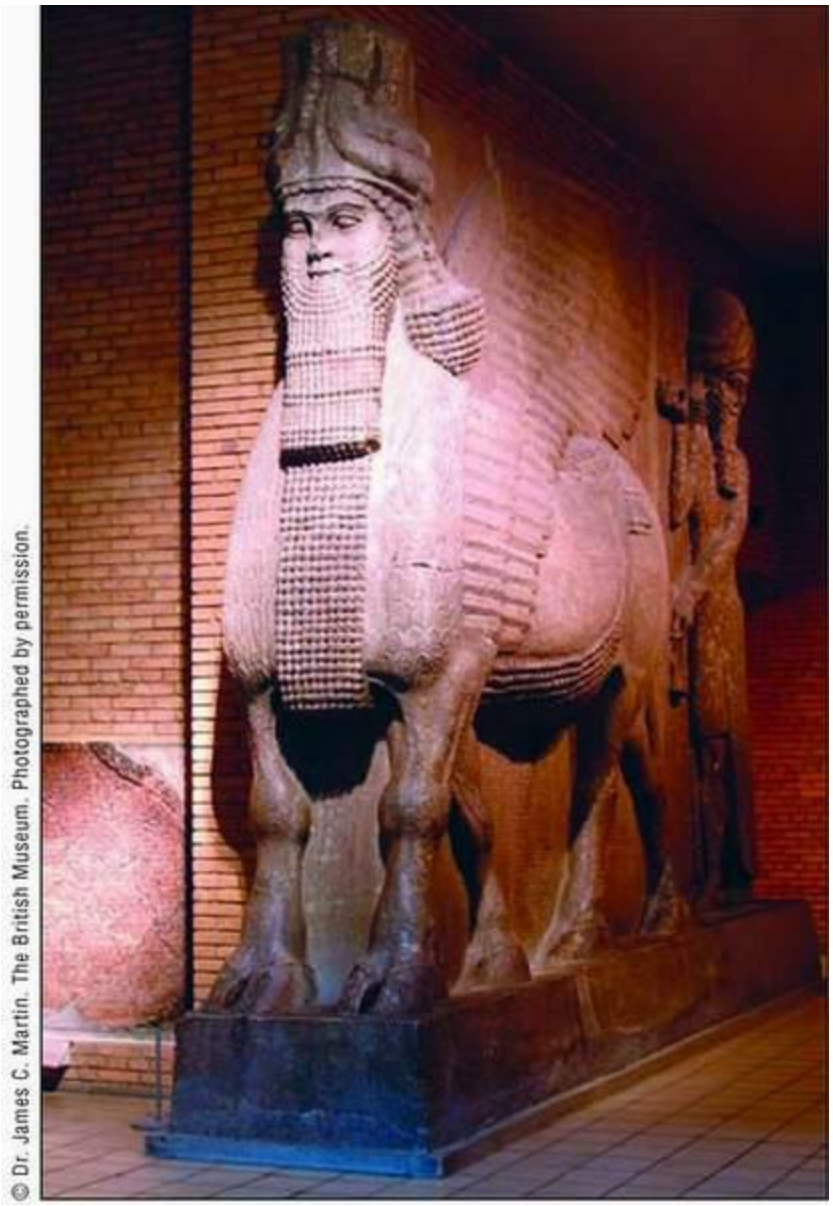
C. Ashur, the national god. A(s)shur was not only the city-god of the city of Asshur, but also the national god of Assyria. As mentioned above, he came into prominence in the 2nd millennium B.C. along with his counterpart, Marduk, in Babylon. From the time of Shamshi-Adad I (1813 – 1781) and onward, he was often identified with the Sumerian Enlil. Under Sargon II, Ashur often was identified with Anshar, while under Sennacherib, the achievements of Marduk were foisted upon him, a situation that reflects the changing political fortunes of the two countries in relationship to each other. As a result of all this, Ashur is not a truly distinctive god, nor does he have a real character of his own. He merely personifies the interests of Assyria as a nation.

D. The priesthood. The state cult, whose function it was to represent not only itself but also the citizens of the country to the gods, was directed by the priesthood. The priesthood consisted of a large class of officials living in and around the various temple complexes and organized according to rank. *Urigallu* was evidently the "high priest" and chief director of the temple and the cult, while Shangammokhu was the chief sacrificing priest. A whole college of priests were in charge of the daily ritual, and there were several classes of priests responsible for the recital of hymns, prayers, and laments. Other classes of priests performed the various libations, ablutions, and anointings. There

were also exorcists and the seers with whom the populace came into contact. Many women also worked on the temple staff as assistants in fertility ceremonies, as wailers, and as interpreters of dreams.

The sacrifices made were generally of two types. First, there were the regular sacrifices offered daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly; second, there were special sacrifices at special times, such as during war or other calamities. It was the king's duty to supply the offerings for the regular sacrifices, though the people could also add their private contributions. Various lists of offerings make it plain that large numbers of animals were slaughtered for sacrifice. Large quantities of fruit and vegetables also were offered.

V. Archaeological finds. Though interest in the ancient cities of Mesopotamia had not been lacking earlier, it was not until 1820 that the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus were given serious consideration as the possible site of the ancient city of NINEVEH. In that year, C.J. Rich planned these mounds, and in 1842 P. E. Botta began excavations there. In the following year, however, he transferred his search for Nineveh to Khorsabad, where he excavated Sargon's palace. The work was continued there by V. Place and later (1929 – 35) by the Oriental Institute of Chicago. In the meantime, A. H. Layard and H. Rossam carried out excavations at Kuyunjik and uncovered Ashurbanipal's palace there (1853 – 54). Layard had already unearthed



Assyrian human-headed winged bull and protective spirit (c. 710 B.C.). These enormous figures guarded one of the

gates into the citadel of Khorsabad; the weight of one of them has been estimated at 16 tons.

four palaces at Calah. Excavations also were carried out at Asshur by the German school (1903 – 14). Many other archaeological expeditions have been carried out in Mesopotamia up until the present time, and a mass of material has been turned up that elucidates practically every phase of Mesopotamian life. (For details of the various expeditions, see S. A. Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq* [1956], 46 – 64,266 – 384.)

A. ***Art.*** From the earliest site excavated, Jarmo in the N, comes a vast array of human and animal figurines. Most of the human ones are nude females in a sitting or squatting position. A similar type of figurine is found in the Hassuna and Halaf cultures as well as in the Ubaid period. The figurines are of clay and represent the first Mesopotamian attempts at sculpturing. Also from prehistoric times large numbers of small carvings in stone have been found. Most of these represent animals, including sheep, goats, pigs, birds, fish, scorpions, lions, and panthers. From the way in which these small sculptures were perforated, and, in one case, attached to a piece of string, it is probable that they were used as amulets.

From the 3rd millennium, large numbers of stone statuettes have been uncovered. Though coming mostly from S Mesopotamia, many were also found at Asshur and at Mari. Some of these figures are seated while some are standing and both male and female are represented. They appear in a great variety of dress and vary in height from a few inches to about three feet. The hands of the statuettes display an attitude of worship, and since the majority of them are found in temples, it is probable that they were meant to represent the worshiper in the presence of the deity. From the Old Babylonian period, sculpture in the round is rare. Perhaps the most outstanding example is a heavily bearded head, probably representing Hammurabi. Only a few statues of Assyrian kings are known.

Another variety of art work occuring in abundance in northern Mesopotamia is the glyptic, represented especially by stamp seals in prehistoric times. Geometric motifs are the most common, though plant, animal, and human figures also appear. Glyptic art reached a peak in the Middle Assyrian period. The scenes were arranged with

Battle scene from a palace in Nimrud (c. 728 B.C.). A vulture carrying human entrails follows Assyrian cavalry bringing down an enemy horseman.

delicacy and balance and portrayed religious as well as secular activities. There was some tendency toward astrological and divine symbolism in some of the outstanding works still being produced in the Neo-Assyrian period.

Various inlays and engravings are common in Mesopotamia as early as the protoliterate period. Vases, for example, were decorated with colored inlays held in place with bitumen or a kind of paste. For the decoration of buildings, mosaics were created using small colored cones of terra-cotta. The inlays were usually of stone, shell, mother-of-pearl, or paste. Statues were almost always provided with inlaid eyes and eyebrows, the details of which were made prominent by pigment-filled engravings. This kind of art is known from periods later than the early dynastic.

While there are some finds of ivory carvings from the early periods, the majority of ivory objects come from the Assyrian imperial period. These are widespread, and the excavations of Nimrud, in particular, turned up a large quantity of them. Many of the ivories have distinctively western motifs, and it seems probable that not only was ivory itself imported, but also that many of the objects are the product of craftsmen from the W.

There is also a vast array of art work in metal from the prehistoric and early dynastic periods. These include beads, pins, needles, tools, weapons, vessels, jewelry, and figures. The metals used include copper, gold, silver, and lead. From Nineveh there is an outstanding bronze head assigned to the Akkadian period. Little is known of metal-work in subsequent periods until the time of the Assyrian empire, from which major works have been recovered. The Assyrian palace gates, for example, were decorated with bronze reliefs containing motifs similar to the stone reliefs for which Assyrian art is especially famous (see below). Various iron objects also were found in Assyrian palaces.

A considerable amount of wall painting also is known, especially from late Assyrian times. The usual colors are white, black, red, and blue, and much of the work is representational and even geometric. Wall paintings were arranged in elaborately bordered panels that give the effect of tapestry, and the various elements making up the panel were stylized in such a way as to suggest the use of templates or other such devices. It may be that wall paintings were seen as a less expensive substitute for relief art.

Perhaps the best known, and in many ways the most impressive of all Assyrian art, are the bas reliefs. These come mostly from between the 9th and 7th centuries B.C., though many lesser examples are known from earlier times. From the 3rd millennium, examples of relief art on stelae, vases, and plaques are known. The stelae usually depict a victory scene of some ruler or, in some of the earliest examples, hunting scenes. The reliefs on vases, of various kinds of stone, most often consist of scenes involving animals, plants, and humans, and often appear to have religious significance. Some of the earliest plaques are square or nearly square, and the relief work on them is divided into three registers. The top register almost always depicts a seated man and woman attended by musicians and other servants at a banquet. The middle register usually

These bands, depicting a military scene, are a reconstruction of the gates from the palace of Shalmaneser III (858 – 824 B.C.) at Balawat, near Nimrud.

Assyrian hunting scene from the royal palace in Khorsabad (c. 710 B.C.).

depicts bearers of various gifts, while the lower register, though varying considerably, usually consists of a war chariot drawn by horse-like animals.

From the Old Babylonian period, a large number of other plaques made of clay have been found. These were made in molds and the usual nude female provides the most common subject. Various gods, goddesses, and mythological figures are depicted as well, however. Since these plaques could be produced in mass, they represented a kind of popular art.

The real high point of artistic achievement in Assyria, however, is seen in the vast array of reliefs decorating the walls of the palaces in Nineveh, Nimrud, and Khorsabad. Most of these reliefs are unabashedly secular in content and tone, in contrast to the earlier, Babylonian works, which generally had religious connotations. Surprisingly lifelike details of practically every area of life are

depicted, including landscape, cities, buildings, animals, chariots, weapons, and dress. A fairly common scene is that of king banqueting with queen while music is played, the gardens being decorated with severed human heads. Deities appear in some of the reliefs usually in symbolic form.

Of particular interest to students of the Bible are the stela and obelisk of SHALMANESER III from Nimrud, which mention Israel and depict JEHU, followed by Israelite tribute bearers, bowing before Shalmaneser. The siege of Lachish and the use of Judean captives to work on Sennacherib's building projects is depicted on palace reliefs at Nineveh. (For fuller details on this and related topics, see R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* [1959]; H. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* [1954].) See also ART.

B. Architecture. Jarmo is the earliest site excavated in Mesopotamia, and several layers of houses have been uncovered. They generally have thin mud walls, sometimes with foundations of stone. It is difficult to detect any general plan or guiding principle in the arrangement of the dwellings. The various enclosures seem to be almost randomly arranged. Finds from the Tell Halaf period, however, indicate a fairly orderly arrangement of quadrangular rooms. Some round structures also were found.

At Tepe Gawra, buildings designed with a large oblong central room with smaller rooms flanking it on two sides were found. This "tripartite" structure came to be a persistent feature in much temple architecture in later periods. Even at Tepe Gawra, the central room contained certain furniture used in sacrifice and religious ritual. Several tripartite temples were discovered at Warka (biblical ERECH). They were usually built at ground level or on a slightly raised platform. One of the temples, which came to be known as the White Temple, was built on a high platform and was reached by a series of stairs or ramps.

While still in the protoliterate periods, temple architecture began to change from the tripartite form to a form in which the cultic chamber was located at the end of the building complex rather than in the center. This inner chamber was reached through a series of outer courts and rooms. The cult room itself was oblong and contained an offering table, a hearth, and a structure usually referred to as an altar. In the later protoliterate period, the houses at Khafajah were larger and more substantial and were planned around a large central court. There was only one entrance from outside, the court providing, in turn, access to the other rooms. The number of rooms varies, and various utilitarian objects found in the rooms suggest their various usages. There was usually one large room, probably the "master's room."

In the early historical periods, perhaps the most outstanding feature of architecture is the ZIGGURAT or temple tower, the best example of which is at UR. This is a solid mass of sun-dried bricks measuring 190 by 130 ft. at the base. The mortar between these bricks was strengthened by fibrous mats, and the outer surface of the entire structure was faced with smooth kiln-dried bricks. It appears that the ziggurat consisted originally of three stages with a shrine on top. Stairways gave access from one level to the other.

A phenomenal amount of building activity took place with the rise of Asshur as the capital of Assyria. Many temples from the period have been discovered, some with ziggurats attached. In Asshur itself, for instance, a double temple with a double ziggurat was found. This architectural activity continued into the neo-Assyrian period and is seen not only in Asshur but also in Nineveh, Calah, and Khorsabad. Khorsabad is of particular interest, built by Sargon II and planned almost in a square. It covered about 740 acres of land and was surrounded by thick walls. Two palaces were found within the city, one built on a 25-acre platform that stood at a height of about 45 ft. Within this palace there were a number of temples and a ziggurat, and several courts with many rooms attached.

With the fall of Assyria, the main architectural activity shifted to the S again, and a number of monuments from the period have been excavated there. See also ARCHITECTURE.

C. Functional objects. It appears that in all periods of history and even in prehistory, musical instruments were abundant. The earliest instruments actually preserved are a kind of bone pipe of the Ubaid period. Besides this, however, the various vases, plaques, and reliefs discovered in many periods often depict elaborately decorated musical instruments. It is evident that not only wind but also string and percussion instruments were used, sometimes individually and sometimes in concert.

Large numbers of beads of shell and stone, as well as other personal ornaments, evidently were used in all periods. In the royal tombs at Ur, many gold and silver ornaments were found. Though little actual jewelry from some of the later periods has been found, the various representations, especially on plaques, show the use of bracelets, armlets, beads, and earrings, not only on both men and women but also on animals. From the early periods especially, large amounts of cosmetic materials and toiletries have been found. Various small containers of copper, gold, silver, or seashell have been found containing lumps of orange, red, and black paint for cosmetic use. Copper razors and fine inlaid ivory combs and hairpins also have been turned up. Toilet sets containing a pointed and a chisel-like tool with a pair of tweezers and a small spoon have been found. The tools resemble manicuring tools, and the spoon may be an ear scoop.

The usual dress of men was a short skirt reaching to the knees, though a longer skirt was worn by dignitaries. Female costumes, on the other hand, covered the left shoulder and were fastened under the right arm. No outer garments are indicated, and in the pre-Akkadian period no shoes are known. At the high point of the Assyrian empire (9th – 7th cent. B.C.), these early traditions were basically followed, and a large variety of garments for the various dignitaries are shown. Sandals are, by this time, very common.

Vast amounts of pottery from all periods of Mesopotamian history have been uncovered. There is a continual change of shapes and decorations, and this fact is invaluable in dating the finds. The earliest Mesopotamian pottery was found in the sixth archaeological level at Jarmo. Pottery of the Hassuna period displays a more or less sophisticated decoration incised into, or painted onto, the surface. The Halaf period produced polychrome decorations in black and red on buff or white backgrounds. The patterns are geometrical and abstract. The Ubaid pottery is monochromatic, though with a large variety of forms and patterns. A whole group of pottery belonging to the Old Assyrian period and known as Habur ware was found in the N, and a whitepainted Mitannian ware originating farther to the W is known. Lamps of various kinds have been found, though it is impossible to say when the portable lamp first came into use in Mesopotamia. Two vessels with seven spouts from the protoliterate period have been found and may have served as lamps. Sea shells and shell-like objects of clay, stone, and metal with a special provision for the wick are common. Some of the lamps were decorated in relief.

Flint and stone tools, mostly blades of various kinds, are common in the earliest Mesopotamian periods. At Jarmo, bowls and cups of stone were present in levels antecedent to the introduction of pottery. Bone tools also were found at Jarmo and continue into the historical periods. Not until the Ubaid period do considerable amounts of metal tools appear. Copper chisels and axes are found here, along with stone club and hammer heads and terra-cotta sickles. The bow and arrow also was used in this period. In the later periods various metals, as well as flint, were exploited more fully for use in harpoons, spears, swords, knives, and adzes. In the Akkadian period the plow often is represented, and various other tools for tilling the ground, like hoes and shovels, are known from later periods.

The Assyrian reliefs show various shields, battering rams, and swords.

The Tigris and Euphrates were exploited as means of transportation, and many boats are known, mostly from models. Sails never are actually shown, though part of the hull structure in some boats suggests the presence of a mast. Oars with very wide blades are shown, as are holes for punting. Sometimes the gods are represented as traveling in boats and even as operating the boat. The Assyrian reliefs show large numbers of boats in a form virtually unchanged from earliest times. Chariots also played an important part in Mesopotamian transportation. Two-wheeled and four-wheeled models are known, as is a type of covered wagon.

VI. Social structure and social life

A. Social organizations. Organizations and associations within Mesopotamian society were generally either of a political or politico-religious nature or else of a professional nature. The two main politico-religious organizations in the cities were the temple and the palace. Both temple and palace were based on a kind of "household" concept. The palace was the household of the king, while the temple was the household of the god who, in a similar fashion to the king, had to be clothed and cared for. Members of these "households" were generally either slaves or persons of restricted freedom, and their numbers could easily be augmented, especially in the later periods, by the addition of foreign captives. As temple or palace had need of particular skills, craftsmen of various kinds could easily be brought into service. Both temple and palace were highly organized, and their economic systems were maintained through taxation, land holdings, trade and war. While both temple and palace functioned on more or less the same basis, there were still differences between them. There was also a considerable amount of variation in their organization, depending on the period or location in question.

The size and make-up of the palace depended mainly on royal decree, while the fortunes of the temple depended more upon the piety and generosity of the worshipers. In fact, from at least the time of Hammurabi, the social and economic importance of the temple was on the decline in spite of some lavish examples of sanctuaries from later times. The palace, on the other hand, steadily increased in importance and prominence over the same period and reached all time highs in the Neo-Assyrian empire and under the Neo-Babylonian kings.

The function of the temple generally was to provide sufficient material evidence of the divine presence and thereby to stimulate devotion. The anthropomorphic god and his "household" were maintained mostly by offerings of various kinds. The temple's own workshops provided the manpower not only for the embellishment of the sanctuary directly but also for the manufacture of materials, which could be bartered and used for the beautification of the god's house. Dedication to the temple of some of the spoils of war, including prisoners of war, was expected of the kings. Also, kings were encouraged to restore and embellish the many sanctuaries as special royal duties or privileges. On the other hand, however, in the late periods, representatives of the kings also were placed on the administrative boards of the temples, in order to insure the payment of taxes to the king. In fact, beginning at the end of the 2nd millennium, the Assyrian king was also the high priest and special representative of the god Ashur. The Assyrian situation after this time, therefore, was theocratic in a way that the Babylonian was not.

Outside the temple and palace precincts was, of course, the city as a whole. Those who lived within the city, but outside the walls of both temple and palace, were of more or less equal social status. Most appear to have been farmers who worked their plots of ground outside the cities during

the day and returned at night. The city was self-governed, its affairs being managed by an assembly under a presiding officer. The wisdom and leadership of the wealthy and/or older men seems to have been accepted happily. The influence of the presence of either temple or palace, or both, in a city could not of course be avoided, but from earliest times, there seems to have been a workable coexistence between the more or less independent city and the more or less independent temple or palace.

Among the professional organizations were various guild-like associations of merchants and craftsmen. These were most common before the end of the Old Babylonian period, though some survived much longer than that, to judge by some family names referring to various vocations. Members of certain guilds seem to have been restricted to certain areas of the cities. Membership in associations of exorcists and diviners seems to have been tightly controlled, requiring the passing of certain examinations and fitness tests. The scribes seem to have been organized in families as well and had to undergo extensive formal training for membership.

B. Slavery. While prisoners of war played a significant role in the national and royal interests under the Assyrian empire, there were never very many slaves in private possession. Slaves were usually debtors or children of the same; but those born in the house of a family enjoyed a special status, at least in the earliest periods, and later, slaves were allowed to work out in return for monthly payments to the master. Sometimes the master would even send the slave out for special training, which would of course increase his own returns. A lesser degree of servility was imposed upon certain "persons of restricted freedom," and these were attached only to the temple or palace. Little is known of their status otherwise.

C. The family. In general, the concept of the family was small and restricted. In the later periods, however, family consciousness was more highly developed, as is indicated by the use of family names and by some emphasis on gentility and descent. Monogamy was the rule for the householder except in the Old Babylonian period. The oldest son received a larger portion of the father's estate, though normally the entire estate was worked in common by all the sons to avoid extreme subdivision.

D. Social life. In general, it appears that kings and certain other rich people were able to live luxuriously and make their lives a veritable feast if they so desired. The Assyrian reliefs make this especially clear. For the humbler classes of citizens, whose days were spent in tilling the ground or doing other manual labor, life was generally very different.

Nevertheless, the monotony of their existence could still be relieved by two popular institutions, namely the beer houses and the brothels. The beer houses were generally quite small but abundant and were usually managed by women. A large variety of beers and especially of wines were available and seem to have produced the same corruption and drunkenness that are evidenced in some modern societies. The Code of Hammurabi, for example, makes provision for the protection of (drunken) customers against extortion by the management.

Free love was practiced everywhere, including the streets, parks, and public squares. The first tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic describes in dramatic detail such an affair between Enkidu and the harlot. The Babylonians in particular were acquainted with a number of devices designed to prevent pregnancy in such liaisons. For those who wished the privacy of such, there were the brothels (literally "Places of Pleasure," or "Phallus-Houses"). Two kinds of prostitutes are known, those of

the street and those of the brothels, and while we have no actual indication of the fees, it is plain that as an occupation, prostitution was financially satisfactory.

(For some useful surveys, see S. A. Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq* [1956]; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq,* 2nd ed.[1980]; *CAH,* 2nd ed., 3/1 [1982], chs. 6 – 7, and 3/2 [1991], chs.21 – 28; H.J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East* [1988]; A. B. Knapp, *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt* [1988]; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Might that Was Assyria* [1984]; id., *Civilization before Greece and Rome* [1989]; id., *Babylonians* [1995]; B.T. Arnold, *Who Were the Babylonians?* [2004]; *CANE,2:807 – 29* et passim.)

H.G.ANDERSEN

Astaroth as'tuh-roth. KJV alternate form of ASHTAROTH (only Deut. 1:4).

Astarte as-tahr'tee. NRSV form of ASHTORETH.

Astath as'tath. KJV Apoc. form of AZGAD (1 Esd. 8:38).

astonishment. A state characterized by bewilderment, emotional disturbance, lack of clear thinking, and (sometimes) perceptual disorientation. The English term (including the verb *astonish)* is linguistically and psychologically varied and expressive, as are the corresponding Hebrew and Greek words (also translated with such synonyms as *amaze, astound, marvel, wonder*). In mild form, astonishment is experienced by everyone. In an extreme form, it may indicate conditions of lunacy (cf. Deut. 28:28, Heb. *timmāhôn H9451;* note also the cognate verb *tāmah H9449,* Isa. 29:9). See LUNATIC; TRANCE.

The Bible often speaks of astonishment as the human response to God's marvelous deeds: "Therefore once more I will astound [hiphil of *pālā) H7098]* these people / with wonder upon wonder" (Isa. 29:14). This concept is especially common in the Gospels. For example, when Jesus healed a demoniac who was blind and mute, Matthew tells us that "All the people were astonished *[existēmi G2014]* and said, 'Could this be the Son of David?'" (Matt. 12:23; for other Gk. terms, see e.g. 19:25; Mk. 10:32; Lk. 20:26). Luke records a similar response to the preaching and miracles of the apostles (Acts 3:11; 4:13).

astrologer. This term is used in the NIV and other English translations of Daniel to render the Hebrew word *kaś;dîm H4169* (Dan. 2:2 et al.; Aram. *kašdāy H10373* in 2:10 et al.), which could also be translated "Chaldean" (cf. NRSV and see CHALDEA IV). In the same passages, the KJV uses "astrologer" as a translation of *)aššāp H879* (Aram. *)āśp H10081),* which means "enchanter." In addition, both the KJV and the NIV use "astrologers" term to represent a difficult Hebrew phrase in Isa. 47:13 (lit., "dividers of heaven"). The MAGI from the east mentioned in Matt. 2:1 *(magos G3407)* were high-ranking Persian priests expert in ASTROLOGY and other occult arts.

astrology. The observation of the sun, moon, planets, and stars for the purpose of determining the character of individuals and the course of events.

I. Description. Astrology is an ancient art, the history of which involves such diverse cultures as the Babylonian, Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, and Indian. It has most commonly been used as a means of divination, by which future events are predicted. A more cautious claim is that it serves to indicate circumstances and personality factors which tend to result in certain happenings, but not necessarily the events themselves. This approach is useful to astrologers, since they must face the ancient question as to why twins may have markedly different fates.

The data used by astrology are the movements of the heavenly bodies, specifically, those which appear in the zodiac, a circle or band of twelve constellations. The sun regularly cuts a path, called the ecliptic, across the zodiac. The planets move in and out of this sector at various intervals. The zodiac was easily observable to the ancients and was also useful for scientific purposes. It provided a more open and "objective" source for divination than did other methods.

Based on the observations and traditions of centuries, astrologers claim that certain heavenly phenomena are synchronous with earthly circumstances. While it is popularly assumed that astrology considers the planets to have actual influence, of perhaps a physical nature, this view is not universally held. One recent alternative to the theory of "influence" embraces the assumption of the psychologist Carl Jung regarding corporate experience.

The study of the zodiac is complicated by the fact that there has been more than one construction of the positions of the planets in the zodiac. The reason for this anomaly is precession, a slow gyration of the Earth's axis causing the equinox to rotate backward. The zodiacal signs have,

consequently, slowly moved out of their positions. The significance of this change seems to have been noted first by Hipparchus, around 120 B.C. There are thus basically two systems, referred to as the *tropical* and the *sidereal*. The latter, based on the positions of the planets against the actual constellations of the zodiac, is more precise and may well be the earliest form.

In each case, the zodiac is divided into twelve sections or "houses." The "signs" of these are well known, from Aries the ram to Pisces the fish. The planets passing through these houses form geometrical patterns at various distances known as "aspects." These are considered to be either beneficial or malefic. By plotting all the heavenly bodies pertinent to the sign under which an individual is born (date, hour, and place are taken into consideration), an astrologer draws up a celestial map known as a "horoscope." Conclusions are drawn from this map regarding one's personality, tendencies, etc., and thus predictions are made. These predictions may be rather general. When this information is applied to astrological readings pertinent to a given date in present or future, the prediction offered may be more specific.

II. History in biblical times. The earliest records of astrology have come from MESOPOTAMIA. It may be traced back as far as 2000 B.C. or earlier, but no certain evidence for the use of the zodiac is known before the 5th cent. B.C. Abundant materials are known from the 7th cent. B.C. By the next century it had spread to India and China and gained strength there. Egypt came under Assyrian influence at this time, but the Egyptians were more interested in calendrical matters, in which they excelled, than in divination. The most significant migration of astrological ideas was to Greece. Not only was popular GREEK RELIGION suited to astrology, but the scientific and philosophic outlook provided a rationale that commended astrology to intellectuals. A developing system of geometry, an awareness of natural laws and causal relationships, and the tendency to attribute divine personality to the stars provided an environment that not only fostered the use of astrology, but also attracted some of the finest scientific minds of Greece, Rome, and succeeding cultures.

During the Hellenistic age, further developments, religious, philosophical, and political in nature, advanced the popularity of astrology. The unification of the world under ALEXANDER THE GREAT was accompanied by a sense of empathy regarding the whole universe. It became even more natural to expect a correlation between stars and men. Belief in *Tyche,* "chance," had given way to a resignation to *Heimarmene,* "fate." Men turned to astrology, along with other methods of divination, to determine the circumstances one would have to deal with and to indicate ways of averting disaster. The introduction of the Julian calendar made astrological computations easier, and more people of all classes depended on it. The STOICS were congenial to astrology because of their concept of the unity of the universe. There were mutually compatible elements in many of the philosophical and religious systems of the day. Lucretius, an EPICUREAN, could not accept astrology, nor did Cicero.

An attempt was made by one Tarrutius in the 1st cent. B.C. to draw up a horoscope of Rome itself. Some of the Roman emperors seemed persuaded of the power of astrology. TIBERIUS made decisions in accordance with his horoscope. Since astrologers supposedly held the key to an emperor's fate, their predictions could be utilized by those who opposed imperial despotism. For this reason, on more than one occasion when an emperor sent hostile figures such as critical philosophers and statesmen into exile, astrologers were likewise banished.

In spite of Jewish hostility to the "Chaldeans," their influence gradually penetrated Judaism (see CHALDEA IV). In this case, as in others, the hellenization of the world brought through Jewish culture what would not have been accepted directly. Calendrical observances were important anyway, especially at Qumran: one document among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS has been interpreted as

astrological in nature. Astrologers were not permitted in Palestine or in the Jewish community at Babylonia. Nevertheless, by the time the TALMUD was compiled, this had changed. It mentions astrological practices, and even some well-known rabbis were open to astrology.

Astrology gained entrance not merely among the ignorant and superstitious of the ancient world, but also among Greek and Roman intellectuals and some Jews and Christians. It persisted through the centuries, claiming the attention even of such honored astronomers as Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler. Modern ASTRONOMY has rendered astrology even less plausible by revealing the vastness of the universe beyond the limited data astrology depended on. Its growing popularity during the last third of the 20th cent. came not from scientific but psychological and social factors, in answer to widespread desire for confidence, guidance, and harmony.

III. Biblical references. The Bible has been appealed to both in support of and in opposition to astrology. The most obvious reference is to the MAGI who saw the "star" of the infant Jesus (Matt. 2:1 – 2). The word *magus* had a plurality of meanings in the ancient world, but here probably refers to astrologers. It is possible that, being informed of the biblical prophecies of the coming Messiah, they were receptive to divine indication through a heavenly phenomenon. The current hypothesis that this indication was a conjunction of planets in a particular "house" of the zodiac, with both planets and house bearing certain significance regarding the Jews and government, is at least plausible. The fact that God could thus speak through this means does not, however, validate all astrology. (God once spoke through Balaam's ass!) Nevertheless, this means of divination was used by Christians who reasoned that God's creation was a unified vehicle for his will, and that belief in astrology accorded with the concept of predestination.

Some have attempted to see parallels between the twelve blessings of JACOB on his sons and the twelve signs of the zodiac, or to find astrological significance in the phenomena described in various passages in the Bible (Ezek. 1; Rev. 4; 6; 12; or in the precious stones of Rev. 21). While it is true that ancient astrologers made associations between specific planets and certain metals, colors, forms of life, etc., it is unfounded speculation to find such in these passages.

On the other hand, the Scriptures are clear in their warnings against dependence on astrologers and other practitioners of divination. For example, Isa. 47:13 speaks specifically against astrologers (lit., "those who divide the heavens") who "make predictions month by month." Some see a warning also in Isa. 14:12 and 65:11. Moreover, 2 Ki. 17:16 relates that the Israelites, who turned to idolatry, sorcery, and divination, also "bowed down to all the starry hosts"; 2 Ki. 23:4 – 5 repeats the charge and adds a specific reference to the constellations (cf. Deut. 4:19; 17:2 – 7; Job 31:26 – 28). Jeremiah cautioned the people not to be "terrified by signs in the sky" that troubled other nations (Jer. 10:2). There is probably also a reference to astrology in Amos 5:25 – 27 (cf. Acts 7:42 – 43). Daniel lived in the ancient cradle of astrology during the Babylonian captivity, so his specific rejection of the practice is especially significant (Dan. 2:27; the astrologers likewise failed to comprehend the handwriting on the wall, 5:5 – 16). Other Scriptures (e.g. Lev. 19:26, 31; Deut. 18:9 – 14; Isa. 8:19) have injunctions against various forms of DIVINATION.

W. L. LIEFELD

astronomy. The study of celestial bodies and phenomena. See also COSMOGONY.

I. Creation. The Bible affirms that God created the sun, moon, and stars, as well as heaven and earth (Gen. 1:1, 16; Ps. 8:3), and that everything is subject to his will (Job 9:7). See CREATION. At first

reading, the beginning verses of Genesis may be puzzling because they seem to imply that night and day occurred before God made the sun and moon. Actually, the record may be a good description of the earth's early development if the picture is drawn from the point of view of a hypothetical observer on the earth watching the gradual clearing of a misty atmosphere. At first the clouds became thin enough for night and day to be distinguished, and only later did the discs of the sun and moon, which already were in existence, become visible. Finally, even the stars could be seen.

It certainly would have been possible for God to accomplish the creation events in six ordinary days, but perhaps here is a place where biblical interpretation can be helped by science, which gives rather definite evidence that the whole process took a long time. The best information from the products of radioactive decay in meteorites suggests that the solar system was formed more than 4 billion years ago, while calculations of the life histories of some stars as they consume their internal nuclear fuel indicate they must have two or three times this age. Fossils of simple, single-celled micro-organisms have been found on the Ontario shore of Lake Superior in Precambrian rocks known through radioactive dating to be 1.9 billion years old. Measurements of the remnants from radioactive decay in the soil and dust brought back by the first astronauts to land on the moon gave ages around 4.6 billion years. Recent wavelength measurements (redshift) of the light emitted from the most distant visible objects in the universe indicate that they are over 13 billion lightyears away from us (that is, we see them as they were 13 billion years ago). If God took only six literal days for creation, then it is difficult to understand his purpose in arranging everything to appear as if long periods of time were involved.

A. Earth and sky. Job may show insight into the true nature of the world by his statement that God "suspends the earth over nothing" (Job 26:7), but elsewhere the biblical writers use more poetical terms, such as "the four corners of the earth" (Isa. 11:12, NIV, "quarters"; Rev. 7:1). Isaiah possibly was thinking of the circumference of the horizon, rather than a spherical earth, in his phrase "the circle of the earth" (Isa. 40:22).

In the KJV of Gen. 1:6 – 20, the word FIRMAMENT renders the Hebrew noun *rāqîaʿ H8386,* which usually refers to something stamped or beaten out like a sheet of metal (cf. Ezek. 6:11; 25:6, where the verb *rāqaʿ H8392* is used of stamping the feet). The term probably means "solid covering" in Ezek. 1:22 – 26 and 10:1 (cf. NRSV, "dome"). However, for the description of the sky (Gen. 1:6 – 20; Ps. 19:1; Dan. 12:3), the more general meaning of "expanse" has been suggested (so NIV). This understanding still leaves the difficulty that the earth's atmosphere, which stores water as clouds and vapor (Gen. 1:7), is above the firmament in which are set the sun, moon, and stars (1:14 – 17), contrary to our present concept of the universe. (See also Ps. 148:4, "Praise him, you highest heavens / and you waters above the skies")

Consequently an alternative interpretation accepts the usual meaning of *rāqîaʿ* and pictures the firmament as a solid canopy separating us from the heavens where the rain water is stored (for a

Hubble Space Telescope image of interacting galaxies NGC 2207 (larger) and IC 2163

different perspective, see R. C. Newman, *The Biblical Firmament: Vault or Vapor* [2000]). Then the opening of "the floodgates of the heavens" (Gen. 7:11) provided the rain of Noah's flood (see FLOOD, GENESIS). Since the writer did not claim to be giving a scientific description, he was free to use images and figures of speech easily understood by his early readers to convey the message that God created and controls everything.

B. Big-bang and steady-state theories of creation. Our own galaxy, the Milky Way, probably consists of over 200 billion stars (some estimate 400 billion). The largest telescopes reveal that galaxies of various shapes and sizes populate the universe in all directions to at least 13 billion light years. The redshift observed in these galaxies (a displacement of their light spectrum toward longer wavelengths) shows that they are all receding from the earth with speeds proportional to their distances. This pattern is exactly what would result from an explosion, even if the solar system is not at its center, leading George Gamow to describe the formation of the universe as a *big bang* from an initial hot and dense collection of matter and energy. It is tempting to identify the fireball with the creation event of Genesis.

An alternative picture was presented by Fred Hoyle and his colleagues in their postulate that the universe is in a *steady state* and, therefore, must appear the same to all observers at all times. Since the distances between the galaxies are always increasing, this theory requires the spontaneous creation of new protons and electrons throughout the expanding universe to keep the average density constant. Hoyle rejected the universe with a unique creation event and proposed a universe that has existed forever, with matter continuously being created to fill the voids caused by the expansion.

This *steady-state* or *continuous-creation* theory is now seriously questioned, primarily as a result of the discovery in 1965 of weak radio waves that cannot be identified with any particular object, but which come uniformly from all directions of space. So far the only reasonable explanation attributes this radio emission to the remains of the explosion of the primordial fireball, which initially contained all the matter and energy of the universe at a temperature of a billion degrees or more. It now has cooled by expansion to only 2.7 degrees centigrade above absolute zero.

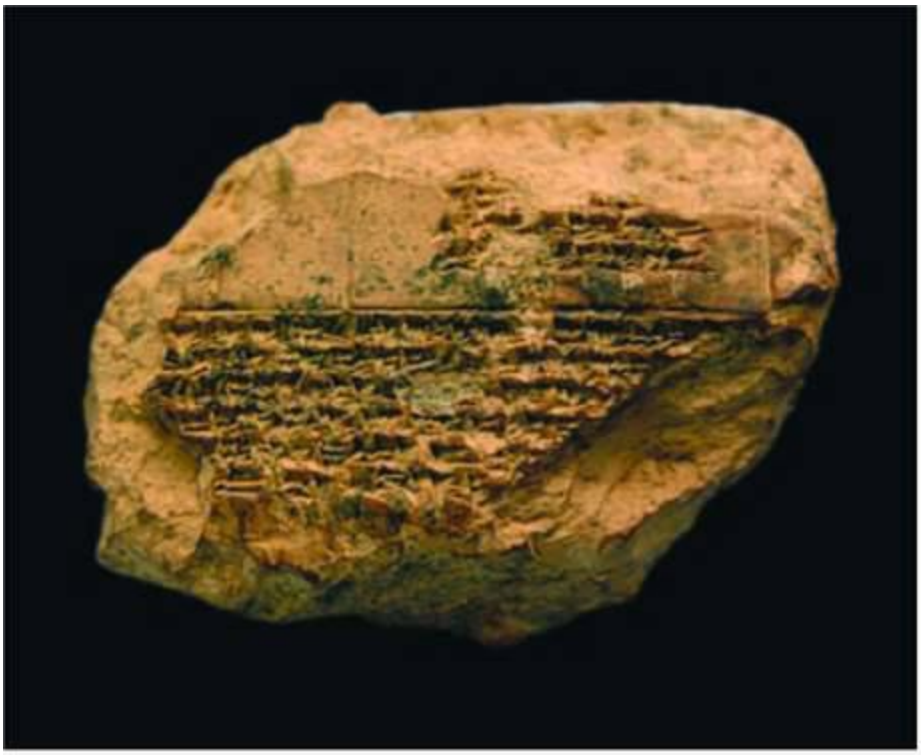
Further investigations seem to confirm this view. In 2003, the orbiting Wilkinson Microwave Anisotropy Probe made it possible to produce a high-resolution map of microwave light thought to have been emitted only 380,000 years after the initial explosion. Detailed analyses of the image

indicate that the universe is 13.7 billion years old (accurate to 1 percent), that atoms account for only 4 percent of its composition (73 percent is unknown "dark energy," and 23 percent is unknown cold "dark matter"), that its expansion is accelerating (71 km/sec/Mpc, accurate to 5 percent), that it underwent episodes of rapid expansion called inflation, and that there is no physical reason to keep it from expanding forever.

II. The solar system

A. Sun and moon. According to Gen. 1:14 – 18, God provided the SUN and MOON to light the earth and to be signs for days, seasons, and years. The Hebrew day ended at sunset, while the year was marked by the time the sun required to make one complete circuit among the stars or to return to the same point on the horizon at rising or setting. The comment in Job 38:12, "Have you…shown the dawn its place," refers to this variation of the position of sunrise due to the annual motion of the sun N and S of the celestial equator. The 29.5-day cycle of the moon's phases defined the Hebrew month, beginning with the first appearance of the thin crescent just after sunset (cf. "From one New Moon to another," Isa. 66:23). Although the Scriptures do not mention the procedure, it must have been necessary to add an extra month every two or three years to keep the months in line with the seasons, since twelve lunar months fall short of a year by almost eleven days (some of the Hebrew festivals are agricultural in nature; see AGRICULTURE; CALENDAR).

B. Eclipses. Several passages referring to future events give good descriptions of total eclipses of the sun and moon: "The rising sun will be darkened / and the moon will not give its light" (Isa. 13:10); "The sun will be turned to darkness / and the moon



Fragment of a Babylonian eclipse table (4th cent. B.C.). In this cuneiform text, vertical divisions represent intervals of 5 or 6 months; horizontal divisions represent intervals of 18 years.

to blood" (Joel 2:31); "I will make the sun go down at noon / and darken the earth in broad daylight"

(Amos 8:9); "The sun turned black like sackcloth made of goat hair, the whole moon turned blood red" (Rev. 6:12). The references to the blood color are especially appropriate for a total eclipse of the moon, since then it is illuminated by a part of the sun's light, which is bent by the earth's atmosphere toward the moon, thus making it a copper color. Other possible allusions to eclipses include Ezek. 30:18; 32:7; Matt. 24:29; and Rev. 8:12 (partial eclipses). However, the three hours of darkness at the time of the CRUCIFIXION (Lk. 23:44 – 45) definitely were not due to an ordinary solar eclipse, which can occur only at the time of the new moon (the moon would have been at the full phase for PASSOVER), and only for a few minutes in any location.

C. The long day of Joshua and the sun dial of Ahaz. One of the most remarkable astronomical events of the Bible occurred when both the sun and moon appeared to stand still in the sky at JOSHUA'S command while the Israelites won a battle over the AMORITES (Josh. 10:12 – 14). This statement suggests the earth may have temporarily stopped rotating on its axis, but such a change would have had massive physical consequences of a cosmic scale. If we believe God relates the degree of each miracle to the importance of the event, it seems more likely that keeping the sun and moon fixed in the sky for a battle with the Amorites was

Cuneiform tablet preserving a Babylonian diary of astronomical and meteorological phenomena observed during the year 331 – 330 B.C. It includes mention of Darius III's defeat by Alexander the Great at the battle of Gaugamela in October of 331.

accomplished by some simpler means, such as an extraordinary refraction by the atmosphere. Alternatively, the story could be a poetical description of Joshua's victory from the lost book of JASHAR, whose only other reference is in 2 Sam. 1:18.

Without the full context of the original, it is difficult to say how literally the account is to be taken. Still another interpretation notes that the Hebrew words translated "stand still" and "stopped" also could mean "be silent" or "cease"; and the comment that the sun "delayed going down" could be

rendered, "made no haste to come." The sun and moon simply may have been darkened, probably by the storm that brought the hail (Josh. 10:11), thus prolonging the night (v. 9) so that the Israelites could continue their surprise attack. A refraction phenomenon also may have occurred when the shadow of the sun on the DIAL of AHAZ turned back ten steps as a sign that King HEZEKIAH would recover from his sickness (2 Ki. 20:9 – 11; Isa. 38:8). See also DAY, JOSHUA'S LONG.

D. Planets and meteors. The only planet to be mentioned explicitly may be Saturn as the star-god, under the names SAKKUTH and KAIWAN in Amos 5:26 (but this debatable reading involves a revocalization of MT; the NIV understands these words to be the terms for "shrine" and "pedestal"). The morning star (Isa. 14:12; 2 Pet. 1:19; Rev. 2:28; 22:16) is never a star, but any one of the planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn when it is in position to be visible in the E just before sunrise. At times, two or more morning stars may be seen in the sky. However, the passages most likely refer to Venus, since it is the brightest and sometimes can be seen long after the sun is up. Meteors easily could fit descriptions such as "a great star, blazing like a torch, fell from heaven" (Rev. 8:10; cf. also Matt. 24:29; Mk. 13:25; Rev. 9:1; 12:4).

III. Stars and constellations. The Bible rarely mentions particular stars or constellations, except for the Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades (Job 9:9; 38:31 – 32; Amos 5:8). Constellation names would seem appropriate in these passages, but none of the adopted translations is completely certain. The rendering "Bear" (Ursa Major) follows from the similarity of the Hebrew words *ʿāš H6933* and *ʿayiš H6568* in the Job passages with the Arabic name *naš* ("bier") for this constellation, more commonly known as the Big Dipper (also the Wagon or the Plough); however, some scholars prefer to see here a reference to the constellation Leo ("Lion").

The name "Orion" renders Hebrew *kĕsîl H4068* (a form that is elsewhere translated "fool"), following the SEPTUAGINT of Job 38:31 *(Ōriōnos,* but Job 9:9 has *Hesperon*). The correct meaning of the Hebrew *kîmâ H3966,* which also appears in all three passages mentioned above, is uncertain, but most scholars follow the LXX (*Pleiados)* and take it as a reference to the Pleiades, a compact star cluster in the constellation Taurus. (In Amos 5:8 the KJV has "seven stars" instead of Pleiades, consistent with the ancient tradition of seven "sisters" in this cluster. Telescopes show that the cluster contains more than a hundred stars.) The Hebrew term rendered "constellations" in the NIV of Job 38:32 (NRSV, "Mazzaroth") is taken by some as a name for the signs of the zodiac, the twelve constellations through which the sun passes during its yearly motion around the sky. See also ASTROLOGY.

Special interest attaches to the STAR OF BETHLEHEM. Although God need not have used an ordinary astronomical event to herald the INCARNATION, several natural explanations have been put forward for the star that appeared to the MAGI from the E and guided them to the birthplace of Jesus (Matt. 2:1 – 10). Certainly these men must have been familiar with the sky so that they would have noticed immediately any special arrangement of planets or a new object. Modern calculations show that during the possible years of Christ's birth there must have been several close approaches of two or three planets, such as the conjunction of Venus, Mars, and Saturn on January 22, 12 B.C., or the approach of Venus and Jupiter within three arc minutes of each other on June 17, 2 B.C. These must have been notable astronomical events, but they do not easily fit the description of a single star that presumably reappeared frequently (every night?) during the journey, since the relative motions of the planets would separate them again in less than a day. (Cf. E. L. Martin, *The Star that Astonished the World,* 2nd ed. [1991].)

More likely possibilities are a comet or a new star, either a nova or supernova. A new star occasionally does appear in the sky due to an explosion in an existing star initially too faint to be seen without a telescope. The resulting tremendous increase in brightness suddenly causes the star to become visible for a period, sometimes even in daylight. A nova is the consequence of a modest perturbation that increases the star's luminosity only some ten thousand times. Such a relatively weak explosion will produce a new star brighter than the second magnitude on the average about every ten years, and fainter ones more frequently. They will remain visible for a month or two.

In the supernova explosion, the light may increase by a hundred million times and then fade gradually for a year or longer, but a hundred years or more usually elapses between these events. In A.D. 1054 in Taurus, the Chinese observed such a supernova, which initially was as bright as Venus. At this location telescopes have found the Crab Nebula (M1), which is still expanding at 600 mi. per second. It is a source of X-rays and radio waves as well as light and has a rotating pulsar at its center emitting bursts of energy about 30 times per second.

Whatever the Star of Bethlehem was, it ought to have been seen by others besides the wise men (although it has also been suggested that the sign may have been, at least in part, a local phenomenon). Among the ancient watchers of the skies, the Chinese kept the best records. From 32 B.C. to A.D. 13, they noted comets in 12, 10, and 4 B.C., and an object that appeared in March or early April of 5 B.C. in Capricorn and remained for over seventy days. A detailed description is given of the motions of the comet of 12 B.C., which had a large tail and was visible for fifty-six days beginning August 26th; this must have been Halley's Comet, which returns every seventy-six years. Since no motion was attributed to the object of 5 B.C., it may have been a nova or supernova. Whether any of these events can be identified with the star of the wise men depends on one's estimate of the birth date of Christ. See CHRONOLOGY (NT).

IV. Life on other worlds. The Bible gives no hint whether life exists elsewhere in the universe. As yet no astronomical observation has found any evidence for life outside our earth, either as simple forms or intelligent beings. Many believe it would be remarkable if God created so vast a universe of stars and galaxies without permitting life to develop somewhere else besides the earth. Measurements by telescopes, and especially by space probes, have shown that it would be difficult for life as we know it to exist elsewhere in our solar system. The surface temperature of Venus is 430°C, hot enough to melt lead. No living organisms were found in the rocks the Apollo 11 and 12 astronauts picked up on the moon. The night temperature on the surface of Mars is 100°C below freezing so that any organism would require some localized hot spot to keep alive.

Deep in the atmospheres of hydrogen, helium, methane, and ammonia found in Jupiter and Saturn there should be layers warm enough for biological activity, but the absence of a solid or liquid surface probably would permit the organisms to contact regions of temperature extremes where they would be destroyed. However, the existence of planets around other stars has now been confirmed, and it seems likely that some solar-type stars elsewhere in the Milky Way could have earth-like planets where some type of life would be possible. (See further S. Custer, *The Stars Speak: Astronomy in the Bible* [1977]; H. Ross, *The Creator and the Cosmos: How the Greatest Scientific Discoveries of the Century Reveal God,* 3rd ed. [2001]; P. Moore, ed., *The Astronomy Encyclopedia* [2002].)

D. C. MORTON

Astyages as-ti'uh-jeez (Ἀστυάγης, from Old Pers. *Arštivaiga).* The last king of the Median

empire (586 – 550 B.C.), the son of Cyaxares I (see MEDIA). When his father overthrew LYDIA, he made an agreement with its defeated king, Alyattes, that his son would marry the king's daughter, the princess Aryenis (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.74). The daughter of this marriage, Mandane, was given to a lower-ranked Persian nobleman, CAMBYSES, as wife. According to HERODOTUS (*Hist.* 1.108 – 30), the old man Astyages, by reason of a terrifying dream he had had, was afraid of any son who might be born to Mandane. After another dream, Astyages plotted to take away such a child, which he did when his grandson CYRUS was born. The infant was exposed by his grandfather's palace steward, Harpagus, who nevertheless allowed him to live (the king took vengeance by butchering Harpagus's son and serving him as food). When Cyrus, who had been raised by a shepherd and his wife, grew to manhood, Harpagus rallied to him with a good portion of the Median Army, and Cyrus in two successful campaigns overthrew his grandfather, capturing the Median capital, ECBATANA, in 550 B.C., thus becoming "king of all Asia." Less accurately, one of the additions to Daniel says, "When King Astyages was laid to rest with his ancestors, Cyrus the Persian succeeded to his kingdom" (Bel 1:1).

W. WHITE, JR.

Asuerus azh'yoo-er'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of AHASUERUS (Tob. 14:15).

Asuppim uh-suhp'im (pl. of אסף *H667*). KJV transliteration of a Hebrew word that is more correctly interpreted as a common noun (1 Chr. 26:15, 17); the phrase of which it is a part is rendered "storehouse" by the NIV and other versions (the Heb. word occurs also in Neh. 12:25, where KJV renders it with "thresholds").

Asur ay'suhr (Ασουρ). A man whose descendants were among the temple servants (NETHINIM) under ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:31, KJV "Assur"; the name possibly corresponds to HARHUR in Ezra 2:51 and Neh. 7:53).

Aswan as-wahn'. See SYENE.

asylum. The right of asylum is codified in four biblical passages (Exod. 21:12 – 14; Num. 35:9 – 34; Deut. 19:1 – 13; Josh. 20:7 – 9). The purpose of this law was to provide a place where the accidental homicide might dwell. The place could be the altar of Yahweh or the CITIES OF REFUGE. The former is illustrated in the case of ADONIJAH, who entered the house of God and clung to the horns of the altar for fear of SOLOMON'S wrath (1 Ki. 1:50; 2:28).

M. Greenberg (in *JBL* 78 [1959]: 125 – 32) has pointed out that, contrary to the commonly accepted view of J. Wellhausen, the cities of refuge were not conceived by the Deuteronomic reformers as a replacement for the "local" altars, but they were early and necessary adjuncts to the asylum offered by the altar, since that was only a temporary expedient. Further, by noting only the humanitarian and political grounds for the law of asylum, some scholars missed the ancient religious reason for granting asylum (Gen. 9:5 – 6). Even shedding an innocent man's blood unintentionally still involved bloodguilt for which no kinsman of the slain could even pardon or ransom (Num. 35:31). Nothing can expiate an accidental homicide except the death of the high priest (35:25)! Life cannot be translated into any other terms.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Asyncritus uh-sin'kri-tuhs (Ἀσύγκριτος *G850,* "incomparable"). A Christian in ROME, named with four other men, to whom PAUL sent greetings (Rom. 16:14). Mentioned first, he may have been the leader of this group of believers. The name is found in papyri and inscriptions but occurs rarely in sources from the city of Rome, which leads some scholars to believe that Asyncritus had migrated to the capital from other parts of the empire.

Atad ay'tad (אָטָד *H354,* "thornbush"). A threshing floor where the funeral cortège of JACOB stopped on its way northward to HEBRON (Gen. 50:10-11; some prefer to translate the whole phrase "the threshing floor of Atad" as a proper name, "Goren Ha-ʾAtad"). Here the Egyptians mourned seven days for Joseph's father, and therefore the place was given the name ABEL MIZRAIM, "mourning [*or* meadow] of the Egyptians". A geographical problem is seen in the statement that Atad was "beyond the Jordan" (NRSV), since the direct route from Egypt to Hebron would be W of the river. It is possible that the cortege followed an old trade route through the Sinai peninsula or that the phrase should be translated "near the Jordan" (NIV). The site has not been identified.

Atarah at'uh-ruh (עֲטָרָה *H6499,* "crown"). The second wife of JERAHMEEL and the mother of Onam, mentioned in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:26).

Atargatis uh-tahr'guh-tis (Ἀταργατῖς, from Aram. עתרעתה, a juxtaposition of the names of two goddesses, ʿAtar and ʿAtah [=ʿAnat]). Also known as Derceto (*Derketō,* Strabo *Geogr.* 16.4.27; cf. Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. Hist.* 2.4.2 – 3). A Syrian goddess of FERTILITY whose temple at Carnaim in GILEAD is mentioned in 2 Macc. 12:6 *(Atergateion)*. Atargatis, regarded as a consort of HADAD, was one of the popular deities of the Hellenistic period. She was a type of the common mother-goddess figure, the counterpart of Aphrodite. She is related to the familiar ISHTAR or Astarte (cf. ASHTORETH in the OT), the symbol of fertility religion that JOSIAH had opposed (2 Ki. 23:13).

Atargatis is known in ancient literature as the Syriac goddess (*Syria thea,* Lat. *dea Syria* or *Dea-sura),* and was sometimes represented as half-woman, half-fish. The chief center of worship was in Hieropolis-Bambyke, in northern Syria; another important temple was in Khirbet Tannur (cf. N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* [1940], 178 – 200). Her temples, cultic practices, and begging priests are described in detail in Lucian's *The Syrian Goddess* and in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. The priests, known as Galli, castrated themselves in frenzied orgies. The fertility motif is seen in the association of Atargatis with water, grain, fruit, and foliage. (See E. O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess* [1959]; *DDD,* 114 – 16.)

W. L. LIEFELD

Ataroth at'uh-roth' (עֲטָרוֹת *H6500,* "crowns," or perhaps "[cattle] pens"). (1) One of the towns built by the descendants of GAD in the TRANSJORDAN (Num. 32:3, 34) along with DIBON and AROER. It is mentioned by King MESHA on his MOABITE STONE (lines 10 – 14) as being the city where "the men of Gad had always dwelt." It apparently was built and used by Israel, prior to Mesha's capture, as a border fortress against MOAB. Mesha claims to have attacked Ataroth and killed all its inhabitants (*ANET,* 320; see also JAHAZ). The site is usually identified with Khirbet ʿAṭṭarus, 9 mi. NW of Dibon.

(2) A border town of the tribe of EPHRAIM, part of the territory of the ARKITES (Josh. 16:2, 7). It was apparently located between BETHEL and Lower BETH HORON, but the precise site has not been identified. Some believe that the town mentioned in v. 2 is the same as ATAROTH ADDAR in v. 5, but that the Ataroth of v. 7 was a different town on the NE boundary of Ephraim (perhaps modern Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiab or Tell el-Mazar, but see JOKMEAM). A. Alt (in *ZDPV* 69 [1953]: 1 – 27) had suggested that Ataroth and MIZPAH (in BENJAMIN) are only different names for the same place: the former for the premonarchic town, and the latter for the monarchic period beginning with ASA'S fortifications (1 Ki. 15:16 – 22). This theory puts too much strain on the preservation of the name Ataroth in the modern Khirbet ʿAtarah, especially since this small village at the foot of Tell en-Naṣbeh (see MIZPAH) is not an ancient site (it goes back only to Byzantine-Arabic times with no pre-Roman remains). Nor does the fact that Ataroth does not occur outside of the boundary descriptions of Joshua prove that it was replaced by Mizpah around 900 B.C., since there are five other names in this same category found in the second part of the boundary list.

(3) The KJV reads "Ataroth, the house of Joab" in 1 Chr. 2:54, but this phrase is better rendered as one proper name, ATROTH BETH JOAB (cf. NIV; some have suggested translating it, "the crowns [i.e., chiefs] of the house of Joab").

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Ataroth Addar at'uh-roth-ad'uhr (עֲטָרוֹת אַדָּר *H6501,* "crowns of Addar" or "[cattle] pens at the threshing floor"). A town included in the boundary lists for the tribes of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH (Josh. 16:5; 18:13; the S boundary of the Joseph tribes coincides with the N boundary of BENJAMIN). The precise location is uncertain, though one suggestion is Khirbet Raddana, about 9 mi. NNW of Jerusalem. Some believe that this town should be identified with ATAROTH #2. Yehezkel Kaufmann *(The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine* [1953], 28 – 33) has dealt with M. Noth's interpretation of these border lists. Kaufmann convincingly demonstrates that Josh. 16:5 – 7 describes the S and N borders of Ephraim by starting in the middle of each border, Ataroth Addar in one case and MICMETHATH in the other; it thus traces the border from this middle point westward and then eastward in one, and conversely eastward and then westward in the other.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

atbash at'bash. Also *athbash.* The rabbinic term for a cryptic device whereby the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet *(ʿaleph,* א) was substituted for the last letter *(tau,* ת), the second letter *(beth,* ב) for the next-to-last letter *(šin,* ש), etc. No intensive study of *atbash* in the Bible has been made, but scholars believe there are at least three cases in Jeremiah. In Jer. 51:1 (LXX 28:1), the MT reads *lēb qāmāy H4214,* "the heart of those who rise against me" (followed by Aq., Symm., KJV; modern translations treat it as a place name, "Leb Kamai"). The SEPTUAGINT, however, reads *Chaldaious,* "Chaldeans" (cf. RSV), reflecting the Hebrew term *kaśdîm H4169,* which is the *atbash* of *lbqmy.*

Similarly, Sheshach *(šēšak H9263)* in Jer. 25:26 and 51:41 is a cryptogram for Babel/Babylon *(bābel H951).* Secrecy cannot be the reason for this use of *atbash,* since ch. 51 contains plain references to Babylon. C. F. Keil (in KD, *Jeremiah,* 1:383) suggests that the cryptogram was employed to produce significant double meanings. In 51:1, the Chaldeans or Babylonians are thus characterized as people whose heart rises against God. As for the name Sheshach, Keil derives it from the verb *šākak H8896,* perhaps meaning "to crouch," in allusion to the prophecy that Babylon would "sink *[šāqaʿ H9205]* to rise no more" (51:64). See also RIDDLE.

Ater ay'tuhr (אָטֵר *H359,* perhaps "binder" or "crippled"). (1) The ancestor of a family that returned from the Babylonian captivity with ZERUBBA-BEL (Ezra 2:16; Neh. 7:21). The unusual Hebrew expression *(bĕnê-)āṭēr liḥizqiyyâ,* "the sons of Ater [belonging] to Hezekiah") can be rendered "of Ater, namely of Hezekiah" (cf. NRSV), which might indicate that Hezekiah was an older family name; the NIV translates, "of Ater (through Hezekiah)." (In 1 Esd. 5:15 the KJV reads one name, "Aterezias.") Ater was among those who sealed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:17; in this passage, Ater and Hezekiah are listed as though they were two distinct individuals).

(2) Ancestor of a family of temple gatekeepers who returned from the Babylonian captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:42; Neh. 7:45; 1 Esd. 5:28 [KJV, "Jatal"]).

S. BARABAS

Aterezias uh-ter'uh-zi'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of ATER (1 Esd. 5:15).

Athach ay'thak (עָתָד *H6973,* derivation uncertain). TNIV Athak. A city in the S foothills of the tribal territory of JUDAH to which DAVID sent booty taken from the Amalekites (1 Sam. 30:30). The site is unknown, unless the name is a variant (or scribal corruption) of ETHER, as some scholars believe.

Athaiah uh-thay'yuh (עַתָּיָה *H6970,* perhaps "Yahweh has shown himself superior" or short form of עֲתַלְיָהוּ *H6976;* see ATHALIAH). Son of Uzziah and descendant of PEREZ; he was one of the Judahites who after the return from the Babylonian captivity lived in Jerusalem (Neh. 11:4). Some believe he is the same as Uthai (1 Chr. 9:4), but this identification is doubtful.

Athak. See ATHACH.

Athaliah ath'uh-li'uh (עַתַלְיָה *H6975* and עֲתַלְיָהוּ *H6976,* possibly "Yahweh is exalted"; however, see *HALOT,* 2:904, and J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 136). One woman and two men in the OT bore this name.

(1) The wife of JEHORAM, king of Judah, and daughter of AHAB, king of Israel (2 Ki. 8:18). She is called OMRI'S "daughter" (2 Ki. 8:26; 2 Chr. 22:2), which probably should be understood to mean "granddaughter" (cf. NIV and NRSV; some scholars argue that she was indeed a daughter of Omri and therefore Ahab's sister). Because peace prevailed in her time between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, she married Jehoram, son of JEHOSHAPHAT of Judah (2 Ki. 8:16 – 17). It was a marriage of political convenience with disastrous spiritual results. Athaliah inherited the unscrupulous nature of her mother JEZEBEL. Her influence over her husband and her son AHAZIAH was for evil. She was responsible for introducing into Judah the worship of the Phoenician BAAL.

She was widowed after eight years on the throne, and her son Ahaziah succeeded his father (2 Ki. 8:26; 2 Chr. 22:2). Within a year Ahaziah, with Joram of Israel, was murdered by JEHU, at which time Athaliah destroyed all her grandchildren except Jehoash (see JOASH), who was stolen away and hidden by his aunt, JEHOSHEBA (2 Ki. 11:2; 2 Chr. 22:11). Athaliah usurped the Davidic throne for six years, c. 841 – 835 B.C. (E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* rev. ed. [1983], 104). Under her sponsorship Baal worship was vigorously promoted (2 Chr. 24:7).

JEHOIADA, high priest and husband of Jehosheba (2 Chr. 22:11), led the revolt against Athaliah in her seventh regnal year (2 Ki. 11:1 – 16; 2 Chr. 23:1 – 15). Using as the occasion the changing of the palace guards on the Sabbath, and aided by the guards, Jehoiada had Joash proclaimed king. When Athaliah tried to thwart the uprising, she was evicted from the temple courts and killed at the horses' entrance to the palace. She died at the hands of the guards. (See P. Dutcher-Walls, *Narrative Art, Political Rhetoric: The Case of Athaliah and Joash* [1996].)

(2) Son of Jeroham and descendant of BENJAMIN; he is listed among the heads of families who lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 8:26).

(3) Descendant of Elam and father of Jeshaiah; the latter is listed among those who returned with EZRA from the Babylonian captivity (Ezra 8:7; called "Gotholiah" in 1 Esd. 8:33).

C. L. FEINBERG

Athanasian Creed. See CREED.

Atharias ath'uh-ri'uhs. See ATTHARATES, ATTH-ARIAS.

Atharim ath'uh-rim (אֲתָרִים *H926,* derivation uncertain). According to Num. 21:1, the Israelites, during their wilderness wanderings, were attacked by the Canaanite king of ARAD "along the road to Atharim." Following some ancient versions, the KJV incorrectly translates, "the way of the spies" (as though the term were equivalent to *hattārîm,* ptc. of *tûr H9365,* "to spy out, explore"). Atharim may have been a town in the NEGEV, but the site is unknown. The road in question must have been a significant route, and it probably went from KADESH BARNEA N through AROER and ARAD and on to HEBRON (see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 44, 58).

athbash. See ATBASH.

atheism. See THEISM.

Athenobius ath'uh-noh'bee-us (Ἀθηνόβιος). A "friend" of ANTIOCHUS VII Sidetes, king of SYRIA, who was sent to Jerusalem by the king to remonstrate with SIMON MACCABEE for the occupation of JOPPA and Gazara (GEZER) and the citadel of Jerusalem. He demanded that all the places taken should be given up, or that he pay 1,000 talents in silver. Simon refused to pay more than 100 talents, and Athenobius was obliged to return to Antiochus without achieveing his purpose (1 Macc. 15:28 – 36).

S. BARABAS

Athens ath'inz (Ἀθῆναι *G121).* Chief city of the ancient city-state of Attica and capital of modern Greece.

I. Topography. The city is located about 5 mi. from the AEGEAN SEA on the narrow plain between Mount Parnes to the N, Mount Pentelicus to the E, and Mount Hymettus to the SE. It was originally settled by neolithic people because of its steep hill (later the ACROPOLIS), which was easily defended and had an accessible supply of water. Attica is one of the driest regions of GREECE, but the rainfall is sufficient for olive groves and vineyards. The export of olive oil and wine was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of classical Athens. In addition, there were excellent clay beds nearby for

pottery making, and silver and lead were mined at Laurium at the southern tip of Attica. Mount Pentelicus provided beautiful marble for local use and for export.

The city was enclosed by fortification walls throughout most of its history. During the Late Bronze Age a wall (the *Pelargikon)* was built around

Athens.

the perimeter of the Acropolis. Because of the Persian threat at the beginning of the 5th cent. B.C., the Athenians hastily fortified the expanded city and soon thereafter extended the walls down to the excellent port facilities of the Piraeus. Emperor HADRIAN encouraged the enlargement to the E of the city walls, which stood intact until the Herulian invasion in the 3rd cent. of the Christian era.

The classical and Roman city was located within roughly circular walls. The Acropolis occupied the S central portion. The AREOPAGUS Hill lay to the NW, the Pynx Hill to the W, and the AGORA (marketplace) to the N. There were residential areas to the N, E, and S. Visitors to Athens such as Paul and Pausanias would have entered through the Dipylon Gate just beyond the Kerameikos (the old potters' quarter) cemetery and traveled along the Panathenaic Way through the agora to the Acropolis.

II. History. The Athenians described themselves as *hoi autochthontes* ("sprung from the earth") to indicate that their ancestors had inhabited the city without interruption. The site was originally settled on and around the Acropolis in the Neolithic Period. Tradition says that Athens was not affected by the Dorian invasion at the end of the Bronze Age and further that Nestor led the people of Pylos there

when the Dorians overran the Peloponnesus. During the Geometric Period (Early Iron Age) the city expanded in a northwesterly direction. At some time during the period the agora ceased to be used for burials, and it became the public center of the city. During the 6th cent., an archaic temple of Apollo and the old Bouleuterion were built, as well as the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis.

Athens emerged into history in the 6th cent. The city was first ruled by an oppressive aristocracy until the reforms of Draco. In 594 the constitution of Solon provided safeguards against mistreatment of the people, but it remained for the tyrants, Peisistratus and his sons, to bring prosperity and public confidence. Cleisthenes, at the end of the 6th cent., was the true founder of the democracy.

The role of Athens in the Persian War brought it to a place of great prominence. Even though the city was completely destroyed, the Athenians recovered quickly. The fleet that had a decisive part in the defeat of the Persians became the basis of a maritime empire. The years of Pericles' great influence (443 – 429) were the most glorious in Athenian history. Athens became a complete democracy, and by its encouragement of the arts nurtured one of the greatest periods in the history of mankind. The city was adorned with magnificent public buildings. The dramatists and historians recited its greatness. Athens attracted intellectuals from all over Greece and encouraged the study of philosophy, rhetoric, and science. Only the short-sighted foreign policies of its leaders led to the decline of Athens and to the Peloponnesian War.

Although deprived of its empire and wealth, Athens remained a center of art and literature in the 4th cent. B.C. A precarious democracy was restored for a time until Philip of Macedon conquered all of Greece. The Macedonian kings, as well as Egypt, Syria, and especially Pergamum, courted favor by benevolences to the city. In the 3rd cent., Athens joined the Achaean league, but soon thereafter lost its independence to Rome. In 86 B.C. the Roman general Sulla besieged the city and allowed his soldiers to loot it. Now poor and stripped of its commerce, Athens was reduced to a university center visited by many prominent Romans. The Roman emperors, particularly Hadrian, supported the city by their benevolences. The city continued to decline until the early 19th cent. A.D., when it was a mere village of 5,000. (See P. Gaindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* [1931], and *Athènes sous Hadrian* [1934]; E. E. Cohen, *The Athenian Nation* [2000]; E. B. Lytton, *Athens: Its Rise and Fall, with Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People* [2004]; M. L. Smith, *Athens: A Cultural and Literary History* [2004].)

III. Monuments. Ancient monuments are numerous enough in Athens to give the visitor an insight into the glories of the past. Painstaking work has been done by the Greek Archaeological Service on the Acropolis, by the American School of Classical Studies in the agora, and by the other foreign schools in the city and its environs.

As one enters from any direction, the Acropolis dominates the city. The entrance to the hill is the Propylea, which like the Parthenon was built during the time of Pericles. The Parthenon, dedicated to Athena, is a building of the Doric order. It is 238 ft. long and 111 ft. wide at its base. The outer colonnade was made up of 46 columns, each 34 ft. high. The pediments at each end depicted mythological scenes; the birth of Athena on the E, the contest of Athena and Poseidon for Attica on the W. Above the inner colonnade ran a frieze depicting the Panathenaic procession. (See M. Beard, *The Parthenon* [2003].)

On the N side of the Acropolis is the Erechtheum, the common shrine of Erechtheus and

Athenian forum and Stoa of Attalus. (View to the N.)

Poseidon. Also on the hilltop can be found the fortification walls of Themistocles, the Temple of Wingless Victory, and the foundations of a number of older buildings. Below the Acropolis on the S side are the theater of Dionysius and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.

The agora was the forum and marketplace of the ancient city. All that remains today are the foundations of buildings and the Stoa of Attalus, which stretched across the E side and has been faithfully reconstructed by the American School as a museum. The commercial area included the Stoa of Attalus and the S, E, and middle stoas along the S side. The W side consisted of the important public buildings of Athens: the circular Tholos, the office and dining room of the Prytaneum; the Bouleuterion or senate house; the Metroon the official archives; the temple of Apollo Patroos; and the Stoa Basileios. In front of the Metroon was a temple of Ares and the statues of the eponymous heroes of the city. Above the agora to the W on the Kolonos Agoraios stands the 5th-cent. temple of Hephaestus, one of the best preserved Greek temples. (See I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* [1953].)

IV. Paul's visit. When the apostle PAUL visited Athens, the city still retained its reputation as a center of learning, although it was no longer prosperous. He noticed the magnificent public buildings and shrines that were still intact despite Sulla's barbarism (Acts 17:23). He came there because of the Jewish protests against his preaching in THESSALONICA and BEREA. He witnessed in the agora and was called before the Areopagus Court, to which he gave an intellectual defense of the gospel. He mentioned an altar to the UNKNOWN GOD, which both Pausanias and Philostratus also observed. The synagogue (17:17) is unknown, but Jewish burials have been found in the Kerameikos. A few converts were made as a result of his preaching before he left for CORINTH (Acts 17:15—18:1).

A. RUPPRECHT

Athlai ath'li (עַתְלַי *H6974,* prob. short form of עֲתַלְיָהוּ *H6976;* see ATHALIAH). One of the descendants of Bebai who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (Ezra 10:28; called Emathis in 1 Esd. 9:29).

athlete. Athletics is strenuous competitive physical sport or GAMES, requiring specialized training and involving a degree of formal organization in its performance. Though the Greeks contributed the word *(athlētēs)* and much of the ideal of athletics (see S. G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* [2004]),

the more ancient civilizations were already acquainted with the concept and practice of this sort of activity. The Egyptians engaged in competitions in wrestling, singlestick fighting, boxing, and possibly also rowing and archery. The OT provides little evidence for athletics, but references to wrestling, running, swimming, and ball play may point in this direction. The Romans adopted the athletic tradition of Greece and left their own imprint (cf. Z. Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue* [2005]).

In the NT the influence of hellenization is apparent in language and culture (see HELLENISM), with the result that general terms relating to athletic competition are frequent, especially in figures of speech and particularly in the Pauline writings. The verb *athleō G123* ("to contend for a prize, compete in a contest") is used only twice in the NT, both times in 2 Tim. 2:5, which stresses the organized regulatory aspect of the games as an illustration of the place of discipline in the Christian life. Though there was no team sport in the

This well-known marble statue of a discus-thrower (from Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, Italy) is a 2nd-cent.-A.D. copy of a bronze original from the 5th cent. B. C.

Greek games, the compound verb *synathleō G5254,* appears in Phil. 1:27 with a hint of team attitude (NRSV, "striving side by side"). Finally, the cognate noun *athlēsis G124* occurs in Heb. 10:32 ("you stood your ground in a great contest in the face of suffering"). As the last reference suggests, basic to the meaning of these terms is the idea of effort; so much so, that the related adjective *athlios* (not found in the NT) shifted in sense from "struggling, competing," to "miserable, wretched."

Another verb, *agōnizomai G76,* also means "to enter a contest, to compete in the games." Its only literal use in the NT is in 1 Cor. 9:25, where Paul commented that everyone "who competes in the games *[agōnizomenon]* goes into strict training." The figure of the effort demanded in competition is applied to PRAYER. PAUL described EPAPHRAS as always "wrestling" in his prayers for the Colossians (Col. 4:12). Similarly, the apostle said to the Roman Christians: "join me in my struggle *[synagōnizomai G5253]* by praying to God for me" (Rom. 15:30), suggesting by this metaphor cooperation and teamwork as well as intensity of personal involvement. (See M. Brändl, *Der Agon bei Paulus* [2006].)

The intensity implied in this verb is indicated by its common rendering, "strive, struggle." The Lord exhorted his hearers: "Strive to enter by the narrow door" (Lk. 13:24 NRSV). In the Christian battle Christ is the source of the believer's strength, as Paul states: "To this end I labor, struggling with all his energy, which so powerfully works in me" (Col. 1:29). He uses both verb and noun when he encourages the youthful TIMOTHY by saying, "Fight the good fight *[agōnizou ton kalon agōna]* of the faith" (1 Tim. 6:12; cf. also 4:10). A compound verb is used in the appeal of Jude that the believers should "contend *[epagōnizomai G2043]* for the faith that was once for all entrusted to the saints" (Jude 3). Another compound is the basis for the rendering in Heb. 12:4, "In your struggle *[antagōnizomai G497]* against sin, you have not yet resisted to the point of shedding your blood."

The cognate noun *(agon G74)* is used by Paul when he tells the Philippians that by their suffering they share the "struggle" in which he himself is engaged (Phil 1:30; cf. 1 Thess. 2:2, "opposition"). He also informs the Colossian saints of the great struggle he goes through in his concern for their spiritual welfare (Col. 2:1). This noun is used specifically of the spiritual "race" that we must run with perseverance (Heb. 12:1; for the same idea with the verb *diōkō G1503,* "press on," cf. Phil. 3:12 – 14). Perhaps the most striking of all passages using athletic figures of speech is 1 Cor. 9:24 – 27: "Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to get the prize. Everyone who competes in the games goes into strict training. They do it to get a crown that will not last; but we do it to get a crown that will last forever. Therefore I do not run like a man running aimlessly; I do not fight like a man beating the air. No, I beat my body and make it my slave so that after I have preached to others, I myself will not be disqualified for the prize."

C. E. DEVRIES

Atipha uh-ti'fuh. KJV Apoc. form of HATIPHA (1 Esd. 5:32).

atonement. In Christian theology, the RECONCILIATION between God and human beings brought about by Jesus' SACRIFICE; sometimes equivalent to EXPIATION. The necessity for reconciliation is the breach in the primal relationship between the Creator and the creature occasioned by the latter's sinful rebellion. Because sacrifice is the basic NT category used to describe the death of Christ, atonement —which the OT SACRIFICES wrought in a ceremonial way—is the term commonly employed by theologians to describe the work of Christ. By the same token, because the meaning of Christ's death is central in the NT, a much wider range of biblical teaching than that bearing on sacrifice has been

included in the theological discussion of atonement. What the Scriptures have to say about the nature of God, the significance of the law, the character of sin, the power of demonic forces, the meaning of salvation, and the final eschatological redemption of the world—all these are scriptural themes that have been more or less central in the various "theories" of the atonement.

I. Vocabulary. Etymologically, the English term *atonement* (from *at one,* i.e., in agreement) signifies a harmonious relationship or that which brings about such a relationship, that is, a reconciliation. Behind this English word there are several Hebrew and Greek terms that do not correspond exactly one to another. (The circle of theological ideas is compatible, however.)

The initial question is the crucial one regarding the meaning of the Hebrew verb *kāpar H4105* (cf. the nouns *kippurîm H4113,* "act of atonement," and *kappōret H4114,* "mercy seat, atonement cover"). The fundamental idea of this frequently employed term seems to be "to cover" or "to wipe away [sin]," hence "to expiate, placate." It is used to describe the effect of the sacrifices at the consecration of the high priest and the altar (Exod. 29:36 – 37; Lev. 8:14 – 15; Ezek. 43:20); of the annual sacrifices for the renewal of the consecration of the priest, the people, and the tabernacle offered on Yom Kippur (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF); and of the sacrifices offered on behalf of the individual, especially the sin and trespass offerings (Lev. 4:20; Num. 5:8) when the one sacrificing acknowledged his guilt and defilement. Sometimes translated "to make reconciliation," "to purge away," or "to reconcile," the term is closely connected with the noun *ḥaṭṭāʿt H2633* (in its meaning "sin offering"), which designates doing that by which atonement is realized. The relevant Greek terms are the verbs *hilaskomai G2661* ("to make propitiation, make a reconciliation, atone for") and *katallassō G2904* ("to reconcile"), as well as their cognate nouns.

II. Atonement in the OT. It is important to note with respect to the sacrifices of the OT that they bear witness to the rupture of fellowship between God and the sinner, that they acknowledge the righteousness of the divine judgment upon the sinner, and, finally, that they constitute a divinely appointed provision for the sinner's forgiveness and reconciliation to God. All of these ideas are basic to the thinking of the writers of the NT. Of course, in the NT the thought is added that the sacrifice of bulls and goats could never finally cleanse the conscience from the defilement of sin and appease an offended deity. Therefore the OT sacrifices have their fulfillment in the death of Christ, the true Lamb of God (Jn. 1:36), whom God has set forth to be a PROPITIATION through faith in his blood (Rom. 3:23 – 26); it is he who has obtained eternal redemption for mankind by his own blood, having entered once for all into the holy place not made with hands (Heb. 9:11).

The meaning of atonement in the OT is evidently foundational to the NT doctrine of Christ's atoning work. The crucial material in this regard concerns the Day of Atonement, which has aptly

The altar of the temple was used for sacrificial atonement. (From a reconstruction of Jerusalem during NT times.)

been called the "Good Friday of the Old Testament." Of the several passages alluding to this day (cf. Lev. 23:26 – 32; Num. 18; 29:7 – 11), Lev. 16 is of capital importance. The distinctive ceremonial involves many details, some of which are no longer perspicuous, but it is eminently clear that on this day there was the highest exercise of the high priest's mediatorial office. Being a sinner himself and representing a sinful people, he discarded his gorgeous high priestly garments and, having bathed himself, assumed an attire destitute of all ornament, as fitting a suppliant suing for forgiveness. This attire was becomingly white, symbolizing the purity required of those who would enter into the presence of the Holy One of Israel. See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

Being thus prepared and properly accoutered, the high priest performed the sacrifices that climax the whole system of purification in Leviticus. By these sacrifices, which involved the confession of sin (the priest laid his hands on the head of the scapegoat, confessing Israel's transgressions, thus transferring them to the head of the goat, Lev. 16:21), and the sprinkling of the shed blood seven times toward the MERCY SEAT where the presence of the Lord dwelt, the priest made atonement for the sins of the people. Thus, by a ceremonial act at the central sanctuary, peace and fellowship with the God of the covenant were restored. The entire removal of the cause of God's alienation was symbolically set forth, both by the giving of the life of one animal and the sending of another into the wilderness.

III. Atonement in the NT. It is this ceremonial of the Day of Atonement that constitutes the principal paradigm for the author of Hebrews in his interpretation of the DEATH OF CHRIST. In his use of the Levitical materials to illumine the meaning of Christ's death, one has a striking example of the continuity-in-movement of redemptive history. What Christ did is analogous to what the high priest did in the OT. The author of this epistle knew nothing of the approach that contrasts the supposed OT view of God, as an angry Deity appeased by the shedding of blood, with the NT God of Jesus, who as a loving Father dispenses the favor of forgiveness freely to all his erring children. Rather, without the shedding of blood there can be no remission of sins (Heb. 9:22). All the symbols

Goats grazing on the hillside E of Bethlehem. In the time of the Bible, the sins of the people were placed upon the scapegoat, which was then led out into the wilderness.

and ceremonies in the OT teaching the atonement find their true meaning and fulfillment in the new covenant in Christ's blood (Matt. 26:28; Heb. 12:24). He is the suffering servant of the Lord who brings redemption to all mankind.

Along with this fundamental continuity of redemptive revelation there is discontinuity, a change brought about by the movement of history. The covenant in Christ's blood is a *new* covenant (see COVENANT, THE NEW). The writer to the Hebrews sharply contrasts the work of the high priest in the OT with that of Christ in the NT, particularly in terms of its efficacy. Whereas every year the ritual of the Day of Atonement was reenacted as the priest entered the Holy of Holies with the blood of the appointed victim, Christ has entered once and for all into the true sanctuary, not made with hands, into the presence of God, to make intercession for us with his own blood. He has secured a lasting deliverance for mankind. Access to God is no longer granted to the high priest alone, who himself was limited to restrictions of time, place, and circumstance. Rather Christ, the great High Priest, has opened a new and living way to God, a way by which all whose hearts are purged from the guilt of sin may at all times have free access to the Father. Having made atonement for sin, he has reconciled man to God (cf. Heb. 7 – 10).

The same basic interpretation of Christ's death prevails throughout the NT. According to Paul, one is justified by the blood of Christ (Rom. 5:9), for God has set forth Christ to be a propitiation ("sacrifice of atonement," NIV and NRSV) through faith in his blood (Rom. 3:25). Both Jews and Gentiles have been reconciled to God by the cross (Eph. 2:16). Christ has made peace by the blood of his cross, reconciling sinners to God in the body of his flesh through death (Col. 1:20 – 22). Christ suffered for all, bearing our sins in his own body on the tree, healing us by his stripes (1 Pet. 2:24; cf. Isa. 53). Therefore one can understand the saying of the Lord that the SON OF MAN came to give his life a ransom for many (Matt. 20:28), and join with the redeemed in the book of Revelation in ascribing praise to him "who loves us and has freed us from our sins by his blood" (Rev. 1:5 – 6).

IV. The doctrine of the atonement. In this all too brief survey of the biblical materials, we shall venture to outline a doctrine of the atonement, touching upon the questions commonly discussed by the theologians.

A. Its reason. The first point to be made is that the atonement originated with God; it was he who provided it. However one may trace the development of blood sacrifice among the Hebrews, there can be no doubt that in both the priestly and prophetic writings of the OT it is God who appointed the various rites, giving to Moses and those who followed him instructions concerning the manner in which they were to be rendered and the benefits which they secured to the worshiper. So it is in the NT. The atonement for sin provided by the death of Christ had its source in God. It is he who "was reconciling the world to himself in Christ" (2 Cor. 5:19).

The ultimate reason for this initiative is not to be found in any necessity laid upon God, but in his free and sovereign LOVE (Jn. 3:16). This is the ultimate of REVELATION; that is, the atonement finds its ultimate explanation in an unfathomable urge in God toward his sinful and alienated creatures. He has been pleased, for reasons known only to himself, to set his love upon those who are unworthy. The Lord has loved sinners with an everlasting love (Jer. 31:3), and in due time commended that love to them in that while they were yet sinners Christ died for them (Rom. 5:8).

This, then, is the final reason for the atonement. When Scripture says that God is love (1 Jn. 4:7 – 8), it teaches that love is no incidental aspect of God's being, something he may choose to be or not to be at his pleasure. Rather, it is the essence of his being. Though people can discover no reason in themselves, no value or worth that would evoke that love, yet he loves them because he is God who is love. The Lord says that he set his love upon his people, not because they were greater in number than any other—for they were the fewest—but because he loved them (Deut. 7:6 – 8). That is, he loved them because he loved them! The reason for his love is hidden in himself whose name is I AM WHO I AM (Exod. 3:14). Even when his people, like an unfaithful wife, went whoring after other gods, the Lord loved them still (Hos. 11:8 – 9). "This is love: not that we loved God, but that he loved us and sent his Son as an atoning sacrifice for our sins" (1 Jn. 4:10). This "love divine, all loves excelling" cannot be frustrated at last; it is a love, says Paul, from which nothing can separate us (Rom. 8:38 – 39). The reason for this is that God's love is not dependent upon anything in the sinner; it is a love which is sovereign and free.

B. Its nature. If love is the reason for the atonement, one may still ask why love should have taken this mode of fulfilling its urgent purpose. In answer to this question, the ancient fathers of the church placed great stress on a saying of Jesus recorded in Mk. 10:45 and Matt. 20:28, "the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." To RANSOM someone means to redeem him by purchasing his release through the payment of a price. It was assumed that Christ gave his soul, in lieu of man's, to the devil and paid the ransom price of the delivery from his powers. The theory was that since the first parents had sold their souls to the devil, he had a legal claim over men, which God, in justice, must satisfy. Hence, Jesus gave his soul as the ransom price for man's release and "descended into hell," as the APOSTLES' CREED says. But having kept his bargain, it was impossible for Satan to hold him in hell. The third day he rose in triumph, taking with him all whom he had redeemed.

Of course, Jesus did not say that he came to give his life a ransom *to the devil,* and nowhere does the NT, in elaborating this redemption motif, make such an affirmation. It is true that the concept of ransom presupposes bondage, the need of release, and the payment of a price to obtain this release. But the primary emphasis of Scripture is upon what sinners are redeemed from, rather than to whom the ransom is paid. The overall implication of Scripture is that Christ's atoning work finds its ultimate objective in God; it is God who is reconciled. It is most natural, when thinking of Christ's

death as a ransom, to assume that the payment is to God in the sense that sinners owe him an uncompromised obedience, a debt they cannot render, but one paid by Christ on our behalf, through his own obedience unto death "even death on a cross" (Phil 2:8).

Though Scripture does not spell out a "ransompaid-to-the-devil" theory, it does teach that the redeemed are safe from Satan's power; this is the truth contained in the ancient or "classic view" of the atonement known as *Christus Victor.* The devil has sinners under his power; as a cruel taskmaster he drives them to sin. But Christ by his death redeemed man from this thralldom. (Note Bunyan's theological exactitude in the *Holy War* as he describes how Diabolus began to tremble at the prospect of Emmanuel's imminent victory and clandestinely stole out to the gate of the city by night to hold a colloquy with the Prince. His claim to a right over the city of Mansoul was repudiated, and his effort to strike a bargain rebuffed. He was denounced as a usurper and forced to abdicate.) According to Heb. 2:14, Christ partook of mankind's flesh and blood, that through death he might destroy him who has the power of death, that is, the devil. Paul referred to the triumph which Christ obtained over principalities and powers at the cross, making an open display of them (Col. 2:15). (Cf. G. Aulén, *Christus Victor* [1951].)

The question concerning why God's love expresses itself by way of atonement, which the ancient fathers answered in terms of the ransom theory, was deeply probed in the 11th cent. by Anselm of Canterbury in his classic work *Cur Deus Homo.* His answer was that though prompted by his love to redeem us, God must do so in a manner consistent with his justice. The necessity of the atonement, then, is an inference from the character of God. Sin is a revolt against God, and he must inevitably react against it with wrath. Sin really creates an awful liability, and the inexorable demands of the divine justice must be met. The truth that God is love does not stand alone in the Bible. The God of the Bible keeps wrath for his enemies (Nah. 1:2); his "eyes are too pure to look on evil" (Hab. 1:13). The God of Jesus is to be feared as one "who can destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matt. 10:28). "The wrath of God," wrote Paul, "is being revealed from heaven against all the godlessness and wickedness of men" (Rom. 1:18). Therefore the death of Christ is the way God shows that he is righteous in forgiving sins and in justifying the sinner who has faith in Jesus (Rom. 3:24 – 26). God justly demands satisfaction for one's sins, and since by Christ's death satisfaction is given, the sinner is forgiven and the punishment remitted. The essence of Anselm's theory of the atonement—*vicarious* or *substitutionary satisfaction*—is the theory that has dominated the orthodox tradition.

The basic objections to this view drive one back to a kind of theological watershed, and it would take us far beyond the scope of this article to explore all aspects of the question. For one, it is argued that the idea of *satisfaction* is inimical to the fundamental insight that God is love, a sort of vestigial remnant from the imperfect view of the angry Deity portrayed in the OT. Furthermore, it is alleged, the notion of *vicarious* suffering is unethical. How could someone else merit the divine favor for men? Anselm, it must be said, never contemplated these questions seriously. For him it was assumed, on the basis of Scripture, that the character of God requires atonement. As for its vicarious character, he reasoned that only the God-man could render such atonement, since it is man who has offended and God against whom the offense was directed.

In the last analysis, the question is whether one believes the fundamental thought forms of Scripture to be a permanent and final revelation. For all the limitations in Anselm's formulation, it appears to this writer that he grasped an essential aspect of the teaching of Scripture. According to Isa. 53, the Suffering Servant was wounded for *our* transgressions, *he* was bruised for *our* iniquities, the chastisement of *our* peace was upon *him,* and with *his* stripes *we* are healed. In the same vein is

Paul's affirmation that he "who had no sin" was made sin for us, "so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. 5:21). Christ was not made a sinner in the sense of being inwardly polluted. Rather he was reckoned a sinner; our sin was imputed to Christ, even as his righteousness was imputed to us. In himself he bore the condemnation of sin so that to those who are in Christ Jesus there is now no condemnation (Rom. 8:1). He was made "a curse for us," in order to make man the righteousness of God in him (Gal. 3:13). Christ rendered a vicarious satisfaction for sin. It was not by substituting something in the place of the penalty, but rather by a vicarious enduring of the penalty. This is the essential point in Anselm's theory.

It should be noted that Anselm conceived of the satisfaction rendered by Christ solely in terms of his death; Calvary was the one great supererogatory act of history that relieved God of any necessity to punish the sinner. It is true that Scripture places the emphasis on Christ's death, but it should not be overlooked that his death, according to Scripture, is the climax of his life of perfect obedience (he "became obedient to death," Phil 2:8; cf. also Heb. 5:8). In Rom. 5:12 – 19 there is an express reference to Christ's one act of *obedience,* in contrast to the disobedience of the first Adam, an act of obedience by which the many are made righteous. And so Christ becomes the perfect High Priest, having not only removed the sanction of the broken law by being made a curse, but also having fulfilled the requirements of the law by his sinless life, thus achieving a perfect righteousness. See OBEDIENCE OF CHRIST.

A third theory of the atonement, sometimes referred to as the "moral influence theory," has its roots in the teaching of Abelard (1079 – 1142) and its flower in Protestant liberalism. According to this view, the basic meaning of atonement is what F. Schleiermacher has called "moral uplift," a new attitude toward life. There is no objective enmity on God's part; Christ's death has nothing to do with atonement in the sense of removal of divine alienation. Rather, Christ's faithfulness, even unto death, revealed the divine love and dissipated human mistrust of God, which is based on a misunderstanding of God's character. Thus people are justified by Christ's death, in the sense that through Calvary love is stirred up in men's hearts and they are led to repent of their sins.

Judged by the teaching of Scripture, this view is defective and inadequate; the very essence of the doctrine of the atonement is lost. Yet there is an essential element of truth, for the death of Christ has a profound influence on the beneficiaries. Because God is reconciled to the sinner in Christ, sinners are admonished to be reconciled to God. The Christian response to the death of Christ is to "rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received our reconciliation" (cf. Rom. 5:8 – 11). Hence Paul can describe his work in the beautiful figure of a ministry of reconciliation. As an ambassador of Christ who had been entrusted with the message of reconciliation, he besought all people, on behalf of Christ, to be reconciled to God (2 Cor. 5:18 – 21). If the atonement is to become a personal reality in the individual life, there must be this radical, inward change, the response of love to love on the part of the sinner. (See also J. Denney, *The Death of Christ* [1951]; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Work of Christ* [1965].)

C. Its perfection. There are many aspects of the biblical doctrine of the atonement which may be included under this heading. Historically Roman Catholics and Protestants have been divided over the need of rendering a temporal satisfaction for postbaptismal sins, the former teaching that such satisfaction is rendered either in penance or purgatory. Protestants believe that Christ has rendered a full and complete satisfaction for all sins, so that the Roman Catholic teaching impinges on the perfection of Christ's atoning work.

Protestants have also urged the perfection of Christ's work against the sacrament of the mass,

which is allegedly a real, though not literal, reiteration of the sacrifice of Calvary. While they believe that the efficacy of Christ's atonement is continuously applied throughout the centuries, they do not believe that it is possible to enhance its efficacy by a constant repetition. In fact, the writer of Hebrews scores the inadequacy of the older order in that the sacrifices of the Aaronic priesthood had constantly to be repeated, bringing no final solution to the sin problem. But now Christ has once and for all put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, and by this one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified (Heb. 9:26; 10:14).

A word should be said about divine healing, which is commonly associated with faith but ultimately has to do with the atonement. "Faith healing" presupposes that in the atonement our Lord contemplated the body as well as the soul. So those who stress healing of the body, if they spell out their doctrine beyond a general faith in God, would say that the faith that heals is a faith in the Savior who himself "took up our infirmities and carried our diseases" (Matt. 8:17). Not to trust Christ for deliverance from the afflictions of the body, as well as the sins of the soul, is to impugn the perfection of his atoning work. Evangelicals have never doubted the efficacy of the atonement for the whole person, affirming the resurrection of the body, so that Christ's death becomes the "death of deaths" for all who die in him. But the obvious fact that all people die in a physical way has led the church as a whole to conclude that the redemptive benefits of the atonement, as far as the body is concerned, must await the *eschaton,* when there shall be no more curse, neither sorrow nor crying nor any such thing (Rev. 21:4).

D. Its extent. Perhaps the most discussed aspect of the atonement today is its extent, which is also an aspect of its perfection. Did Christ die only for the elect (limited or definitive atonement) or for all (universal atonement)? In the older Calvinistic-Arminian debate this question eventuated ultimately in the same result: not all people are finally redeemed by Christ's death, but only those who believe (the Arminians' emphasis), who are the elect of God (the Calvinists' emphasis). For theologians in the Arminian tradition, the doctrine of limited atonement is inconsistent with God's impartial love and with the sincere offer of the gospel to all. For theologians in the Calvinist tradition, a universal atonement restricts the power of Christ's work (his death does not actually redeem, it only makes redemption a possibility) and compromises the doctrine of grace (if Christ's death itself does not redeem, then the sinner contributes to his own redemption).

According to both traditions, there is only eternal separation from God for those who die outside of Christ. In contemporary theology, however, there has been much emphasis placed on the universal or cosmic scope of the atonement, and in many instances this universalism advocates in a forthright manner the restitution of every fallen, alienated creature to the fellowship of God. Unlike the older universalism that made all religions equally valid efforts to have fellowship with God, the new universalism is confessedly Christian; sinners are reconciled to God only by Christ. But all sinners are reconciled, and sooner or later they will be made to realize it. He is the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the *world* (Jn. 1:29); God was in Christ reconciling the *world* unto himself (2 Cor. 5:19); in Christ shall *all* be made alive (1 Cor. 15:22); for he is the propitiation for the sins of the *whole world* (1 Jn. 2:2). This strand of universalism is stressed as pointing to the time of the restitution of all things of which Peter spoke in the first Christian sermon (Acts 3:21).

It is sometimes admitted that all people do not depart this life reconciled to God. But eventually they will be, it is averred, even though the reconciliation be delayed until they are "deep in eternity." However, there is no clear warranty in Scripture for this affirmation. In fact the uniform thrust of Scripture, for those who have come under the shadow of the cross, is that "now is the time of good

favor, now is the day of salvation" (2 Cor. 6:2). As for those who have not heard, they are described by Paul as "without hope and without God in the world" (Eph. 2:12). Unless one is ready, therefore, rather radically to amend the apostolic tradition and eliminate HELL, it would seem that one must not press the universal language of Scripture absolutely.

While one could desire that the atonement should embrace all people absolutely, it would appear that in the minds of the writers of Scripture the atonement is universal in the sense that sinners from every nation, tribe, people, and tongue shall one day stand before the Lamb clothed in white with palms of victory in their hands (Rev. 7:9). It is in this sense, then, that one should conceive the perfection of Christ's atoning work. (See further J. Murray, *Redemption: Accomplished and Applied* [1955], 9 – 78; L. Morris, *The Atonement: Its Meaning and Significance* [1983]; H. D. McDonald, *The Atonement of the Death of Christ* [1985]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* [1994], ch. 27.) See also SALVATION.

P. JEWETT

Atonement, Day of. The chief annual fast day in Judaism on the tenth day of the seventh month, TISHRI. The ritual is detailed in Lev. 16. On this day, when the temple or tabernacle still existed, the high priest entered the Holy of Holies to atone for the sins of Israel. Now it is called Yom Kippur (cf. Lev. 23:27 – 28, *yôm hakkippurîm H3427 + H4113;* LXX *hēmera exilasmou).* The NT refers to it as *hē nēsteia* "the fast" in Acts 27:9. PHILO JUDAEUS designated it "the feast of the fast," and the MISHNAH called it simply "the Day" or "the Great Day."

I. Relevant passages. The main passages dealing with this annual fast, including the legal enactments involved, are the following. (1) Lev. 16, the central passage; (2) Exod. 30:10, which refers to making atonement annually on the horns of the altar of incense; (3) Lev. 23:26 – 32, in the list of annual feasts, where the date is mentioned and where is ordered a holy convocation at the sanctuary, the fasting, an offering by fire, and rest from work; (4) Lev. 25:9, which says the JUBILEE YEAR was to commence on this day; (5) Num. 18, where duties and privileges of priests and Levites are given; (6) Num. 29:7 – 11, which gives laws connected with the sacrifices, namely, a holy convocation, fasting, rest from labor, the sacrifices of sin offering, burnt offerings, meal offerings, and drink offerings; (7) Ezek. 45:18 – 20, which presents a number of regulations for the festivals of Israel and the sacrifices.

II. The occasion for the day. Some have thought that the death of NADAB and ABIHU (Lev. 10:1) was the occasion for the Day of Atonement in order to emphasize God's HOLINESS, which they had transgressed. One Jewish tradition connects the institution of the day with JACOB'S mourning for JOSEPH (Gen. 37:29 – 35; see *Jub.* 34:17). Those committed to the critical school of OT interpretation find the setting for the day in Ezek. 40 – 48. It is important to recall that the Year of Jubilee began on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 25:9), which some suggest was the conclusion of several New Year observances.

The critical opinion is that it is a composite record. T. K. Cheyne (in *EncBib,* 1:384) connects Lev. 16 with ch. 10 (with no explanation of how the intervening chapters came to be interposed in the text) and concludes that the regulations of the day are the outcome of an interesting development. With others, he holds that Ezekiel's directions are prior to those of Lev. 16. It should be pointed out that the atonement for the temple occurs on the first day of the first month and, according to the SEPTUAGINT, on the first day of the seventh month (Ezek. 45:18 – 20), but no reference whatever is made there to atonement for sins. It is remarkable, indeed, that in the prophetic (some hold it may be symbolical)

portrayal of Ezekiel's temple, no mention of the Day of Atonement occurs.

III. The purpose of the day. The ritual of the day had in view one goal: to avert the wrath of God for the sins of the past year and to insure his continued dwelling among them. The shedding of blood and the sending off of the scapegoat were meant to cleanse the nation, the priesthood, and the sanctuary from sin. The entire meaning of the sacrificial system reached its climax, and the day has been well called the "Good Friday of the Old Testament."

This day was observed to remind Israel that in spite of all the daily, weekly, and monthly (on the new moon) sacrifices, sin was not fully atoned for. Always the offerer stood at a distance from God, unable to enter the holy presence of God, typified by the SHEKINAH cloud over the mercy seat. On this day the high priest was allowed by God to enter the Holy of Holies with blood as a representative of the people. See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

The basic principle underlying the Day of Atonement is that the offerings for sin throughout the year could not provide for or cover unknown ("secret") sins. Nevertheless, by these sins the sanctuary, the people, and the land were all rendered unclean. God could not be honored as he deserved under such circumstances. The Day of Atonement was instituted for the accomplishment annually of a complete atonement for all sin (Lev. 16:33). The whole priestly legislation was given its highest expression: God's holiness was recognized and satisfied by sacrifice. All the ceremonies and rituals of the day were meant to symbolize, as far as possible, a complete atonement for sin and the utter removal of the cause of God's displeasure. The Day of Atonement marked the highest exhibition of the mediatorial work of the high priest. In him all the people had access into the presence of God.

The traditional ritual of Kapparot, performed on the eve of the Day of Atonement, symbolizes the transferral of guilt.

According to later Jewish theology, on New Year's day God determined the fate of every man on earth and on the Day of Atonement he sealed the decree. The intervening ten days of penitence (actually counting from the first through the tenth of Tishri) were observed in order to avert an unfavorable decree. Only unintentional sins were in view (Lev. 4:2, 13; Num. 15:24), as reflected in the MISHNAH'S warning: "He who says, I will sin, [because] the Day atones; to him the Day will bring no atonement" *(m. Yoma* 8:9; cf. Heb. 9:7, "in ignorance").

IV. The importance of the day. The Day of Atonement is the only fast day stipulated in the Mosaic law. In the two centuries before the advent of Christianity, it played a significant role in Judaism. References to it in the Mishnaic tractate *Yoma* and in other Jewish sources leave no doubt in the matter. Conceptually, the crucifixion accounts of the NT and the entire epistle to the Hebrews, along with Paul's letters, are directly related to it. The Day of Atonement was so central and vital to

Judaism that it outlived the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70) and the loss of the entire sacrificial system. The observance actually manifested that Israel believed the cleansing of their sins was accomplished by the prescribed rites given by God, and that the forgiveness and grace of God were extended to them and formed the basis for their continuance in fellowship with him as his covenant people. It demonstrated godly sorrow for their sins (indicated by their fasting). It realized the purification of the sanctuary defiled by the sins of Israel. Atonement was made for all the transgressions of the congregation. The consciousness of sin in Israel was deepened through the exercises of the day. God was propitiated for the year just past.

The day is not without spiritual significance and instruction for the Christian today. The more one compares the rituals of this day with what was accomplished perfectly by Christ on Calvary, the more the conviction is confirmed that all the rites of the Day of Atonement, and all the religious appointments in Israel, were only shadows preparing for the coming of finality in Christ (Heb. 9:24; 10:1).

V. The day as a fast. Although some scholars disagree, the words of Lev. 16:29 appear to indicate that the day was a fast: "This is to be a lasting ordinance for you: On the tenth day of the seventh month you must deny yourselves and not do any work" (cf. also 23:27, 29; Num. 29:7). It is also described as "a sabbath of rest" (Lev. 16:31; 23:32; literally, "a sabbath of sabbatism," meaning perhaps "a most solemn sabbath").

VI. Contents of Lev. 16. Basic to a proper understanding of the day is a close scrutiny of the details in Lev. 16. The chapter may be divided into four sections: (1) vv. 1 – 10, personal preparations by Aaron for the rites of the day, including his clothing and bathing, as well as information regarding the animals for sacrifice; (2) vv. 11 – 24, the ceremonies described in detail; (3) vv. 25 – 28, additional concluding directions for the ceremonies of the day; (4) vv. 29 – 34, directions for the congregation. The contents of these sections are so clearly interwoven and interdependent that the views which attribute the chapter to various sources cannot be substantiated. Modern attempts to disprove the unity of the chapter are far too arbitrary and subjective to be tenable.

VII. The rites of the day. The rites of the day were complex and minute, but all had meaning for the ultimate purpose of the day: atonement by sacrifice according to God's specific appointment. As already seen, the feast was so important that, through the years, later observances added elements to the original arrangement. It is profitable to examine both types of observance.

A. Early observance. On this day the high priest removed his official garments of glory and beauty, clothed himself in white linen as a penitent with the rest of the nation, and then carried out the ceremonies of the day. (1) He offered a bullock as a sin offering for himself and the priests. (2) With a censer of live coals from the altar of incense he entered the Holy of Holies to fill the compartment with incense. (3) He sprinkled the blood of the bullock on the mercy seat and on the floor before the ark of the covenant. (4) He cast lots over the two live goats brought by the people. (5) Slaying one of the goats as a sin offering for the nation, he took the blood inside the veil and sprinkled it as before, thus making atonement for the holiest place. (6) He confessed the sins of the people over the live goat, placing his hands on its head. (7) He sent the live goat away into the wilderness. The live goat is called the scapegoat (i.e., the escape goat; see AZAZEL). Symbolically, it carried away the sins of the people (cf. C. L. Feinberg in *BSac* 115 [1958]: 320 – 33). (8) He clothed himself in his usual

apparel, offering now a burnt offering for himself and one for the people with the fat of the sin offering. The flesh of the bullock and the goat were burned outside the camp.

B. Later observance. In later times the feast gained in significance, so its ritual was greatly enlarged (cf. H. Danby, *The Mishnah* [1933], 162 – 72, for a translation of tractate *Yoma).* For instance, on the Day of Atonement the high priest had to bathe five times and perform ten washings. No matter how unobservant a Jew may be of the rites of Judaism, unless he has finally severed all ties with his faith, he still celebrates this day. In Judaism, after the close of the OT canon, the first day of the seventh month witnessed a blast of trumpets and a holy convocation (Lev. 23:23), which began a ten-day period of repentance.

In modern Judaism the Day of Atonement concludes the ten days of penitence, beginning with the Jewish New Year (Rosh Hashanah), which coincides with the biblical Feast of Trumpets. The ten days are set aside for spiritual meditation and preparation for the great Day of Atonement. (Together these ten days are known as "The Solemn or Awesome Days.") The Day of Atonement, then and now, begins on the evening of the ninth of Tishri at sunset and lasts until the evening of the tenth (Lev. 23:32). Fasting includes no eating, drinking, washing, anointing, putting on footwear, and marital intercourse *(m. Yoma* 8:1). Children and the sick always have been exempt from the fast.

Because the high priest was the central personality throughout the ceremonies, he took up residence in the temple seven days before the festival *(m. Yoma* 1:1). He rehearsed the ceremonies he was to perform. On the eve of the day he kept an all-night vigil. In fact, men were especially delegated to keep him awake. After bathing (Lev. 16:4) and offering the burnt offering in the morning (Num. 29:8 – 11), he donned white linen (Lev. 16:4) and was prepared to conduct the rites. These rites consisted of (1) the sacrifice for the priests, (2) the sacrifice for the people, and (3) the scapegoat ritual. With the blood of the bullock (the sin offering) and with incense, the high priest entered the holiest (Lev. 16:12 – 14). After filling the compartment with a cloud of incense, he left to pray and again entered the Holy of Holies (in a second stage of the ceremonies) to sprinkle blood on the MERCY SEAT for the sins of the priests.

The sacrifice for the nation was a goat chosen by lot from two identical animals. This goat was slain and its blood sprinkled on the ark seven times. The veil and the horns of the altar of incense were also sprinkled. The live goat, designated "for Azazel" (Lev. 16:8, 10, 26 NRSV; NIV, "as a scapegoat") as the first had been "for the Lord," was taken by the high priest, who laid his hands on it, confessed the sins of the people, and then committed it to one especially appointed to lead it away into the desert amid the jeering and imprecations of the people. After this the high priest put off his garments and put on his usual apparel to offer burnt offerings with the fat of the slain bullock and goat (v. 24). The remains were carried outside the camp and burned. The people rejoiced and danced at sunset.

The rabbis claimed that the high priest sprinkled blood forty-three times on this day. The Mishnah indicates that whenever the high priest pronounced the ineffable divine name (YHWH), the congregation prostrated themselves and cried: "Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom forever and ever." At the conclusion of the ceremonies of the day, so great was the relief of the people that they accompanied the high priest to his home where he entertained them at a feast. The people in general gave themselves to rejoicing; the young men and maidens danced in the vineyards *(m. Ta(anit 4:8).*

Today no sacrifices are offered, but the day is observed by abstaining from labor, by prayers, fasting, and multiplied confessions. The services are begun with the blowing of the ram's horn (as

though to direct God's attention to the willingness of Abraham to offer Isaac according to the will of God, Gen. 22) and the recital of the solemn prayer called Kol Nidre ("All vows"). It is probably from the Middle Ages, and in it the worshipers petition God to forgive them for breaking vows they could not fulfill. Worship services are conducted the next day from early morning until sunset, when a blast of the ram's horn concludes the ceremonies of the day.

VIII. The silence of the historical books. Those who have studied the subject carefully have pointed out some problems connected with the Day of Atonement. Why, in view of all the elaborate injunctions for this day in Aaron's lifetime, is there so little evidence that it was observed in Israel's later history? Why are the historical books silent on the subject? Although critical scholars seek to relate Ezek. 45 to Lev. 16, the correlation is artificial and strikingly unconvincing. Differences between the two accounts are patent. Why is the Day of Atonement so inexplicably omitted in Neh. 8? The followers of J. Wellhausen conclude that all the legislation in the Pentateuch concerning this day belongs to postexilic times, so that the Day of Atonement was introduced in Israel shortly after the middle of the 5th cent. B.C. The background of the feast is supposed to be found in Ezek. 45 and the postexilic portions in Zech. 7:5 and 8:19. It must be clearly understood that in the days after the 5th cent. B.C. there is no more mention of the Day of Atonement than previously. All that can be pointed to is Sir. 50:1 – 21 (an evident reference to the observance), then Philo, and finally the NT (Heb. 6:19; 9:7, 13 – 22; 10:1 – 14). In all probability, Acts 27:9 is a reference to the day. Care must be exercised always in dealing with an argument from silence.

IX. Historicity of the day. It is an impossible task to excise, stylistically or logically, Lev. 16 from its fundamental place in the scheme of the book of LEVITICUS, or from the entire priestly system in Israel for that matter. Furthermore, it is both hopeless and useless to seek to dismember the chapter's closely knit and logically presented stipulations and rites. A historical difficulty of insurmountable proportions is this: if the ARK OF THE COVENANT no longer existed after the exile, and the prediction of Jer. 3:16 led Israel to expect no restoration or recovery of the same, how could the Day of Atonement have been inaugurated at that late date when its entire efficacy and worth were linked inseparably with that ark? Furthermore, since Ezekiel and his appointments are related to a distant future (a view that has much to commend it), the argument based on his regulations (which, it can be readily verified, differ widely from those of the Pentateuchal legislation) is pointless when it aims to credit him with influencing the legislation in Lev. 16.

X. NT references. The reference to the fast in Acts 27:9 is understood generally to point to the Day of Atonement, because it is the only one mentioned in the Mosaic law. Even a cursory reading of the epistle to the Hebrews will disclose that it moves in the atmosphere and ritual of the OT sacrificial system and, in particular, of the Day of Atonement. The aim of the sacred writer is unequivocal: it is to demonstrate the fulfilling finality of the central event of the Scriptures, the ATONEMENT of Christ on Calvary.

Hebrews explains the ritual of the day as a type of the atonement accomplished by Christ (Heb. 9 – 10). The High Priest is the Lord Christ. The blood is his blood shed on Calvary. As the high priest of the OT entered the holiest of all with the blood of sacrifice, the unmistakable evidence of forfeiture of life, so Christ has entered into heaven to appear before the Father in our behalf (Heb. 9:11 – 12). It is emphasized that the entrance of the high priest into the most holy, with blood, typified the appearance of Christ in heaven for us when he had purchased redemption for us (9:24 – 28).

The fact that the same sacrifices had to be repeated each year spoke clearly and conclusively that final atonement had not yet been achieved. Christ provided eternal redemption for the world (Heb. 9:12). The OT offerings served only to bring about a temporary and outward ceremonial cleansing; Christ's one sacrifice adequately provided inward cleansing of heart and conscience (9:13 – 14). Whereas the ordinary Israelite could not enter the innermost sanctuary, and only the high priest was permitted to do so one day annually, the believer today has constant access through grace to the very presence of the holy God (4:14 – 16; 10:19 – 22). The ceremonies of the day formally closed when the sin offering was burned outside the camp of Israel; Jesus suffered outside the gate of Jerusalem when he bore our reproach (13:11 – 12).

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atonement cover. See MERCY SEAT.

Atroth at'roth. See ATROTH SHOPHAN.

Atroth Beth Joab at'roth-beth-joh'ab (בֵּית יוֹאָב עַטְרוֹת *H6502,* "crowns *[or* cattle pens] of the house of Joab"). Apparently a village near BETHLEHEM listed among the descendants of Salma in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:54; KJV reads, "Ataroth, the house of Joab"). However, the words could be translated, "the chief ones of Joab's clan," and be taken as a description of the Netophathites or of the towns of Bethlehem and NETOPHAH.

Atroth Shophan at'roth-shoh'fan עַטְרוֹת שׁוֹפָן *H6503,* "crowns *[or* cattle pens] of Shophan"). A city of the Gadites built in the territory conquered from SIHON (Num. 32:35). The KJV reads, "Atroth, Shophan," as though two places are meant (cf. Vulg. MSS, *Etroth et Sophan).* Some scholars identify the site with Rujm ʿAṭṭarus, which is less than 2 mi. NE of ATAROTH of GAD.

Attai at'i (עַתַּי *H6968,* perhaps "timely, ready" or short form of עֲתַיָה *H6970;* see ATHAIAH). (1) Son of Jarha (an Egyptian slave) and descendant of JUDAH through JERAHMEEL (1 Chr. 2:35 – 36).

(2) A warrior, sixth in rank among the Gadite officers who served DAVID at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:9). These Gadites "were brave warriors, ready for battle and able to handle the shield and spear. Their faces were the faces of lions, and they were as swift as gazelles in the mountains" (v. 8).

(3) A son of REHOBOAM by his favorite wife MAACAH; grandson of SOLOMON (2 Chr. 11:20).

Attalia at'uh-li'uh (Ἀττάλεια [some editions, Ἀτταλία] *G877).* A seaport in PAMPHYLIA in the S of ASIA MINOR. Returning to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA from their missionary journey, PAUL and BARNABAS embarked at Attalia (Acts 14:25 – 26), where they had presumably landed earlier, on their way from PAPHOS to PERGA (13:13). The city was founded by ATTALUS II of PERGAMUM between 165 and 138 B.C., and subsequently passed under Roman domination. It became an important seaport, minting its own coins, and in the time of Paul was apparently in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia (cf. A. H.

The seaport of Attalia.

M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [1937], 130 – 45). Attalia later became a Roman colony, and today, with the name Andaliya (Antalya, Adalia), it is one of the principal seaports of Turkey. (There was another city called Attalia near Thyatira.)

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Attalus at'uh-luhs (Ἄτταλος). King of PERGAMUM. Attalus to whom the Romans wrote commending the Jews (1 Macc. 15:22) was probably Attalus II Philadelphus who reigned from 159 to 138 B.C., for there seems to be no good reason for doubting that the Roman decree belongs to the year 139 rather than a century later, as implied by JOSEPHUS *(Ant.* 14.8.5; see *HJP* [1893], 1/1:266 – 67, but differently in rev. ed. [1973 – 87], 1:194 – 95). Like his father Attalus I and brother EUMENES II, he was a close ally of Rome. He was an able ruler and strengthened his kingdom by founding cities (e.g., ATTALIA) as well as by warfare and diplomacy. His nephew, who succeeded him, bequeathed the kingdom of Pergamum to Rome. When in 153 Alexander Balas claimed the Syrian throne from Demetrius I and thereby established Jonathan as Jewish high priest (1 Macc. 10), he was actively supported by Attalus. See MACCABEE.

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Attharates, Attharias ath'uh-ray'teez, ath'uhri'uhs (Ατταρατης, Ατθαριας). An individual (or two individuals) associated with EZRA and NEHEMIAH (1 Esd. 5:40 [KJV, "Atharias"; NRSV, "Attharias"]; 9:49 [KJV and NRSV, "Attharates"]). These names, however, are probably variant representations of the Persian title TIRSHATHA, usually translated "governor" (e.g., Ezra 2:63) and applied to NEHEMIAH or to other Jewish leaders after the EXILE.

Attharias. See ATTHARATES.

Attica, Attic Greek, Atticism. See ATHENS; GREECE; GREEK LANGUAGE.

attire. See DRESS.

attitude. A state of mind or disposition.

I. Psychological definition and description. F. L. Ruch defines *attitude* as a "relatively stable, learned emotionalized predisposition to respond in some consistent way toward one or a group of objects, persons, or situations" *(Psychology and Life,* 6th ed. [1963], 641). Attitude represents both (1) an orientation toward or away from some object, concept, or situation, and (2) a readiness to respond in a predetermined manner to these or related objects, concepts, or situations. (This description combines features of definitions by G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* [1954], and C. I. Hovland et al., *Communication and Persuasion* [1953].)

The term expresses something of an enduring, learned disposition to behave in a consistent way toward a given class of objects; a persistent mental and/or neutral state of readiness to react to a certain object or class of objects; not as they are but as they are conceived to be. The readiness state has a directive effect upon feeling and action related to the object. What the term seeks to convey overlaps in actual behavior with other psychological factors that are preparations for and attendant to response. *Attitude* is one of many terms that refer to an aspect of personality and behavior that are inferred to account for persistent and consistent behavior toward a family of related situations or objects. Specific attitudes are named in terms of the object with which they are concerned; they are often qualified to indicate the feeling component as well (e.g., "his negative attitude to religion").

The first technical use of the term *attitude* was made by M. Calkins for such basic relations of the self to its objects as receptivity, activity, sympathy, egoism, etc. Later use includes such affectively toned states as expectancy or certainty. Interest has been shown in regard to sociological and psychological uses, both private and public, which might properly be made of the term. In particular, there is the matter of measurement. Instruments are developed which seek to elicit responses from persons and/or groups indicative of attitudes or opinions which they hold. Typically, the test items are stimuli of some sort of verbal statement concerning some situation, trend, issue, problem, or principle. Examples include the *Thurstone Attitude Scale,* which utilizes certain statements representing degrees of strength of a given attitude; the *Likert Attitude Scale* seeks degrees of steps of agreement; and the *Guttman* or *Cornell Scale of Attitudes,* composed of items to which higher or lower strengths of attitudes may be determined. Psychologists, such as Carl Jung, have suggested that there are "attitude types" prevalent among persons and/or groups, a classification of individuals that may be made according to their general way of reacting to stimuli.

II. Related biblical ideas. The term *attitude* does not appear in the KJV. Nor is there any specific word in the ancient languages that corresponds to it precisely, although the Hebrew noun *yēṣer H3671* is suggestive ("inclination," Gen. 6:5; cf. also Deut. 31:21). However, the term *lēb H4213,* usually translated "heart" or "mind," often comes close to the same idea (indeed, the Berkeley version with good reason renders it "attitude" in Ps. 26:2b). In the NT, note such Greek terms as *dianoia G1379* (e.g., Lk. 1:51, "thoughts"), *ennoia G1936* (e.g., 1 Pet. 4:1; NIV, "attitude"), *kardia G2840* (e.g., Eph. 6:5, "heart"), and the verb *phroneō G5858* (e.g., Phil. 2:5; NIV, "Your attitude should be," lit., "Think in *[or* among] you"). In any case, one notes a profound concern for this concept throughout the Scriptures. There is a vital importance attached to that "inner posture and predisposer of behavior." The biblical treatment of humans behavior gives special attention and importance to such aspects of personality and actions as are well expressed in the term *attitude.* Were the biblical writers writing in our time and with the English language, it is probable that they might make much use of the word. The Scriptures emphasize the importance of those inmost thoughts, feelings, and purposes of the soul. "For the word of God…judges the thoughts and attitudes *[ennoiōn,*

NRSV "intentions"] of the heart" (Heb. 4:12). See also HEART; MIND.

J. M. LOWER

Atum. See RE.

Augia aw'jee-uh. KJV Apoc. form of AGIA (1 Esd. 5:38).

augury. See DIVINATION.

Augustan Cohort (σπεῖρα Σεβαστή *G5061 + G4935).* This title, corresponding to Latin *cohors Augusta,* occurs in Acts 27:1 (KJV, "Augustus' band"; NIV, "Imperial Regiment") with reference to troops commanded by "a centurion named Julius" and has occasioned much speculation. A COHORT was normally a tenth part of a LEGION and was itself divided into six centuries, each under a CENTURION. A cohort, therefore, comprised 600 men. In the auxiliary troops the cohorts were the basic unit of division and each numbered 500 or 1,000 men. Each bore some honorific title (such as *gallica* or *fidelis),* and they were commanded by prefects or tribunes.

The Greek word in the present context, *speira,* normally translates the Latin *manipulus,* that is, a force of two cohorts (e.g., Polybius, *Hist.* 11.23.1), although elsewhere it seems to be used of a cohort (e.g., Acts 10:1; Jos. *War* 4.4.2). None of these usages, all of which contain a measure of uncertainty, relieves the difficulty of the present context. If the phrase refers to a true cohort, regular or auxiliary, why was it commanded by a centurion? Some scholars, following the great German historian T. Momm sen, suppose that the unit mentioned here was a special corps of imperial couriers called *frumentarii,* functioning as liaison officers between the emperor and his armed forces (W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen,* 14th ed. [1920], 315; R. J. Knowling in *EGT,* 2:516 – 17). On such an assumption, Julius would have been a legionary centurion detailed for this special task. This conclusion, however, does no more than account for the fact that it was a centurion who commanded this detachment. Was he, or the whole bodyguard, called Augustan?

The only contribution that can be made to this question is, first, the fact that there is archaeological evidence for a *cohors Augusta I* in SYRIA in the time of AUGUSTUS (H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones latinae selectae* [1954 – 55], 1:531, #2683). Second, it may be mentioned that JOSEPHUS wrote of a *turma* or cavalry called "Sebastan," that is "Augustan," the Greek word in the present context. Sebaste was SAMARIA, refounded by HEROD I under that name in honor of Augustus (but see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles,* 3rd ed. [1990], 511 – 12). There the problem must be left. Julius may have been a praetorian sent on a special mission to CAESAREA. (See further G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.,* 3rd ed. [1985], ch. 3.)

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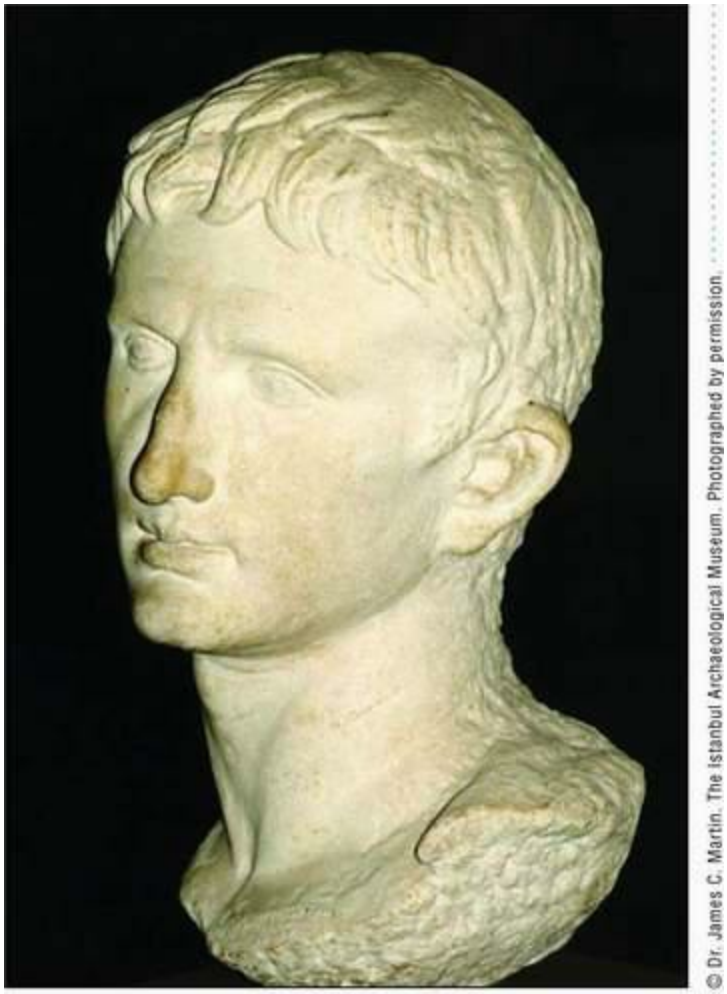
Augustine aw-gus'tin. Aurelius Augustinus, better known as Augustine of Hippo, was born in A.D. 354 in Latin-speaking N Africa (modern Algeria). His father was not a Christian, but his mother, Monica, raised him in the faith. Augustine rejected Christianity while still a teenager, and at the age 18 he became attracted to the MANICHEAN heresy. During his 20s he taught Latin rhetoric in various cities, including Milan, where he had a dramatic conversion experience in 386. Two years later he returned to Africa, and in 391, while visiting the city of Hippo Regius, he was ordained priest (in spite of his objections). A few years later he was appointed bishop, a position he held until his death

in 430.

Augustine's impact on the development of Christian theology is second to none, primarily because of two significant books, the *Confessions* and *The City of God* (a vindication of Christianity), but also because of numerous other treatises as well as his role in various controversies (such as the struggles over Pelagianism). Being ignorant of Hebrew and somewhat deficient in Greek, Augustine was not a biblical scholar of the same caliber as ORIGEN and JEROME, but he did make several important contributions to the field, especially through his treatise *De doctrina christiana,* a very influential discussion of the principles that should guide the interpretation of Scripture. (Useful treatments include P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* [1967]; P. Bright, ed. and trans., *Augustine and the Bible,* new ed. [1999]; F. Van Fleteren and J. C. Schnaubelt, *Augustine: Biblical Exegete* [2001]; S. Lancel, *Saint Augustine* [2002]; J. J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: A New Biography* [2005]; note also the summary and extensive bibliography in *ODCC,* 128 – 30.)

Augustus Caesar aw-guhs'tuhs see'zuhr (Αὔγουστος Καῖσαρ *G880 + G2790)*. Augustus was the honorific title conferred in 27 B.C. on Octavian (63 B.C. to A.D. 14), the adoptive heir of Julius CAESAR, who, by the hindsight of history, is called the first of the Roman "emperors." Constitutional crisis and recurrent civil war, the beginning of which may be arbitrarily dated at 133 B.C., had over the course of a full century destroyed the Roman republic. Chronic strife and political breakdown had demonstrated to Rome, to those parts of Italy still to be integrated with Rome, and to a Mediterranean world that had fallen under Roman control, the bankruptcy of the once powerful senate and the group of noble families which constituted it, and which by the right of ancient tradition and possession governed Rome. A political system that had been adequate to govern a city proved, as Rome expanded in her quest for a stable frontier, ill-equipped to govern an empire (in the geographic sense of that word, that is, the long irregular rectangle of lands that lay round the Mediterranean Sea).

The senate and Rome's central government had proved repeatedly unable to control the power of the commanders of the frontier armies; and frontier armies, with able generals to control and deploy them, were an unavoidable necessity caused by expanding military responsibility. The imposition of military solutions for constitutional problems, with the rivalries and conflict arising from the confrontation of armed groups, had long menaced law and order, and had accustomed Rome and the harassed Roman world to look for the intervention of the dynast and the "strong man." The senate itself, within the framework of constitutional law, had long accustomed the world to the legal subterfuge and expediency of emergency autocracy. Precedents of absolute power, designed to meet recurrent situations of tension and peril, strew the history of Rome in the 1st cent. B.C.



Marble bust of Augustus Caesar. Discovered at Pergamum (modern Bergama).

Julius Ceasar was last in the line of commanders who used military strength to promote their own interests or impose their own constitutional solutions on a politically moribund system. Emerging as victor from the Civil War against POMPEY, the champion of the senate that had sought to depose him, Caesar turned his great abilities of administration to restoring order and justice in a tormented land. Had subtlety and patience been a part of his genius, had he known how to appease and manage the senatorial oligarchy and maintain a fiction of republican rule, history might have recorded Julius—and not Gaius Octavius, who became Octavianus Caesar and, by senatorial decree, Augustus—as the first of the emperors of Rome. As it was, Caesar's roughshod drive for efficient government, strong leadership, and political stability cost him his life. On March 15, 44 B.C., he fell to the daggers of senatorial opponents who resented his contempt for outmoded forms. It was one of the most senseless political murders in history. The murderers had no program save a vague archaism to which the eloquence of Cicero, Rome's great orator and patriot, gave brief dignity.

Nor had the reactionaries reckoned on the forces they had loosed, and no one had thought of Octavian, recently adopted by Caesar, his legal son and heir, who at the moment was studying in Greece. With cool audacity, the nineteen-year-old boy came to Italy, claimed his inheritance, and found the land behind him. He had a flair for diplomacy and a genius for picking and using sound men, but he could not have won his astounding success had not immense moral and material forces, which he quickly learned to channel and manipulate, flowed in his direction. Civil war broke out again, and it was at Philippi in 42 B.C. that Octavian and Antony, Caesar's one-time lieutenant, broke the remaining strength of the senatorial oligarchy. Cannily, Octavian remained in Italy. Antony moved E

to secure the Parthian frontier, which had broken amid Rome's preoccupations. It was a task for which he proved unequal, and the eastern Mediterranean survived the next few years only by the ineptitude and division of Rome's enemies.

It was here that CLEOPATRA, last of the Ptolemies, intervened to illustrate again the role of personality in history. The famous liaison of the Egyptian queen with Antony almost anticipated history and divided the empire. It was Octavian's opportunity. He held the true strength of Rome, for he was in possession of Italy and the west. War for the unity of Rome was inevitable, and at Actium, in 31 B.C., Octavian broke the naval might of Egypt and the east. He and his generals brought final order to the sadly tormented world, and in 27 B.C., after a semblance of "restoring the republic," Octavian received the title of Augustus.

The world longed for peace, and Augustus had given it the gift it needed so sorely. He succeeded where Julius failed, because he knew how to clothe autocracy in the semblance of republican forms. He called himself *princeps* or "first citizen." "Emperor" was a title held because he commanded all the military forces of the state. Augustus ruled by virtue of a concentration of old republican magistracies in his hands. He held little more than that which others, by the senate's vote and the people's gift, had held before, but he held all together. He gave a form of power to the senate and entrusted it with the provinces. In short, those who lived to bless the peace that Augustus gave were not aware of the sharp change that history chooses, looking back, to mark. Only the far-seeing knew that the republic was gone, and they, if they held this view, knew also that it had been long in virtual abeyance. The NT gives him but passing mention in a profoundly significant story: "In those days Caesar Augustus issued a decree that a census should be taken of the entire Roman world" (Lk. 2:1). (Cf. F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World, 31 BC—AD 337* [1977]; F. Millar and E. Segal, eds., *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* [1984]; R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* [1986]; K. Galinsky, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* [2005].) See also TIBERIUS.

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aul. See AWL.

aunt. The Hebrew word *(dôdâ H1860,* fem. of *dôd H1856,* "beloved," "uncle"), derived from terms of endearment used by young children, is used once of a father's sister (Exod. 6:20) and twice of the wife of a father's brother (Lev. 18:14; 20:20). The last two passages deal with prohibitions against incest.

Auranitis. See HAURAN.

Auranus aw-ray'nuhs (Αυρανος). The leader of an insurrection against Lysimachus in Jerusalem, described as "a man advanced in years and no less advanced in folly" (2 Macc. 4:40 NRSV).

Aurelius. See MARCUS AURELIUS.

aurochs. See WILD OX.

Auteas aw-tee'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HODIAH (1 Esd. 9:48).

author. This English word, only in the sense of "one who begins or originates," is used in several NT passages with reference to Christ. The writer of Hebrews calls Jesus the author (Gk. *archēgos G795,* "founder, prince, originator") of our salvation and of our faith (Heb. 2:10 [KJV, "captain"]; 12:2 [in both passages, NRSV has "pioneer"]). It is significant that Peter refers to Jesus as "the author of life" in a context dealing with his death and resurrection (Acts 3:15, truly a fulfillment of Isa. 53:10 – 12). The Greek term appears frequently in the SEPTUAGINT with the sense "leader, prince," a meaning found at least once in the NT, again with reference to Jesus (Acts 5:31). Some scholars argue that all the passages in which the word occurs speak of Jesus not so much as *originator,* bur rather as the eschatological trail blazer who *leads* his people to salvation, faith, and life. The KJV uses "author" also as a translation of *aitios G165* in one verse (Heb. 5:9; NIV, "he became the source of eternal salvation"). In one additional passage, the KJV supplies this word to clarify the meaning (1 Cor. 14:33, "God is not *the author* of confusion"; NIV, "God is not a God of disorder").

Authoritative Teaching. A didactic Gnostic document preserved in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC VI, 3). Written originally in Greek (perhaps c. A.D. 200 in Alexandria), this tractate uses metaphorical language to describe the origin of the soul, its existence in the physical body, and its final salvation. (English trans. in *NHL,* 304 – 10.)

authorities, city. See CITY AUTHORITIES.

authority. This English term is used in the OT to translate a variety of words and expressions that refer to honor and power. In the NT it is used principally to render the Greek word *exousia G2026* and indicates power rightfully held: the emphasis falling sometimes on the "authority" which the possession of the power rightfully gives, and sometimes on the reality of the "power" which conditions the right use of authority (cf. Jn. 1:12). The plural form is used by PAUL to designate evil and good angels as evil or good powers and authorities (Eph. 3:10; 6:12; Col. 1:16; 2:15). See ANGEL; DEMON.

Ultimate authority belongs to God as CREATOR and redeemer (see REDEMPTION). It is the basic conviction of all Scripture that "God is his own authority for the religious, and therefore the last for the race; and he is the only Authority man has in the end" (P.T. Forsyth, *The Principle of Authority* [1912], 146). Throughout Scripture God remains forever the source of human authority. To say that God is the ultimate authority in the realms of morals and faith is to be committed to the conclusion, which AUGUSTINE saw so clearly, that God's authority and God's self-disclosure are two sides of the same reality.

It is in his REVELATION that God's authority is to be found: revelation is, therefore, the key to ultimate authority. In revelation God is seen as moral and redemptive, disclosing his authority. God's revelation is demanding, urgent, and authoritative. God's universal dominion over the world is his authority (cf. Exod. 15:18; Pss. 39:10; 93:1 – 2 et al.). As Lord and King of all nature and history, God has the unchangeable right to exercise authority over mankind. The Bible makes clear his sovereign right to demand OBEDIENCE, and to him all are held responsible and accountable.

Christ is the *locus* of God's revelation and is, therefore, the incarnate authority of God. Since God's will has been given personal embodiment in Christ, the Word made flesh, he becomes at once the final court of appeal and absolute norm to which the moral life of human beings must be referred, and the sure word and ultimate fact in which religious trust can be reposed. Divine authority finds its focus and finality in him. This is the reason the Gospels declare that his teaching caused astonishment

because he taught as one having authority (Matt. 7:29; Mk. 1:22; Lk. 20:2). The absoluteness of Christ's authority in the sphere of ultimate knowledge of God is asserted (Matt. 11:27), as is a like unique authority in the realm of a complete knowledge of people (Jn. 2:25). Christ's more-than-human authority is everywhere clear in the gospel records: it derives from his own nature as one within the Godhead, from his divine commission, from his fulfillment of the Father's will, from his work on behalf of sinners.

Jesus showed that he possessed authority in his own person by his attitude to the law (cf. Matt. 5:32 – 33) and by exercising the divine right to forgive sins (9:6 – 8; Mk. 2:10; Lk. 5:24). He presented his teaching as authoritative (Matt. 7:29) and claimed the right to judge hearts (Jn. 1:50; 2:24 – 25; et al.) and give eternal life (Jn. 17:2). Salvation is by faith in him (Matt. 10:32; 11:28 – 30; et al.). His authority continues by reason of his unbroken sonship with the Father (Matt. 28:18; Jn. 5:19 – 27; cf. Matt. 21:23 – 24; Mk. 11:28 – 29; 1 Cor. 15:24; Eph. 1:21; Col. 2:10; 1 Pet. 3:22; Rev. 12:10). He is "both Lord and Christ" and is the final authority as the ultimate revelation of God, being himself the divine sovereign of all and the Redeemer and King of all his people.

The authority of Christ is interpreted through chosen media. The Christ who is authoritative is the biblical Christ, for he is the only Christ known. This presentation of Christ was secured by his chosen apostles. They had a unique position as "elect and providential personalities" of the risen Lord (Forsyth, *Principle of Authority,* 377). Their elaboration and interpretation of Christ was not an intrusion upon revelation, but part of its scheme. They were men inspired of the HOLY SPIRIT to fill out to its fullness the revelation of Christ (see INSPIRATION). The apostles embodied the authority of Christ and from this point of view had no successors. They possessed a special apostolic authority (1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 3:5; 4:11; 2 Pet. 3:2; Jude 17; et al.). They were the founders and builders of the CHURCH (Eph. 2:20). They were Christ's spokesmen with his own authority (cf. 2 Cor. 10:8); they felt no necessity to quote the Lord's specific words, but regarded their own as of him (1 Cor. 14:37; 2 Thess. 3:10, 12, 14; et al.; see APOSTLE). "I am not obliged to obey Paul because he is clever, or exceptionally clever, but I must submit to Paul because he has divine authority" (Kierkegaard).

The authority of God expressed in Christ and filled out by his chosen apostles is perpetuated in the written Scriptures. Although Christ wrote no book, the Scriptures are the product of his continued activity as ascended Lord through the Spirit, and as such they possess a like authority with him. "The Holy Spirit and the Apostles became correlative conceptions, with the consequence that the Scriptures of the New Testament were indifferently regarded as composed by the Holy Spirit or the Apostles" (A. Harnack, *The Origin of the New Testament and the Consequences of the New Creation* [1925], 49 n.). This brings the Spirit into relation with the Word, for the authority of Christ is mediated through the Word by the Spirit. This duality of Spirit and Word must be maintained, for herein lies the Christian principle of authority.

Authority exists independently of any appropriation of it. It must be recognized and received if it is to become decisive in experience. FAITH is the mode by which authority is appropriated. In the context of the duality of Spirit and Scripture, faith is the illumination of divine authority by the Spirit and the recognition of divine authority in the Word. A real authority is effective within experience, yet it is not the authority *of* experience, but *for* experience. It is an authority experienced. A certain authority spills over to church and creed because of their relation to Christ in his Word. The church is the community of those who have appropriated the authority of Christ within experience, and the creeds are the church's confession of its experience of Christ's authority. The individual experience of the believer, the community experience of the church, and the formalized experience of the creeds are not authorities in their own right. They all possess a derived authority, an authority that is real

only insofar as it derives from God's revelation in Christ and has its authentication in the Scriptures known and understood through the Spirit. (Cf. B. B. Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* [1948]; H. Cunliffe-Jones, *The Authority of Biblical Revelation* [1948]; H. D. McDonald, *Theories of Revelation* [1963], esp. chs. 8 – 9.)

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Authorized Version. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ENGLISH V.

autumn. See PALESTINE V; SEASONS.

Ava ay'vuh. KJV form of AVVA.

Avaran av'uh-ran (Αυαραν, meaning unknown). Surname of ELEAZAR, fourth son of MATTATHIAS (1 Macc. 2:5; 6:43; KJV, "Savaran").

avarice. See GREED.

Aven ay'ven (אָוֶן *H225,* "emptiness, wickedness"). This name appears by itself only once in the NIV, "the Valley of Aven," probably the plain between the LEBANON and ANTILEBANON ranges (Amos 1:5; the LXX reads Ōn, perhaps a reference to BAALBEK). Elsewhere it occurs as part of another name, BETH AVEN. In the KJV and NRSV the name also occurs in Hos. 10:8 in what appears to be a derogatory reference to Beth Aven; however, some scholars prefer to take the word here as a common noun (cf. NIV, "The high places of wickedness"). Finally, the KJV uses the name in Ezek. 30:17 (following the MT), but it is better to vocalize the consonants as ôn, that is, HELIOPOLIS (cf. LXX and NIV; see also ON).

avenge. See VENGEANCE.

avenger of blood. Usual rendering of the Hebrew phrase, *gōʿēl haddām* (Num. 35:19 et al.). The meaning of the verb *gāʿal H1457* is "to loose, set free, redeem, vindicate, deliver as kinsman." In the case of homicide, it means to vindicate the human right to life, to free the land from the pollution that follows upon the spilling of blood without due cause. To avenge is not to seek revenge, but to take vengeance on behalf of someone, to redress a wrong by exacting from a wrongdoer satisfaction for an offense committed. The participle of this verb is *gōʿēl* ("redeemer, kinsman-deliverer, avenger"), which refers to someone—usually the nearest relative—charged with vindicating justice either by redeeming family property expropriated or sold under constraint or (in the case of the avenger of blood) by avenging the unlawful slaying of a family member.

The avenger of blood is a figure that appears in primitive justice. By ancient custom it was the right, indeed the duty, of persons (the nearest of kin) to avenge the slaying of a relative. This is perhaps why CAIN feared for his life after slaying ABEL (Gen. 4:14), and why LAMECH justified himself (vv. 23 – 24). It also is likely that Yahweh sanctioned this kind of retributive justice in the still uninstitutionalized society of the immediate postflood period when he announced the principle of reckoning and reprisal (Gen. 9:5 – 6).

Since individual blood vengeance was widespread in the ANE before the formation of the

people of Israel, it is evident that MOSES did not institute the custom. The Mosaic legislation did, however, recognize and allow it; the avenger of blood was a figure well known in Israel at least until the time of DAVID (2 Sam. 14:7 – 8). Significant, however, is the fact that the Mosaic legislation did not leave the custom of individual blood vengeance unregulated. For one thing, the Mosaic law made a distinction between accidental and deliberate homicide (Deut. 19:4 – 5; Num. 35:22). Second, it provided escape from the wrath of the avenger by establishing CITIES OF REFUGE to which any killer might flee in order to escape the immediate and nonjudicial judgment of the avenger (Num. 35:9 – 15; see also ASYLUM). Third, it interposed between the killer and the avenger the judicial judgment of the elders, the acknowledged representatives of society as a whole (Deut. 19:12). Fourth, it stipulated that no person should be put to death on the testimony of merely one witness (Num. 35:30). By these provisions the ancient custom of individual blood vengeance was in effect outlawed, the avenger now becoming little more than the public executioner.

The Lord commanded Moses to establish six cities of refuge "to which a person who has killed someone accidentally may flee" (Num. 35:11). Should the manslayer be waylaid and executed by the avenger before he arrived at the city, no recourse could be had in law against the vengeance. However, should the manslayer attain the safety of the city, he would be duly tried by the elders. If found innocent of deliberate killing (murder) he would be exempted from punishment, provided he remained in the city until the death of the high priest (Num. 35:25). Thereafter he could leave with impunity. If found guilty he would be denied further asylum and exposed to the wrath of the avenger.

Underlying this legislation is the general rule that a life is to be exacted for a life. Many Christians believe that this rule is a veritable principle and thus valid for all times. They consequently believe that capital punishment is an ageless and inviolable divine requirement. Other Christians believe that "life for life" is not a principle at all, and regard capital punishment as both inhumane and contrary to the gospel of love. Still other Christians, endorsing the principle of retributive justice, believe that capital punishment is permissible when effected through due judicial process, but that it is not mandatory and that, under the circumstances of our existence, it is not desirable. No Christian would today sponsor the ancient avenger of blood. See also VENGEANCE.

H. STOB

Avesta uh-ves'tuh. A body of Persian documents that constitute the primary text of ZOROASTRIANISM. The language in which it is written (an eastern dialect of Old Iranian) is thus called *Avestan.*

Avim, Avites ay'vim, ay'vits. KJV forms of AVVIM, AVVITES.

Avith ay'vith (עֲוִית *H6400,* possibly "ruin"). The royal city of a king of EDOM named Hadad son of Bedad (Gen. 36:35; 1 Chr. 1:46). Site unknown.

Aviv ah-veev'. See ABIB.

Avva av'uh (עַוָּא *H6379,* possibly "ruin"). KJV Ava. A city conquered in the 8th cent. B.C. by SHALMANESER V of ASSYRIA; its inhabitants were then resettled in SAMARIA (2 Ki. 17:24; cf. v. 31). It is probably identical with IVVAH, but the site has not been identified.

Avvim av'im (עַוִּים *H6399,* possibly "ruins"). KJV Avim. (1) A town near BETHEL allotted to the

tribe of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:23). Because the form can be interpreted as a gentilic, however, many scholars believe that it refers to a people group, perhaps the inhabitants of AI or AIATH.

(2) Alternate form of AVVITES in NRSV and other versions.

Avvites av'its (עִוִּים *H6398;* see also AVVIM). KJV Avims (Deut. 2:23), Avites (Josh. 13:3; 2 Ki. 17:31); NRSV Avvim (Deut. 2:23; Josh. 13:3), Avvites (2 Ki. 17:31).

(1) The inhabitants of some villages in the S coastal region who were conquered by the CAPHTORITES (Deut. 2:23); they are later mentioned as continuing to live among the PHILISTINES or just S of them (Josh. 13:3).

(2) The inhabitants of AVVA (2 Ki. 17:31).

awe. See FEAR.

Awel-Marduk. TNIV form of EVIL-MERODACH.

awl. The Hebrew noun *marṣēaʿ H5345* occurs with its cognate verb *(rāṣaʿ H8361,* "bore, pierce") in Exod. 21:6, while the noun is found alone in Deut. 15:17. In both contexts the term is used for the boring or puncturing of a slave's EAR lobe as a mark of ownership and possible loss of legal status (see SLAVE). A similar custom appears to have been practiced in Mesopotamia. The restricted use of the noun may be due to the instrument's being ritual or forensic in nature. It has no cognate in the other contemporary Semitic languages. Awls or punches of this type that have been excavated are about six inches in length and have a conical point. (The meaning "to bore" is more frequently expressed by the verb *nāqab H5918,* cognate to Akkadian *naqābu;* it involves the use of augers and other instruments on wood, metal, and stone, as in 2 Ki. 12:9 et al.)

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awning. This English term is used once to render Hebrew *mĕkasseh H4833,* "covering" (Ezek. 27:7; KJV, "that which covered thee"), with reference to a ship's covered deck, probably to protect the passengers from the sun. The awning was made of "blue and purple" woven material.

ax, axhead. Various Hebrew words are translated "ax" ("axe") in the English versions. The one term specifically meaning "ax" in the modern sense is *garzen H179,* a bronze or iron implement for hewing wood, skiving stone, or using as a weapon (Deut. 19:5; 20:19; 1 Ki. 6:7 [NIV, "chisel"]; Isa. 10:15). An important occurrence is known from the SILOAM tunnel of HEZEKIAH, 718 – 687 B.C. (cf. J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], 1:22; *ANET,* 321). Both the name and the object were of foreign origin. The Hebrew term *qardōm H7935* (Jdg. 9:48; 1 Sam. 13:20, 21; Ps. 74:5; Jer. 46:22) is perhaps better translated "adze" (i.e., with a curved blade at right angles with the handle). The word "axhead" in 2 Ki. 6:5 translates Hebrew *barzel H1366,* "iron" (cf. also Deut. 19:5, "the head"). Some other terms could be variously translated "ax," "chisel," "hatchet." In the NT, the

Very ancient copper ax with gold binding on shaft (c. 2500 B.C.). Discovered at Ur, grave PG 580.

common Greek term *axinē G544* is found twice (Matt. 3:10 = Lk. 3:9).

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axle. See WHEEL.

Ayeleth Hashahar. See AIJELETH SHAHAR.

ayin i'yin (עַיִן *H6524,* "eye, fountain"; cf. such place names as AIN and EN GEDI). The sixteenth letter of the Hebrew ALPHABET (עַיִן, transliterated as ʿ), with a numerical value of seventy. It is named for the shape of the letter, which in its older form resembled an eye. Its sound, which probably involved a contraction of the pharynx (as in Arabic), is sometimes represented in the SEPTUAGINT with the letter *g* (e.g., the Heb. name*ĕmōrâ H6686* becomes *Gomorra G1202 in* Gk., thus Eng. GOMORRAH).

Ayyah ah'yuh (עַיָּה *H6509,* fem. of עַי *H6504,* "heap, ruin"). The possessions of the tribe of EPHRAIM are described as including "Shechem and its villages all the way to Ayyah and its villages" (1 Chr. 7:28; NJPS, "Aiah"). Here the KJV has GAZA, which reflects the reading of many Hebrew MSS *(azzâ,* better transcribed as "Azzah"), as well as most MSS of the SEPTUAGINT *(Gazēs;* Codex B has *Gaian),* the TARGUM (ʿzh), and the VULGATE *(Aza).* Some scholars favor this latter reading, in which case it would refer to an otherwise unknown site in the hill country (certainly not the Philistine Gaza). Those who prefer the reading Ayyah often identify it with AI (cf. esp. Neh. 11:31, where English versions use the form "Aija") or with modern Turmus ʿAjja (near SHILOH; see *ABD,* 1:532).

Azael ay'zay-uhl (Αζαηλος; Codex A, A Αζαελ). One of the descendants of Ezora who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:34; KJV, "Azaelus"). He may be the same as the Azael mentioned earlier (v. 14 KJV; NRSV, "Asahel").

Azaelus az'uh-ee'luhs. KJV Apoc. form of AZAEL (1 Esd. 9:34).

Azal ay'zuhl (אָצַל, prob. pausal form of אֶצֶל *H728,* "noble"). An unknown place not far from

Jerusalem (Zech. 14:5; NIV, AZEL). Some scholars emend the text to read *ʿeṣlô,* "its side" (cf. RSV, "for the valley of the mountains shall touch the side of it"); others emend to *yāṣōl,* that is, Wadi Yaṣul, a tributary of the KIDRON.

Azaliah az'uh-li'uh (אֲצַלְיָהוּ *H729*, "Yahweh has reserved" or "Yahweh has been noble"). The father of SHAPHAN the secretary, who brought to JOSIAH'S attention the Book of the Law that HILKIAH the high priest had found in the temple (2 Ki. 22:3; 2 Chr. 34:8).

Azaniah az'uh-ni'uh (אַזַנְיָה *H271,* "Yahweh has heard"). The father of Jeshua, who was one of the Levites that affixed their seals to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:9).

Azaphion uh-zay'fee-uhn. KJV Apoc. form of ASSAPHIOTH (1 Esd. 5:33).

Azara az'uh-ruh. KJV Apoc. form of HASRAH (1 Esd. 5:31).

Azarael, Azareel az'uh-ray'uhl, az'uh-ree'uhl. KJV forms of AZAREL.

Azarel az'uh-rel (עַזְרִאֵל *H6475*, "God has helped"; cf. AZRIEL). KJV Azareel (Azarael in Neh. 12:36). Frequently the theophoric elements *-ʾel* and *-yah* in Hebrew names are interchanged, so this name is equivalent to AZARIAH.

(1) One of several Korahite warriors who joined DAVID at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:6; cf. vv. 1 – 2). These soldiers may have been Levites from the family of KORAH, but some argue that the reference is to a different Korah or even to a locality in the tribe of BENJAMIN.

(2) Son of HEMAN, the king's seer (1 Chr. 25:18, called UZZIEL in v. 4 [note that King Azariah is usually called UZZIAH]). The fourteen sons of Heman, along with the sons of ASAPH and JEDUTHUN, were set apart "for the ministry of prophesying, accompanied by harps, lyres and cymbals" (v. 1). The assignment of duty was done by lot, and the eleventh lot fell to Azarel, his sons, and his relatives.

(3) Son of Jehoram; he was an officer over the tribe of DAN during David's reign (1 Chr. 27:22).

(4) A descendant of BINNUI, listed among those who had married foreign wives (Ezra 10:41; in 1 Esd. 9:34 [KJV, "Esril"], Azarel is listed as a descendant of Ezora). Instead of "the descendants of Binnui" (Ezra 10:38, following LXX), the KJV follows the MT and reads "Bani, and Binnui."

(5) Son of Ahzai and descendant of IMMER; Azarel's son, AMASHSAI, was one of the priests who came to live in Jerusalem after the exile (Neh. 11:13).

(6) One of the musicians who took part in the procession when the wall of Jerusalem was dedicated (Neh. 12:36); perhaps identical with #5 above.

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Azariah az'uh-ri'uh (עֲזַרְיָהוּ *H6482* and עֲזַרְיָה *H6481,* "Yahweh has helped"; cf. AZAREL, AZRIEL). The name Azariah is one of the most common in the OT, being attributed to approximately thirty persons, although in some cases it is difficult to distinguish between them. In the APOCRYPHA, the corresponding Greek form is usually rendered "Azarias" by the KJV.

(1) King of Judah, more frequently known as UZZIAH (2 Ki. 14:21; 15:1, 6 – 8, 17, 23, 27; 1 Chr. 3:12; cf. AZAREL #3, who is also called UZZIEL).

(2) Son (grandson?) of ZADOK, listed among the chief officials under SOLOMON and called "the

priest," possibly indicating that he was the high priest at that time (1 Ki. 4:2); maybe the same as #6 or #7 below.

(3) Son of NATHAN and an official in the court of SOLOMON (1 Ki. 4:5); possibly Solomon's nephew (cf. 2 Sam. 5:14).

(4) Son of Ethan and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:8).

(5) Son of Jehu and descendant of Judah (1 Chr. 2:38 – 39).

(6) Son of AHIMAAZ and grandson of Zadok (1 Chr. 6:9; for this and the following items, note that 6:1 – 81 corresponds to MT and LXX 5:27—6:66). It is thought by some that the statement, "it was he who served as priest in the temple Solomon built in Jerusalem" (v. 10b), applies to him. If so, he may be the same as #2 above.

(7) Son of Johanan and grandson of #6 above (1 Chr. 6:10). If the comment that he served as priest in Solomon's temple applies to him, this Azariah may be the same as either #2 above or #14 below (for the latter, see KD, *Chronicles,* 117 – 18). Some think, moreover, that he should be identified with #19 below.

(8) Son of Hilkiah and descendant of Zadok, included in several geneaologies (1 Chr. 6:13 – 14; 9:11; Ezra 7:1; Neh. 11:11; 1 Esd. 8:1 [KJV, "Ezerias"]; 2 Esd. 1:1). These lists do not correspond exactly (cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah,* WBC 16 [1985], 91 – 92, 351).

(9) Son of Zephaniah, listed in the genealogy of KOHATH (1 Chr. 6:36).

(10) Son of Oded and a prophet during the reign of ASA; he inspired the king to destroy the idols and to renew the temple worship (2 Chr. 15:1 – 15).

(11) Son of JEHOSHAPHAT (2 Chr. 21:2, where NIV and NJPS distinguish between Azariah and AZARIAHU); when JEHORAM, also son of Jehoshaphat, became king, he killed all his brothers, including Azariah (v. 4).

(12) Son of JEROHAM and a commander in the Judean army that deposed ATHALIAH and enthroned JOASH (2 Chr. 23:1).

(13) Son of Obed and a colleague of #12 above (2 Chr. 23:1).

(14) The chief priest under King UZZIAH, who protested the king's intrusion into the priest's office (2 Chr. 26:17, 20); possibly the same as #18 below.

(15) Son of Jehohanan (Johanan), a leader in Ephraim who protested against the capture of Judeans by the Israelite army, supplied them with food and clothing, and released them (2 Chr. 28:12).

(16) Father of Joel, who was a Kohathite that served during HEZEKIAH'S reign (2 Chr. 29:12); possibly the same as #18 below.

(17) Son of Jehallelel; he was a Merarite who served during HEZEKIAH'S reign (2 Chr. 29:12).

(18) The high priest under HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 31:10, 13); possibly the same as #14 or #16 above.

(19) Son (or descendant) of Meraioth and an ancestor of Ezra (Ezra 7:3; 2 Esd. 1:2 [KJV, "Aziei"]).

(20) The son of Maaseiah and a priest who assisted NEHEMIAH in building the wall (Neh. 3:23).

(21) A companion of ZERUBBABEL in the return from the EXILE (Neh. 7:7).

(22) A man who stood to the right of EZRA as he read the law (1 Esd. 9:43, not mentioned in the parallel passage, Neh. 8:4).

(23) A Levite who assisted Ezra in instructing the people in the law (Neh. 8:7; 1 Esd. 9:48 [KJV, "Asrias"]).

(24) A priest who signed Nehemiah's covenant (Neh. 10:2; possibly called Ezra in 12:1).

(25) A participant in the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:32).

(26) Son of HOSHAIAH and a leader in the group who opposed Jeremiah's counsel (Jer. 43:2; cf. 42:1 NRSV, following LXX [MT, JEZANIAH]).

(27) One of DANIEL'S three companions, renamed Abednego, whom Nebuchadnezzar condemned to the fiery furnace (Dan. 1:6, 7, 11, 19; 2:17; 3:12 – 30; 1 Macc. 2:59; 4 Macc. 16:21; 18:12). See AZARIAH, PRAYER OF; SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO.

(28) A descendant of IMMER and one of the priests who had married foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:21, called Uzziah in Ezra 10:21).

(29) A Jewish leader who, against the orders of Judas MACCABEE, attacked JAMNIA and was routed by the enemy (1 Macc. 5:18, 56 – 60).

(30) A name used by the angel RAPHAEL (Tob. 5:13; 6:7, 14; 7:1, 9; 9:2).

M. C. TENNEY

Azariah, Prayer of az'uh-ri'uh. An apocryphal addition to the book of DANIEL (see APOCRYPHA). Together with its companion piece, the Song of the Three Young Men (or Song of the Three Children), the Prayer of Azariah was inserted in the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) between Dan. 3:23 and 24, where it is found also in the VULGATE and in Roman Catholic editions of the Bible. Among the various additions to Daniel (see also BEL AND THE DRAGON; SUSANNAH), only this material inserted in ch. 3 is truly supplemental, in the sense of being related to the actual story of the book. In separate editions of the Apocrypha, the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men are treated as one distinct work, consisting of sixty-eight verses (= LXX Dan. 3:24 – 97). The prayer itself, including an introductory comment, covers the first twenty-two verses (Pr. Azar. 1 – 22 = LXX Dan. 3:24 – 45); it is then followed by a brief narrative (Pr. Azar. 23 – 28 = LXX Dan. 3:46 – 51) and by the "song," that is, a poem in which Azariah and his companions praise God (Pr. Azar. 29 – 68 = LXX Dan. 3:52 – 97).

The prayer is put on the lips of Azariah (also known by his Babylonian name, Abednego) as he and the other Hebrews stood in the center of the fire into which they had been thrown by King NEBUCHADNEZZAR (see SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO). It begins with a doxology, followed by a declaration that God is just, and that the judgment he had brought upon Jerusalem was deserved by reason of the sin of the people (Pr. Azar. 3 – 10). Thereupon an eloquent plea is made for the Lord to remember his covenant and to accept the sacrifice of humbled spirits and contrite hearts in lieu of the sacrificial ritual that can no longer be performed (vv. 11 – 17). A vow of faithfulness follows, together with prayer for deliverance and the confounding of the enemy, that it might be known to them that the Lord alone is God (vv. 18 – 22).

The piety of the prayer is thoroughly Jewish, and certain phrases of it bear striking resemblance to material in the PSALMS (cf. esp. the reference to the sacrifice of a contrite heart and humble spirit with Ps. 51:17; cf. also Isa. 57:15). The prayer is also similar in tone to that of Daniel in Dan. 9:4 – 19, and this could well have prompted an editor (who presumably also added the introductory narrative portion, as well as that which links the prayer with the following hymn) to insert it into an appropriate place elsewhere in the book.

After the prayer, the editor of the Greek text remarks (or was this once a part of the MT?) that the fire into which the three had been thrown continued to be fed, becoming so great that it burned those near the furnace, but that the angel of the Lord came down and protected the three (Pr. Azar. 3:23 – 27). Thereupon they are said to have sung a great doxology "as with one mouth" (*hōs ex henos stomatos,* v. 28). The song is sometimes divided into two sections: an ode addressed directly to God (vv. 29 – 34) and a psalm addressed to the creation and to God's people (vv. 35 – 68). The latter is

built on the repeated words "Bless the Lord," followed by the refrain "sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever," which occurs in identical pattern thirty-two times in succession (except for a slight variation in v. 52). This calls to mind the similar liturgical rhythm of Ps. 136, where the repeated refrain is, "His love endures for ever" (cf. Pr. Azar. 67 – 68). The idea that all the various works of the Lord are to bless or praise him may well be derived from the same idea in Ps. 148. The song *(Benedicite omnia opera)* has found an enduring place in the liturgy of the Christian church and is included in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer,* where it stands in the Morning Service as an alternate to the *Te Deum.*

In Pr. Azar. 66 there is reference to the names of the three Israelites, who are to bless the Lord for deliverance from the fiery furnace. It is likely, however, that this verse is an addition of the editor who is responsible for the insertion of this material into Dan. 3. The joyful praise of the song stands in marked contrast to the penitential prayer that precedes it, and thereby any essential connection between the two seems ruled out. The fact that there is nothing specific referring to the immediate circumstances in which Azariah and his friends found themselves seems to indicate that the prayer had its own history independent of, and prior to, its insertion into the text of Daniel by a later editor.

It has been plausibly conjectured that the expression of despair and national contrition contained in the prayer could well find its background in the climax of the attempts of ANTIOCHUS IV (Epiphanes) to completely "hellenize" the Jewish nation (c. 168 – 165 B.C.). The song, like the prayer, was composed independently (i.e., without reference to the story of Dan. 3) and seems to derive from a time when Israel was very grateful for the blessings of the Lord upon the nation, and it has been suggested that this could well fit the period of the Maccabean restoration. If the date of this material remains unknown, so also does its author(s), of course, but it may have been written originally in Hebrew, since this was the customary language of prayer and the Greek style contains a number of Hebraisms.

The Greek text, which is practically identical in both the Old Greek ("Septuagint") and Theodotionic recensions, is available in editions of the LXX, often not only as an insertion in the book of Daniel, but also as a constituent part of the hymn collection known as the *Odes,* which is appended to the Psalms (see A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta,* Odes 7 – 8). (See D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* [1999], ch. 9; D. A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* [2002], ch. 10.)

D. A. HAGNER

Azariahu az'uh-ri'uh-hyoo (עֲזַרְיָהוּ *H6482,* "Yahweh has helped"). KJV and NRSV, Azariah. Son of JEHOSHAPHAT (2 Chr. 21:2). See AZARIAH #11.

Azarias az'uh-ri'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of AZARIAH.

Azaru az'uh-roo (Αζουρου) [Codex B, A Αζαρου)]). KJV Azuran. An ancestor of a family that returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:15). His name is omitted from the parallel lists (Ezra 2:16; Neh 7:21), but perhaps he should be identified with AZZUR (Neh 10:17).

Azaz ay'zaz (עַזָּז *H6452,* prob. short form of עַזַּזְיָהוּ *H6453,* "Yahweh is strong"). Son of Shema and descendant of REUBEN; his son BELA and other Reubenites settled in a large area of TRANSJORDAN (1 Chr. 5:8).

Azazel uh-zay'zuhl (עֲזָאזֵל *H6439,* derivation uncertain). Three times in the ritual of the Day of Atonement reference is made to one of two goats being consigned to Azazel (NIV, "the scapegoat," Lev. 16:8, 10, 26; see ATONEMENT, DAY OF). Uncertainty still attaches to its origin and significance. Several interpretations have been advanced: (1) The name describes the animal itself as "the goat that departs" (from *ʿēz H6436* and *ʾāzal H261),* thus the traditional rendering of (e)scapegoat. This view is inadmissible, since the goat was released *to or for* Azazel. (2) The name is derived from a Semitic root *ʿzl* ("to remove" in Arabic) and refers to the "entire removal" of sin (cf. BDB, 736). (3) The common rabbinic view was that it designated the area to which the goat was released as a rugged or desolate place. The main difficulty with this and the previous view is that the parallelism of v. 8 virtually demands a personal name in apposition to "the Lord." (4) Most scholars (some of whom derive the name from *ʿāzaz H6451 + ʾel H446,* "fierce god") accept that Azazel is the leader of the evil spirits of the wilderness, possibly to be identified with DEMONS (Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37; 2 Chr. 11:15). In *1 Enoch* Azazel appears at the head of the rebel angels.

The significance of the Azazel ritual depends on the provenance of the Day of Atonement. Critical scholarship sets it in the postexilic period, while allowing that it developed various ancient rites, including the offering of a scapegoat to Azazel. However, it is unlikely that the Jews in the exilic period would have deliberately introduced a specifically pagan concept. Moreover, the view of a late date for the Day of Atonement has been seriously weakened by archaeological discoveries in Babylonia and Ugarit which show that there were rituals connected with the New Year festivals analogous to the Day of Atonement. The consigning of a goat to Azazel was probably one of many features adapted from contemporary cultic life in the Mosaic period and incorporated into the Israelite cultus, receiving an entirely different significance in the process. Leviticus 17:7 precludes the view that the goat provided a sacrifice for Azazel; in all likelihood this custom meant no more than a symbolic transfer of sin from the realm of society into that of death. (Cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 507 – 10. For an analysis of early Jewish interpretation, see L. L. Grabbe in *JSJ* [1987]: 152 – 67. For the broader cultural context, see D. P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* [1987]. See also *DDD,* 128 – 31.)

A. E. CUNDALL

Azaziah az'uh-zi'uh (עֲזַזְיָהוּ *H6453* "Yahweh is strong"). (1) One of the Levites assigned to play the harp when the ARK OF THE COVENANT was brought to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15:21).

(2) Father of HOSHEA; the latter was an officer over the tribe of EPHRAIM during the reign of DAVID (1 Chr. 27:20).

(3) One of the temple supervisors under CONANIAH, who was in charge of the contributions during the reign of HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 31:13).

Azbazareth az-baz'uh-reth (Ασβασαρεθ [Codex B, A Ασβακαφαθ]). KJV form of the Greek name used in 1 Esdras for ESARHADDON (1 Esd. 5:69 [LXX v. 66]; Vulg. *Asbasaret).*

Azbuk az'buhk (עַזְבּוּק *H6443,* derivation unknown). The father of a certain man named Nehemiah; the latter ruled part of BETH ZUR and helped the better-known NEHEMIAH rebuild the wall of JERUSALEM (Neh. 3:16).

Azekah uh-zee'kuh (עֲזֵקָה *H6467,* possibly "hoed [ground]"). A Palestinian town that existed from before 1300 B.C. through Byzantine times. Azekah, a fortified city S of the Valley of AIJALON, is identified with Tell Zakariyeh, a triangular mound about 1,000 by 500 ft., which rises about 350 ft. above the Valley of ELAH, modern Wadi es-Sanṭ. It was located 3 mi. NW of SOCOH, about 9 mi. N of Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin), and 15 mi. NW of HEBRON. On a plateau at the top of the tell there remains a wall and towers of ancient fortifications. The Byzantine city of Azekah may be Khirbet el-ʿAlami just E of the tell. The site was partially excavated in 1898 – 1899 by Frederick J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister for the Palestine Exploration Fund. (See *NEAEHL,* 1:123 – 24.)

When JOSHUA defeated the AMORITES near GIBEON, he chased the remnants of the coalition to Azekah (Josh. 10:10 – 11), which lay in the SHEPHELAH (15:35). It was a point on the battle line of the Philistine-Hebrew campaign in which DAVID slew GOLIATH (1 Sam. 17:1). Following the revolt of the northern kingdom, REHOBOAM fortified the city with a large walled stockade (2 Chr. 11:9). Possibly Rehoboam was actuated by the invasion of SHISHAK (c. 918 B.C.), and these fortifications may be the ones seen in modern times. Perhaps

Azekah.

the "covering" of Isa. 22:8 (NIV, "defenses") refers to the fortress of Azekah (cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 [1958]: 22 – 40, 77 – 100).

Azekah was one of the last towns to fall to NEBUCHADNEZZAR before he attacked Jerusalem c. 588 B.C. (Jer. 34:7). In LACHISH letter # 4, Hoshaiah, who commanded a garrison N of Lachish,

The bald hilltop of Azekah. (View to the SW.)

informed his superior Yoash at Lachish that he could no longer see the signals (fire or smoke) from Azekah N of his post. This indicated that Azekah had already fallen. (Cf. *ANET,* 322; *DOTT,* 216 – 17; G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* [1956], 179). After the EXILE the city was reoccupied (Neh. 11:30).

A. K. HELMBOLD

Azel ay'zuhl (אֲצֵל *H727,* "noble"). (1) Son of Eleasah and descendant of King SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:37 – 38; 9:43 – 44). (2) NIV form of AZAL.

Azem ay'zuhm. KJV alternate form of EZEM.

Azephurith uh-zef'uh-rith. KJV Apoc. form of ARSIPHURITH (1 Esd. 5:16).

Azetas uh-zee'tuhs (Αζητας). The ancestor of a family that returned from the EXILE with ZERUB-BABEL (1 Esd. 5:15; his name is omitted in the parallel passages, Ezra 2:16; Neh. 7:21).

Azgad az'gad (עַזְגָּד *H6444,* possibly "Gad is strong," or from Pers. *izgad,* "messenger"). Ancestor of a family that returned from the EXILE. They returned in two contingents, one with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:12; Neh. 7:17; 1 Esd. 5:13 [KJV "Sadas"]) and the other with EZRA (Ezra 8:12). Azgad (or a descendant representing the clan) was among those who signed NEHEMIAH'S covenant (Neh. 10:15).

Azia az'ee-uh. KJV Apoc. form of UZZA (1 Esd. 5:31).

Aziei az'uh-ee'i. KJV Apoc. form of AZARIAH (2 Esd. 1:2).

Aziel ay'zee-uhl (עַזִּיאֵל *H6456,* prob. "God is [my] strength"). One of the Levites who played the lyre when the ARK OF THE COVENANT was brought to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15:20; called JAAZIEL in v. 18;

some also identify him with the first JEIEL listed in 16:5).

Aziza uh-zi'zuh (עֲזִיזָא *H6461,* "strong one" or short form of עֲזַזְיָהוּ *H6453* "Yahweh is strong"; see AZAZIAH). One of the descendants of Zattu who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (Ezra 10:27; apparently called "Zerdaiah" in 1 Esd. 9:28 [KJV "Sardeus"]).

Azmaveth (person) az'muh-veth (עַזְמָוֶת *H6462,* possibly "Mot [Death] is fierce"). (1) A member of DAVID'S military elite known as the Thirty; he was apparently from BAHURIM (2 Sam. 23:31, "the Barhumite"; 1 Chr. 11:33, "the Baharumite").

(2) The father of two warriors named JEZIEL and PELET, from the tribe of BENJAMIN. Both men were ambidextrous stone slingers and archers. They joined David at ZIKLAG while David was fleeing from SAUL (1 Chr. 12:3). He may be the same man as #1 above.

(3) Son of Jehoaddah (or Jarah/Jadah) and descendant of King SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:36; 9:42).

(4) Son of Adiel and supervisor of the royal treasuries in Jerusalem during David' reign (1 Chr. 27:25).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Azmaveth (place) az'muh-veth (עַזְמָוֶת *H6463,* possibly "Mot [Death] is fierce"). A town in the Judean hills listed between ANATHOTH and KIRIATH JEARIM in postexilic census lists (Ezra 2:24; called "Beth Azmaveth" in Neh. 7:28, and "Bethasmoth" [KJV, "Bethsamos"] in 1 Esd. 5:18). This village supplied some of the singers for the dedication of the temple (Neh 12:29). It has been identified with modern Ḥizmeh, c. 5 mi. NNE of Jerusalem.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Azmon az'mon (עַצְמוֹן *H6801,* "strong" or "[place of] bones"). A site on the S border of the tribe of JUDAH (Num. 34:4; Josh. 15:4). Possible identifications include ʿAin el-Qeseimeh (a spring about 10 mi. NW of KADESH BARNEA, but see KARKA) and ʿAin Muweiliḥ (a few miles closer to Kadesh Barnea).

Aznoth Tabor az'noth-tay'buhr (אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר *H268,* possibly "peaks of Tabor"). A place in the SW border of the tribe of NAPHTALI, evidently in the area of Mount TABOR (Josh. 19:34); some scholars identify it with Khirbet el-Jebeil, about 3 mi. N of the mountain.

Azor (person) ay'zor (Ἀζώρ *G110).* Son of Eliakim, included in Matthew's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:13 – 14).

Azor (place) ay'zor (Ἄζωρ). According to some MSS of the SEPTUAGINT, a town within the tribal territory of DAN (Josh. 19:45). (See *NEAEHL,* 1:125 – 29.)

Azotus uh-zoh'tuhs (Ἄζωτος *G111).* Greek form of ASHDOD (Acts 8:40).

Azriel az'ree-uhl (עַזְרִיאֵל *H6480,* "God is my help"; cf. AZAREL, AZARIAH). (1) A chief of the half-tribe of MANASSEH, E of the Jordan; he and six other men are described as "brave warriors, famous men, and heads of their families" (1 Chr. 5:24). The larger context of the passage focuses on how the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh were successful in enlarging their territories but fell into idolatry and were taken captive by the king of Assyria (1 Chr. 5:18 – 26).

(2) Father of JERIMOTH; the latter was an officer over the tribe of NAPHTALI in the reign of King DAVID (1 Chr. 27:19).

(3) Father of Seraiah; the latter was one of the officers sent by King JEHOIAKIM to arrest JEREMIAH and BARUCH (Jer. 36:26).

Azrikam az'ri-kuhm (עַזְרִיקָם *H6483,* "my help has arisen"). (1) Son of Neariah and descendant of DAVID through ZERUBBABEL (1 Chr. 3:23); scholars differ regarding the precise way to reconstruct this genealogy.

(2) Son of Azel and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:38; 9:44). Perhaps the same as #4 below.

(3) Son of Hashabiah and descendant of LEVI through MERARI (1 Chr. 9:14; Neh. 11:15).

(4) A high-ranking official during the reign of AHAZ. Described as "the officer in charge of the palace," Azrikam was slain in battle by ZICRI, a warrior from Ephraim (2 Chr. 28:7).

Azubah uh-zoo'buh (עֲזוּבָה *H6448,* "forsaken"). (1) Daughter of Shilhi, wife of king ASA, and mother of King JEHOSHAPHAT (1 Ki. 22:42; 2 Chr. 20:31). (2) Wife of CALEB son of HEZRON; she was apparently the mother of Jesher, Shobab, and Ardon (1 Chr. 2:18 – 19 NIV). The Hebrew text is very difficult, and some believe that she was Caleb's daughter. It is also possible that JERIOTH was not a second wife but another name for Azubah.

Azur ay'zuhr. KJV alternate form of AZZUR.

Azuran uh-zoo'ruhn. KJV Apoc. variant of AZARU (1 Esd. 5:15).

Azzah az'uh. KJV alternate form of GAZA (Deut. 2:23; 1 Ki. 4:24; Jer. 25:20).

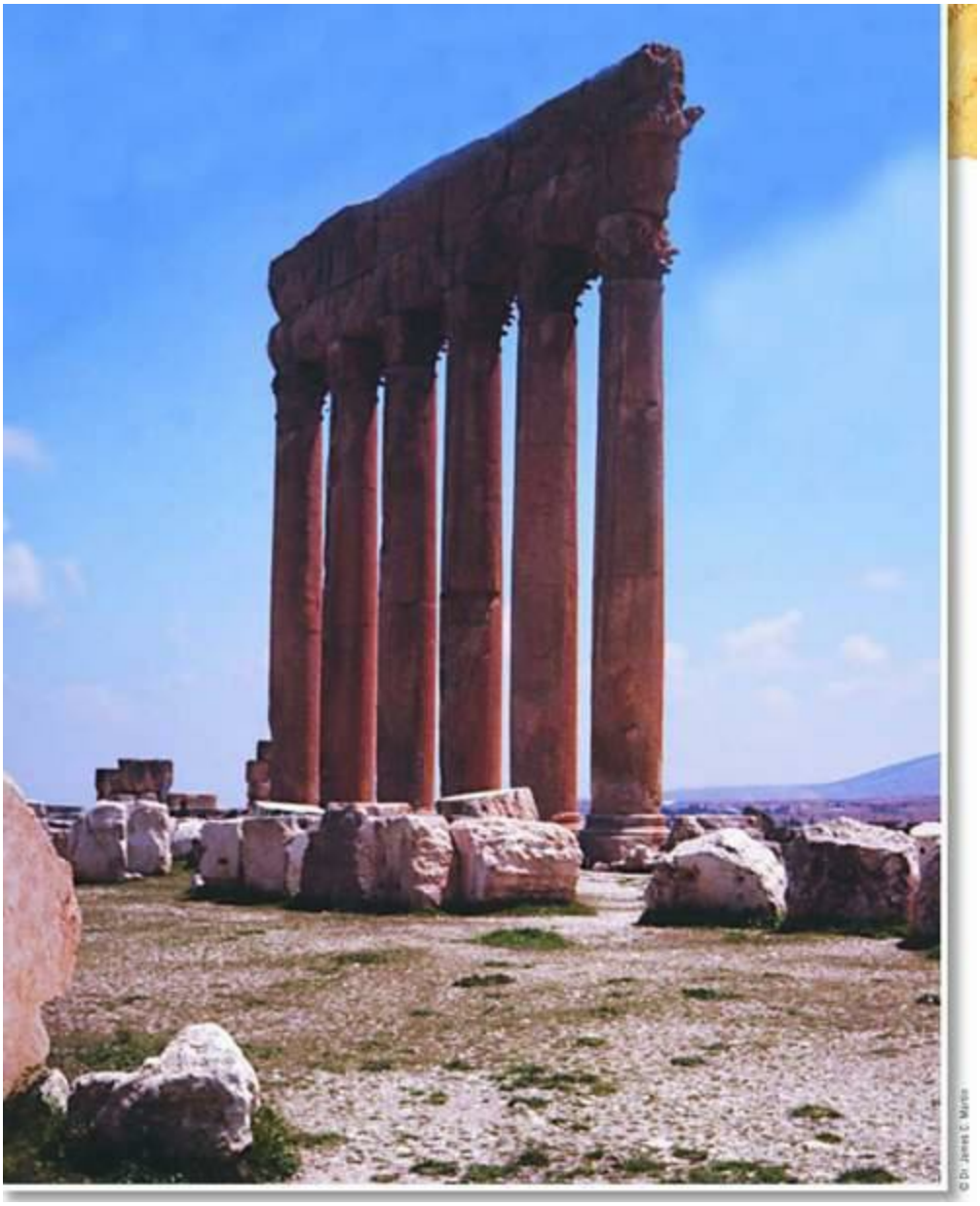
Azzan az'uhn (עַזָּן *H6464,* "strong" or "[God] has shown strength"). Father of PALTIEL; the latter was a leader from the tribe of ISSACHAR, chosen to help distribute the territory W of the Jordan among the various tribes who settled there (Num. 34:26).

Azzur az'uhr (עַזּוּר *H6473,* possibly "helper"). (1) Father of HANANIAH; the latter was a false prophet from GIBEON in the days of King ZEDEKIAH (Jer. 28:1; KJV, "Azur").

(2) An Israelite leader who sealed the covenant with NEHEMIAH after the return from Babylon (Neh. 10:17).

(3) Father of JAAZANIAH; the latter was one of a group of Israelite leaders against whom EZEKIEL was told to prophesy (Ezek. 11:1; KJV, "Azur").

B



Corinthian columns from the Roman temple at Baalbek.

B. A symbol used to designate CODEX VATICANUS. See also SEPTUAGINT; TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

Baal (deity) bay'uhl, bah-ahl' (בַּעַל *H1251,* "owner, lord"). The name of the principal Canaanite deity and of two persons. The Hebrew term is used frequently as a common noun with such meanings as "owner, master, lord, citizen, husband." As a place name it occurs once by itself (1 Chr. 4:33 NRSV; the NIV has BAALATH, following a LXX variant), otherwise in combination (e.g., BAAL GAD, Josh. 11:17; KIRIATH BAAL, 15:60); in the latter case, the original form was probably Beth-Baal-X, "the house [habitation] of the lord of X." Baal is also part of such personal names as JERUB-BAAL (Jdg. 6:32), BEELIADA (1 Chr. 14:7), Esh-Baal (i.e., ISH-BOSHETH, 2 Sam. 2:8), and MERIB-BAAL (1 Chr. 8:33 – 34), which may reflect a pagan background, referring either to the Canaanite god directly or to Yahweh in syncretism with Baal. It is also possible, however, that in some cases the names are

simply references to Yahweh as "master" (cf. G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* [1896], 138 – 46). See also BAAL (PERSON).

Most occurrences of Baal in the OT designate the Canaanite deity. The reference may be local, when it is qualified by the place-name (e.g., "Baal of Peor," Num. 25:3) or by some other limiting characteristic (e.g., BAAL-BERITH, "Baal of the covenant," Jdg. 8:33); otherwise, it refers to the great cosmic nature-god. The etymology of the word suggests that Baal was regarded as the owner of a particular locality, thus limiting the use of the word to people who were no longer nomads, but settled on the land. These local baals were believed to control fertility in agriculture, beasts, and mankind. It was highly important to secure their favor, therefore, particularly in an area like Palestine with few natural streams or springs and with an uncertain rainfall. This led to the adoption of extreme forms in the cultus, including the practice of ritual prostitution (Jdg. 2:17; Jer. 7:9; Amos 2:7) and child-sacrifice (Jer. 19:5). The plurality of local gods led the Hebrew prophets to group them under the plural form *habbĕʿālîm* (e.g., 1 Ki. 18:18).

The most important use of the title in the OT is its reference to the great active god of the Canaanite pantheon, who controlled rain and fertility. An equation with HADAD, the AMORITE god whose nature and functions were almost identical, seems clear. The probability is that Amorite settlers brought their gods with them in the great westward migratory movement early in the 2nd millennium B.C., the name of Hadad changing to Baal as they settled in CANAAN. In process of time Baal became the region's chief deity. Some scholars believe that part of this process can be traced in the texts from UGARIT.

The original head of the Canaanite gods was doubtless EL, but Baal is described, not as the son of El, but as the son of DAGON, another Amorite deity, probably a vegetation or grain god. Temples to both Baal and Dagon have been discovered at Ras Shamra (the site of ancient Ugarit), but not one dedicated to El himself. In the Ugaritic texts El is a rather nebulous figure, a "father of years" who dwells at the "Source of the Two Deeps" and conveys his instructions by messengers, suggesting both his age and his remoteness. Moreover, Ashirat (the biblical ASHERAH), the consort of El, appears to be in process of transfer to Baal, a development that hints further at the latter's displacement of El. It is perhaps of significance that the OT links Baal and Asherah together (e.g., Jdg. 3:7).

Baal's importance at Ugarit is unquestioned. His name appears more than 150 times in the texts, the form Aliyan Baal (Baal the Strong) is found seventy times, and the compound BaalHadad on approximately twenty occasions. He is connected with Mount Sapon, the "mountain of the gods of the north," usually identified with the modern Jebel el-Aqra, N of Ras Shamra, in a way that is reminiscent of Mount Olympus, the home of the Greek pantheon (cf. the reference to Yahweh in Ps. 48:1 – 2). Another frequent description of Baal is "the rider of the clouds," which echoes the reference to Yahweh in Ps. 68:4 (cf. 104:3). In the sculptures Baal is shown with a helmet adorned with the horns of a bull, the symbol of strength and fertility. In one hand he grasps a club or mace, possibly symbolic of thunder, and in the other a spear embellished with leaves, which may portray both lightning and vegetation. In Aramean sculptures Baal stands upon a bull, which may connect with

Bronze statuette of a storm-god, probably Baal, with bull and serpent; discovered at Hazor (1500 – 1000 B.C.).

the calf-images made by AARON and JEROBOAM I (Exod. 32:4; 1 Ki. 12:28), these being regarded, in all probability, as pedestals for the invisible Yahweh (see CALF, GOLDEN). ANATH, often referred to somewhat euphemistically as "the virgin Anath," was both consort and sister to Baal and shared his several adventures. (See A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* [1952].)

In the numerous texts discovered at Ras Shamra, two main myth-complexes concerning Baal may be distinguished. The first concerns a crucial conflict with Prince-Sea Judge-River (prob. only one god is indicated, the Lord of Waters) who has tyrannized the gods. Baal, with the assistance of the artificer-god, Kothar wa-Khasis ("the Skillful and Percipient One"), defeated his opponent, who was henceforth confined to his proper realm. Some scholars would equate Prince Sea with Lotan "the twisting serpent," the LEVIATHAN of the OT. This conflict with the dragon or chaos monster is a recurring element in the mythology of the FERTILE CRESCENT that has influenced the language and thought-forms of the OT. The concepts have been thoroughly demythologized, however, and connected with Yahweh's absolute sovereignty over all the forces of this world. This Canaanite myth concerning Baal's victory provided a convenient and forceful illustration of that sovereignty. The origin of the DAY OF THE LORD may be the occasion when Yahweh's victory over the forces of chaos was celebrated, possibly at the New Year Festival in the Jerusalem temple, in a rite that developed from a Canaanite prototype.

The second myth-complex has no such echo in the OT. It has to do with the realm of the FERTILITY CULT and its dying-rising god motif. Aliyan Baal, at the height of the summer drought (i.e.,

when vegetation is dying and the land parched) was slain by MOT (Death). Anath searched for the body with the assistance of the sun goddess, Shapsh. She found it, and after numerous animal sacrifices (seventy each of buffaloes, cows, small cattle, deer, mountain goats, and roebucks), Baal was restored to life and reigned over Mot, thus assuring life and fertility for the year ahead. This myth was acted out with a background of sympathetic magic at the Canaanite New Year Festival and, with its vital connection with the desired fertility, was doubtless the most important feature of the cultic year. It was attended by the appropriate response from the worshipers, culminating in the grossly sensuous rites accompanying the sacred marriage, in which ritual prostitution of both sexes was a prominent feature.

There is evidence that Baal and other Canaanite deities were worshiped in Egypt, but without becoming a serious menace to the native Egyptian religion. The situation was otherwise in Israel, where, through the processes of syncretism, the worship of Yahweh was profoundly influenced and threatened by alien elements from the Baal cults. This development was due to two main factors: (1) The Israelites did not drive out the Canaanites, but intermarried with them, thus raising the problem of the interrelationship of Yahweh and Baal. (2) Yahweh had given Israel a considerable victory over the Canaanites and his supremacy was unquestioned. Most Israelites at that time associated him with the wilderness, in which they had spent the major portion of their lives. In Canaan they were dependent upon the fertility of the land, which, in popular thought, was controlled by the Baal gods. Many, therefore, conceived it wise to pay deference to these deities. This tendency was probably accelerated by the sensuous appeal of the Canaanite cultus. In process of time their Yahweh worship became Canaanized, and although Yahweh continued to be worshiped, the attributes and even the name of Baal became attached to him.

These syncretistic tendencies are illustrated, both in editorial comment and actual example, in the book of Judges (e.g., Jdg. 2:1 – 5, 11 – 13, 17, 19; 3:5 – 7; 6:25 – 26). As already mentioned, they are reflected in various theophoric names (e.g., Jerub-Baal, Jdg. 7:1). Such usage was probably in all innocence, Yahweh being regarded as the "owner" or "husband" of Israel. The Samaria OSTRACA, dating from c. 780 B.C., show that this tendency was particularly prominent in the northern kingdom; for every two names in the lists compounded with the name of Yahweh, one was formed with Baal. The northern kingdom was more susceptible to the inroads of the native Canaanite cults than was the more isolated and largely agricultural kingdom of Judah. Thus Israel supported the deliberate attempt by the Phoenician princess JEZEBEL to obliterate Yahweh worship (cf. 1 Ki. 18:4) and make Baal (prob. Baal-Melqart) the official god. Only 7,000 Israelites remained true to Yahweh (19:18), but the crisis was averted by the decisive action of the prophet ELIJAH (ch. 18).

The 8th-cent. prophets recognized the dangers inherent in the situation and called the people back to a belief in Yahweh alone and to a cult purified of its Canaanite accretions. Hosea prophesied that the name of Baal would no longer be employed of Yahweh (Hos. 2:16 – 17), and he and Jeremiah pointed out the dangers of a Canaanized Yahweh cultus to a people who were quite unaware of their apostasy (e.g., Jer. 2:23). Once this *was* realized, the name of Baal was regarded with abhorrence, and editorial treatment was applied in many instances to names in which it occurred. Often the word for "shame" (*bōšet H1425)* was substituted, as in the forms JERUB-BESHETH (2 Sam. 11:21), ISH-BOSHETH (2:8), MEPHIBOSHETH (9:6), and even in contexts where the Canaanite deity himself was mentioned (e.g., Jer. 3:24; 11:13; Hos. 9:10). Only after two major reformations aimed at the elimination of Baal worship (2 Ki. 18:4 – 6; 23:4 – 15) and the chastisement involved in the national disaster of 587 B.C., did a majority of the Jews finally forsake the last vestiges of Baal worship and turn in contrition to Yahweh, the covenant-God. (See further John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and*

Goddesses of Canaan [2000]; M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel,* 2nd ed. [2002]; A. R. W. Green, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East* [2003]; *DDD,* 132 – 39.)

A. E. CUNDALL

Baal (person) bay'uhl, bah-ahl' (בַּעַל *H1252,* "owner, lord"). (1) Son of Reaiah and descendant of REUBEN through Joel; Baal's son Beerah was a clan leader deported by TIGLATH-PILESER (1 Chr. 5:5 – 6; some scholars, following the Syriac version, identify this Baal with Bela in v. 8).

(2) Son of Jeiel and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:30; 9:36).

Baal (place). See BAALATH #2.

Baalah bay'uh-luh, bah'uh-luh (בַּעֲלָה *H1267,* "lady, mistress"). (1) An alternate name for KIRIATH JEARIM, first mentioned in connection with the border designating the territory of JUDAH (Josh. 15:9 – 10; 1 Chr. 13:6). Baalah may have been an ancient Canaanite name reflecting the worship of a goddess (cf. "Baalat," *DDD,* 139 – 40).

(2) One of the "southernmost towns of the tribe of Judah in the Negev toward the boundary of Edom" (Josh. 15:29; cf. v. 21). The site is unknown, though it has been variously identified with BAAL-ATH BEER, BALAH, BEALOTH, and BILHAH.

(3) Mount Baalah was a ridge on the N border of Judah, NW of EKRON (Josh. 15:11); it is often identified with a hill named Mughar (cf. BAALATH #1).

Baalath bay'uh-lath, bah'uh-lath (בַּעֲלַת *H1272,* "lady, mistress"). (1) One of the towns included in the territory allotted to the tribe of DAN (Josh. 19:44); the site is usually identified with modern el-Mughar (cf. BAALAH #3). It is probably the same city that was later rebuilt by SOLOMON (1 Ki. 9:18; 2 Chr. 8:6; but some believe that these verses refer to Baalah #3).

(2) The NIV, following a SEPTUAGINT variant, reads "Baalath" in 1 Chr. 4:33 (NRSV and other versions, "Baal," following the MT). The name is evidently an alternative form of the Simeonite border town of BAALATH BEER.

Baalath Beer bay'uh-lath-bee'uhr, bah'uh-lath-bee'uhr (בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר *H1273,* "mistress of the well"). A border town, possibly the shrine of a goddess, in the southern part of the territory allotted to the tribe of SIMEON; it may be the same as "Ramah in the Negev" (Josh. 19:8; but see RAMAH #4). It is elsewhere called Baal (1 Chr. 4:33, where NIV follows a LXX variant in reading "Baalath"). Its location is uncertain; see BAALATH #2.

Baalbek bay'uhl-bek (from Baal of Beqaʿ, "Lord of the Valley"). Ancient city in the BEQAʿ plain, which separates the LEBANON and ANTILEBANON mountains. Still known as Baalbek, it is located some 40 mi. ENE of Beirut. The Greek name for it was Heliopolis, "city of the sun" (to be distinguished from HELIOPOLIS in Egypt). The city stood on an acropolis that commands a view of the very fertile valley. The sanctuary flourished during earlier times, declined during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, only to revive in importance during the later Roman empire. The great builders of Roman Baalbek were the emperors Antoninus Pius and Caracella, the latter perhaps because his mother was Syrian.

The ruins of the city cover a vast area and are world famous. Trial soundings in the vicinity of the Roman temples have revealed foundations of numerous earlier buildings. The temple of Jupiter, originally built to the storm-god HADAD, was a massive building 290 ft. long by 60 ft. wide. It was surrounded by a peristyle of nineteen Corinthian columns on each side and ten each on the front and rear. The columns were 62 ft. high and 7.5 ft. in diameter. The temple was built on a large artificial terrace 24 to 42 ft. high. Part of the wall of the enclosure is made up of massive blocks approximately 62 by 14 by 11 ft.

The temple of Bacchus, forty yards to the S, is a smaller but better preserved example of the Corinthian style of architecture. In the vicinity of the temples are a propylea, forecourt, and grand court, all of which contain numerous ancillary buildings. In the middle of the modern town, a quarter of a mile from the Acropolis, there is a small, round temple that was dedicated to Venus or Fortuna. (See F. Ragette, *Baalbek* [1980].)

In Amos 1:5, where the MT has *ʾāwen* (see AVEN), the SEPTUAGINT has *Ōn* (vocalizing the Hebrew *ʾôn*), that is, Heliopolis, not likely a reference to Baalbek.

A. RUPPRECHT

Baal-Berith bay'uhl-bi-rith', bah'uhl-bi-rith' (בַּעַל בְּרִית *H1253,* "lord of the covenant"). A god worshiped by Israel after the death of GIDEON (Jdg. 8:33). ABIMELECH, Gideon's son, took seventy pieces of silver from the house of this god to hire followers in his time of rebellion (9:4). It is possible that Baal-Berith and EL-BERITH (9:46) are alternate ways of referring to the same god (cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* [1973], 39), but some scholars believe that two different sanctuaries with two distinct deities were found in SHECHEM. The idol was undoubtedly worshiped by the Shechemites during, and particularly after, Gideon's time. (See *DDD,* 141 – 44.)

J. B. SCOTT

Baale of Judah bay'uh-lee, bah'uh-lee. The KJV rendering of *baʿaĕlê yĕhûdâ* in 2 Sam. 6:2, where NRSV has "Baale-judah." The NIV correctly interprets it to mean "Baalah of Judah," that is, KIRIATH JEARIM, the place from which DAVID left to bring up the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6:2). See BAALAH #1.

Baal Gad bay'uhl-gad', bah'uhl-gad' (בַּעַל גָּד *H1254,* "lord of fortune"). A Canaanite town, located "in the Valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon"; it marked the northern extremity of JOSHUA'S conquests (Josh. 11:17; 12:7; 13:5; cf. the last reference with Jdg. 3:3, which suggests a connection between this town and Mount BAAL HERMON). The exact location is unknown, but it should be near the Damascus road on the NW slope of Mount HERMON. One of several possible sites is Tell Haush (about 7 mi. N of Ḥaṣbayya; see further Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 226 – 27).

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Hamon bay'uhl-hay'muhn, bah'uhl-hay'muhn (בַּעַל הָמוֹן *H1255,* "lord *[or* possessor] of abundance"). A place mentioned in the Song of Songs as a fertile region where SOLOMON had a vineyard (Cant. 8:11). The context would indicate that its fruit was exceptionally fine. The location of this place is not known (one suggestion is Khirbet Belʿameh, 12 mi. SE of MEGIDDO, but this modern site is usually identified with BILEAM = IBLEAM). Some scholars see in the name a connection with the

Phoenician deity Baal Ḥammon (cf. M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs,* AB 7C [1977], 686 – 88). It is possible that a real vineyard was not intended and that the reference is only a poetic expression.

J. B. SCOTT

Baal-Hanan bay'uhl-hay'nuhn, bah'uhl-hay'nuhn (בַּעַל חָנָן *H1257,* "Baal [or the master] has been gracious"). (1) Son of Acbor and one of "the kings who reigned in Edom before any Israelite king reigned"; he was Shaul's successor (Gen. 36:38 – 39 [cf. v. 31]; 1 Chr. 1:49 – 50).

(2) A man from GEDER who was in charge of DAVID'S "olive and sycamore-fig trees in the western foothills" (1 Chr. 27:28).

Baal Hazor bay'uhl-hay'zor, bah'uhl-hay'zor (בַּעַל חָצוֹר *H1258,* "lord of the court"). A location near the border of EPHRAIM where ABSALOM'S sheepshearers had gathered (2 Sam. 13:23). It was here that Absalom planned a feast for his brothers, also inviting his father DAVID, who did not accept. In this remote place marked by rugged limestone slopes, Absalom avenged the rape of his sister TAMAR by having AMNON killed. It was possibly a mountain home, being more than 3,000 ft. above sea level. The site is identified with Jebel el-ʿAṣur, some 5 mi. N of BETHEL; some equate it with HAZOR #3, mentioned in Neh. 11:33 (not to be confused with the better-known Hazor N of the Sea of Galilee).

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Hermon bay'uhl-huhr'muhn, bah'uhl-huhr'muhn (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן *H1259,* "lord of Hermon [consecrated place]"). A mountain that marked the S border of the land occupied by the HIVITES, whom God had left to test Israel (Jdg. 3:3). It also marked the N border of the half-tribe of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 5:23). This last reference associates (or even identifies; cf. NIV) Baal Hermon with SENIR and Mount HERMON; it may be one of the peaks comprising the mountain. See also BAAL GAD.

Baali bay'uh-li, bah'uh-li'. KJV transliteration of *baʿlî* ("my BAAL," that is, "my master"), a name used by some in HOSEA'S day to describe God (Hos. 2:16). Because of this name's pagan associations, God preferred and demanded that he be called *ʾîšî* ("my husband"), which emphasized the covenant relationship he had established between his people and himself.

J. B. SCOTT

Baalim bay'-uh-lim, bah'uh-lim. KJV transliteration of *habbĕʿālîm,* plural form, with definite article, of BAAL (Jdg. 2:11 et al.).

J. B. SCOTT

Baalis bay'uh-lis, bah'uh-lis (בַּעֲלִיס *H1271,* possibly "the lord is salvation" [if an orig. שׁ is mistakenly represented with ס]). King of AMMON in the early 6th cent. B.C. (Jer. 40:14). He sent ISHMAEL son of Nethaniah to kill GEDALIAH, the governor of Israel appointed by NEBUCHADNEZZAR, king of Babylon. Gedaliah, not believing the report, defended Ishmael's character to his own hurt (40:16). The murder occurred soon after Jerusalem was captured (41:1 – 2). Baalis is probably to be identified with Baʿal-yišʿa ("the lord is salvation"), whose name is found in a seal discovered in 1984 at Tell el-ʿUmeiri, near Amman. (See L. T. Geraty in AUSS 23 [1985]: 85 – 110; also the articles by L. G. Herr and R. W. Younker in *BA* 48 [1985]: 169 – 72 and 173 – 80.)

Baal Meon bay'uhl-mee'on, bah'uhl-mee'on (בַּעַל מְעוֹן *H1260,* "lord of the dwelling *[or* of refuge]"). A city built by the tribe of REUBEN across the Jordan (Num. 32:38; 1 Chr. 5:8). It is described, along with BETH JESHIMOTH and KIRIATHAIM, as one of the glorious cities on the frontier of MOAB (Ezek. 25:9). Baal Meon is also called BETH BAAL MEON (Josh. 13:17), BETH MEON (Jer. 48:23), and probably BEON (Num. 32:3). MESHA, king of Moab, claimed to have built Baal Meon, making a reservoir for it (MOABITE STONE, line 9; Beth Baal Meon is also mentioned on line 30; see *ANET,* 320 – 21). Possession must have passed alternately between Moab and Israel several times in its history. The city is to be identified with Maʿin, about 10 mi. E of the DEAD SEA and 3 mi. SW of MEDEBA.

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Peor, Baal of Peor bay'uhl-pee'or, bah'uhl-pee'or (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר *H1261,* "lord of Peor"). Also Baal-peor. The "Baal of Peor" was a local deity (see BAAL) worshiped by the Israelites while encamped at SHITTIM in MOAB (Num. 25:3 – 5). The heinous nature of the sin, which involved licentious practice with Moabite women (Num. 25:1 – 2), was not soon forgotten, as is clear from subsequent references (Ps. 106:28; Hos. 9:10). In the latter passage, the idol is called "shameful" and the Israelites are described as having become "vile." The term Baal Peor is also used as a place name equivalent to Mount PEOR (Deut. 4:3; Hos. 9:10). In some passages, it is ambiguous whether the single name Peor refers to the deity or to the place (cf. Num. 25:18; 31:16; Josh. 22:17). One cannot be certain whether the place was named after the deity or vice versa. (Cf. *DDD,* 147 – 48.) See also BETH PEOR.

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Perazim bay'uhl-piray'zim, bah'uhl-pi-ray'zim (בַּעַל־פְּרָצִים *H1262,* "lord of breaches [i.e., breach-maker]" or "lord of Perazim"). A name given to the place where DAVID smote the PHILISTINES after he was made the king of Israel (2 Sam. 5:20; 1 Chr. 14:11). The place was so named because the Lord "broke out" *(pāraz, H7287)* against David's enemies there. It is thought to be the same place that Isaiah calls "Mount Perazim" (Isa. 28:21). Although the exact site is not known, two locations have been suggested: one is the modern Sheikh Bedr, NW of Jerusalem; the other and more likely identification is ez-Zuhur, 4 mi. SW of Jerusalem.

J. B. SCOTT

Baalsamus bay'uhl-say'muhs, bah'uhl-say'muhs (Βαάλσαμος). One of the seven men who stood on the right side of EZRA as he read the law to the people (1 Esd. 9:43; the name seems to correspond to MAASEIAH in the parallel passage, Neh. 8:4).

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Shalishah bay'uhl-shal'uh-shuh, bah'uhl-shal'uh-shuh (בַּעַל שָׁלִשָׁה *H1264,* "lord of Shalishah [third part?]"). KJV Baal-shalisha. The home of the unnamed man who brought to ELISHA twenty loaves of barley bread and some heads of new grain by which 100 people were fed (2 Ki. 4:42). Such was the miracle at this time that some food remained after all had eaten. The location of the site is uncertain, partly depending on what is meant by GILGAL (v. 38). Suggestions include modern Kefr Thilth (20 mi. E of Qalqiliyeh in central Palestine, overlooking the plain of SHARON), Khirbet Sirisya

(some 3 mi. farther N), and Khirbet Marjame (about 16 mi. NE of Jerusalem). There is some evidence that Baal Shalishah was an extremely fertile area (cf. *b. Sanh.* 12a).

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Tamar bay'uhl-tay'mahr, bah'uhl-tay'mahr (בַּעַל תָּמָר *H1265,* "lord of the palm tree"). The place where the Israelites awaited the pursuing Benjamites, when the nation went to war to punish the tribe of BENJAMIN for the violent rape and death of a Levite's concubine (Jdg. 20:33). Its precise location is not known, but it was near GIBEAH of Benjamin (some 3 mi. N of Jerusalem) on the way to BETHEL (another 8 mi. farther N). One scholar (I. Press, *A Topographical-Historical Encyclopaedia of Palestine* [1951, in Heb.], 1:115) has linked Baal Tamar to the Palm of DEBORAH, which was located between RAMAH (about 3 mi. N of Gibeah) and Bethel (Jdg. 4:5).

Baal-Zebub bay'uhl-zee'buhb, bah'uhl-zee'buhb (בַּעַל זְבוּב *H1256,* "lord of the flies"). A PHILISTINE god of whom King AHAZIAH inquired after he had fallen from his upper room in SAMARIA (2 Ki. 1:2). Baal-Zebub was the local deity (see BAAL) of the city of EKRON and evidently had a considerable reputation for the king to seek an oracle from him. God sent ELIJAH to rebuke Ahaziah for this faithless act (1:3, 6), and punished the king by declaring that he would surely die (1:16). The name is peculiar. Some have speculated that he protected his worshipers from flies, or that he sent messages swiftly as a fly moves, or (in view of the ubiquity of flies) that he was an ever-present and all-seeing god. Because of the difficulty presented by the name, other scholars argue that it was originally Baal-Zebul (from *zĕbul H2292,* "lofty dwelling," or cognate to Ugar. *zbl,* "prince") and that it was deliberately distorted by Hebrew scribes as a way of mocking pagan worship (see further *DDD,* 154 – 56). The name appears as "Beelzebul" in NT MSS (Matt. 10:25 et al.), but probably for a different reason; see BEELZEBUB.

J. B. SCOTT

Baal Zephon bay'uhl-zee'fon, bah'uhl-zee'fon (בַּעַל צְפוֹן *H1263,* "lord of the north"). A place by the RED SEA near which God told the people of Israel to encamp before crossing the water (Exod. 14:2). They appeared trapped in an area described as being somewhere between MIGDOL and the sea, close to PI HAHIROTH. This place was so shut off that Pharaoh would believe the Israelites were "in confusion, hemmed in by the desert" (v. 3). One can assume that they were on a peninsula (cf. v. 9 and Num. 33:7). It was from this place that the people viewed the approaching army of Pharaoh. Some cried out against MOSES for leading them into a trap. Moses stood firm before the people and challenged them to trust God at this time. From here they crossed the sea on dry land, and at this point the armies of Egypt entered in pursuit, only to be swallowed up by the sea.

The exact location of Baal Zephon is not known. However, there is a god of the same name known from the texts found in UGARIT (cf. *DDD,* 152 – 54). This god is clearly associated with several Egyptian sanctuaries, including one in the port of TAHPANHES (modern Tell Defenneh, 22 mi. SE of Rameses and 27 mi. SSW of Port Said; cf. G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* [1962], 62). Some scholars believe that Baal Zephon was an earlier name for this city. Several other sites are possible, depending on one's view of the route of the exodus. (See also J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 239, 242, 249; C. Pfeiffer, *Egypt and the Exodus* [1964], 52 – 53; G. I. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament* [1979], 81 – 82.) See EXODUS, THE.

Baana bay'uh-nuh (בַּעֲנָא *H1275,* perhaps "son of oppression"). (1) Son of AHILUD; he was one of twelve district governors of SOLOMON commissioned to supply provisions for the royal household (1 Ki. 4:12). He may have been a brother of Jehoshaphat the recorder (v. 3).

(2) Son of HUSHAI; he was another of Solomon's district governors (1 Ki. 4:16; KJV, "Baanah").

(3) Father (ancestor?) of a certain ZADOK who helped to repair the walls of Jerusalem under the supervision of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:4); possibly the same as BAANAH #3.

N. B. BAKER

Baanah bay'uh-nuh (בַּעֲנָה *H1276,* perhaps "son of oppression"). (1) Son of Rimmon; he and his brother RECAB were captains in the army of ISH-BOSHETH, king of Israel during the time when DAVID was king of Judah in HEBRON. Learning of the death of ABNER (the real power behind Ish-Bosheth), Baanah and his brother plotted to unify the kingdom under David. They journeyed to Ish-Bosheth's house and, arriving when the king was taking his noontime nap, eluded the doorkeeper and murdered the king in his bed. They took his severed head to David in Hebron expecting commendation and probably advancement from the king. David, however, angrily accused them of murdering an innocent man in his sleep. He ordered them killed, their hands and feet severed, and their bodies publicly hung by the pool in Hebron (2 Sam. 4:2 – 12). Since Rimmon was from BEEROTH, some scholars believe that he and his sons were Gibeonites (see GIBEON), known for their hatred of SAUL and his family (2 Sam. 21:1 – 9; but see P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel,* AB 9 [1984], 127). If so, the murder of Ish-Bosheth, Saul's son, may have been an act of revenge.

(2) A man of NETOPHAH and father of HELED (Heleb); the latter was one of David's renowned Thirty (2 Sam. 23:29; 1 Chr. 11:30).

(3) A leader who returned with ZERUBBABEL to Judah after the EXILE (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7; 1 Esd. 5:8 [KJV, "Baana"]). He is probably to be identified with the Baanah who affixed his seal to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:27), and the same as BAANA #3.

N. B. BAKER

Baaniah bay'uh-ni'uh. KJV Apoc. variant of ZABAD (1 Esd. 9:33).

Baanias bay'uh-ni'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BENA-IAH (1 Esd. 9:26).

Baara bay'uh-ruh (בַּעֲרָא *H1281,* possibly "passionate" or a variant of בַּעַל *H1252,* "owner, lord" [see Noth, *IPN,* 40]). One of the three wives of SHAHA-RAIM, a Benjamite who lived in MOAB (1 Chr. 8:8). It is possible that Baara divorced her and HUSHIM because they did not bear him any children.

Baaseiah bay'uh-see'yuh (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה *H1283,* derivation uncertain). An ancestor of ASAPH, the Levite musician (1 Chr. 6:40 [MT v. 25]; some scholars prefer the reading MAASEIAH, found in a few Heb. MSS and supported by versional evidence).

Baasha bay'uh-shuh (בַּעְשָׁא *H1284,* perhaps short form of some such name as "Baal [the lord] has heard" [see *HALOT,* 1:147]). Son of Ahijah and third king of the northern kingdom of Israel (c. 909 –

886 B.C.); he was founder of the kingdom's second dynasty (1 Ki. 15:16—16:6). The prophet HOSEA charged Israel with making kings but not at Yahweh's direction or in consultation with him (Hos. 8:4). The history of this kingdom proved to be a long succession of dynastic changes, nine in all, in which Baasha was the first conspirator. The dynasty of the initial king, JEROBOAM, never reached beyond his son, NADAB, who was overthrown by Baasha son of Ahijah, of the tribe of ISSACHAR (1 Ki. 15:27).

Immediately upon overthrowing Nadab, Baasha took two steps to secure his reign, neither of which was successful. First, he slew all the remaining members of the house of Jeroboam (1 Ki. 15:29). Second, he attempted to build a fortification at RAMAH against ASA, king of Judah, but the latter stripped the temple of its gold and silver to make a league with BEN-HADAD of ARAM, and Baasha was forced to withdraw from Ramah to TIRZAH (15:18 – 21; 2 Chr. 16:1 – 6). Asa used the abandoned materials to build GEBA of Benjamin and MIZPAH, and war continued between him and Baasha all their days (1 Ki. 15:32; cf. Jer. 41:9). After twenty-six years, the last two under Baasha's son ELAH, an official named ZIMRI conspired against Elah and reigned in his stead, thus ending Baasha's dynasty (1 Ki. 16:8 – 10).

Although Baasha was used of Yahweh to bring judgment upon the house of Jeroboam (1 Ki. 15:29 – 30), he incurred the divine wrath by following the pattern set by his dynastic predecessor (16:7). The prophetic denunciations of the sins of Jeroboam (14:11, through Ahijah), Baasha (16:3 – 4, through JEHU), and AHAB (21:19, through ELIJAH) classes the three together and manifests the violent fate that awaited them: those who died in the city were to be devoured by dogs, and those who died in the open country by the birds. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF VII.

J. J. EDWARDS

babbler. The Greek term *spermologos G5066* means literally "picker up of seeds," or more clearly, "one who maintains himself by picking up bits of scraps," so perhaps "scavenger" would be a better translation than "babbler." Apparently this colloquialism was used only in the early Hellenistic age and is not found in the classical Attic literature. Its only use in the NT is in an offhand remark attributed to the EPICUREAN and STOIC philosophers who listened to PAUL'S address on the AREOPAGUS (Acts 17:18). It seems to be a direct quote from one of their attacks upon Paul's preaching. The translation "babbler" is also used by the NRSV to render a Hebrew phrase that means literally "one who opens his lips" (Prov. 20:19); moreover, the KJV uses it incorrectly to render another phrase ("master of the tongue") that really means "charmer," apparently with reference to a pagan shaman (Eccl. 10:11). The NIV uses the verb "babble" to render Greek *battalogeō G1006,* with reference to the meaningless PRAYER of pagans (Matt. 6:7).

W. WHITE, JR.

Babel bay'buhl (בָּבֶל *H951,* from Akk. *bāb-ilī,* "gate of God"). The Hebrew term, which refers to BABYLON, is rendered "Babel" only in Gen. 11:9, at the conclusion of what is popularly known as the story of the Tower of Babel. With a play on the Hebrew verb *bālal H1176* ("to mix, confuse"), this verse mocks the city where this structure was built: "That is why it was called Babel—because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world." The name thus has become a synonym for the confusion caused by the language barriers that God imposed because of the human pride displayed in the building.

The account clearly reflects a Babylonian background. The incident takes place on a plain (Gen. 11:2), and BABYLON was situated in a wide plain. The construction was of manufactured bricks and

tar, less solid than the cut rocks and mortar used in Palestine (v. 3). The Hebrew perspective here reflects a note of sarcasm: "Imagine! They had to use brick instead of stone and asphalt instead of mortar!" The Babylonian Epic of Creation (ENUMA ELISH), discussing the construction of celestial Babylon, says: "For one whole year they molded bricks. / When the second year arrived, / They raised high the head of Esagila equaling Apsu" (tablet 6, lines 60 – 62; see *ANET,* 68 – 69). BRICKS (both sun-dried and fire-baked), along with asphalt (see BITUMEN), provided building material in MESOPOTAMIA. Likewise, the combination of a temple tower with a city is typical for the Mesopotamian landscape. In the great cities, especially the holy capitals, of Mesopotamia, the temples were the most impressive buildings, and the tower that arose from the temple area was its supreme glory and splendor. This tower, called in Akkadian *ziqqurratu,* was built in terraces, or stories, each of which was smaller than the one below it. See BABYLON (OT) IV.D; ZIGGURAT.

L. L. WALKER

Babi bay'bi KJV Apoc. form of BEBAI (1 Esd. 8:37).

baboon. The Hebrew word *tukkiyyîm H9415* appears only in the list of cargo brought to SOLOMON from either E Africa or India (1 Ki. 10:22; 2 Chr. 9:21). Traditionally, it has been rendered PEACOCKS (cf. KJV and NRSV), but this meaning cannot be corroborated. The word should probably be related to Egyptian *ky(t),* referring to some kind of monkey (W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* [1956], 212 – 13 n. 16), possibly a baboon. See also APE.

baby. This English term is sometimes used literally in the Bible to denote an infant or very young child (e.g., Ps. 8:2, "out of the mouth of babes," KJV), including MOSES (Exod. 2:6), JOHN THE BAPTIST (Lk. 1:41), and JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 2:12). Its figurative use in the NT may reflect the imagery of spiritual REGENERATION (new birth): young Christians, as well as believers who are undeveloped or stunted in their spiritual growth, are referred to as "babes in Christ" (1 Cor. 3:1 KJV; NIV, "infants") and as "newborn babies" (1 Pet. 2:2). Just as human babies can assimilate only milk, not solid food, so spiritual infants can grasp only fundamental or basic doctrines (cf. also Heb. 5:12 – 14).

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

Babylon (OT) bab'uh-luhn (בָּבֶל *H951,* from Akk. *bāb-ilī, bāb-ilāni,* "the gate of god[s]"; Gk. Βαβυ- λών *G956).* Capital of the land of Babylonia, S Iraq, from which the land takes its name (see ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA).

I. Name. Throughout the OT, Babylon was thought of as the symbol of the confusion caused by godlessness (Gen. 11:9; see BABEL). The most persistent meaning of the name was "gate of god" (Babili). There is no evidence for the view that the name was originally non-Semitic. Rarely from c. 2100 B.C., and frequently in the Neo-Babylonian period, the city was called *Tintirki,* "life of the woods," possibly because at the time it may have been well surrounded by date groves. Another common name for the city was *Eki,* "canal area,"

The partly restored ziggurat (temple-tower) at Agur Quf, dating to c. 1400 B.C.

The Babylonian Empire.

because of the key part played in the local irrigation system. The name š *šēšak H9263* (Jer. 25:26; 51:41) may be related to a rare ideographic writing of the name for Babylonia *(Šeški),* though it is commonly assumed to be a cypher for the name of Babel (see ATBASH).

II. Location. Babylon lay in the land of SHINAR (Gen. 10:10), and its general situation in Babylonia has never been in dispute. The precise site now is marked by the ruin-mounds of Bâbil, Qasr, ʿAmran ibn Ail, Merkes, and Homera, and the modern village of Jumjummah, c. 6 mi. NE of the town of Hillah and about 50 mi. S of modern Baghdad. The river EUPHRATES runs by the ruins, which extend over several square miles.

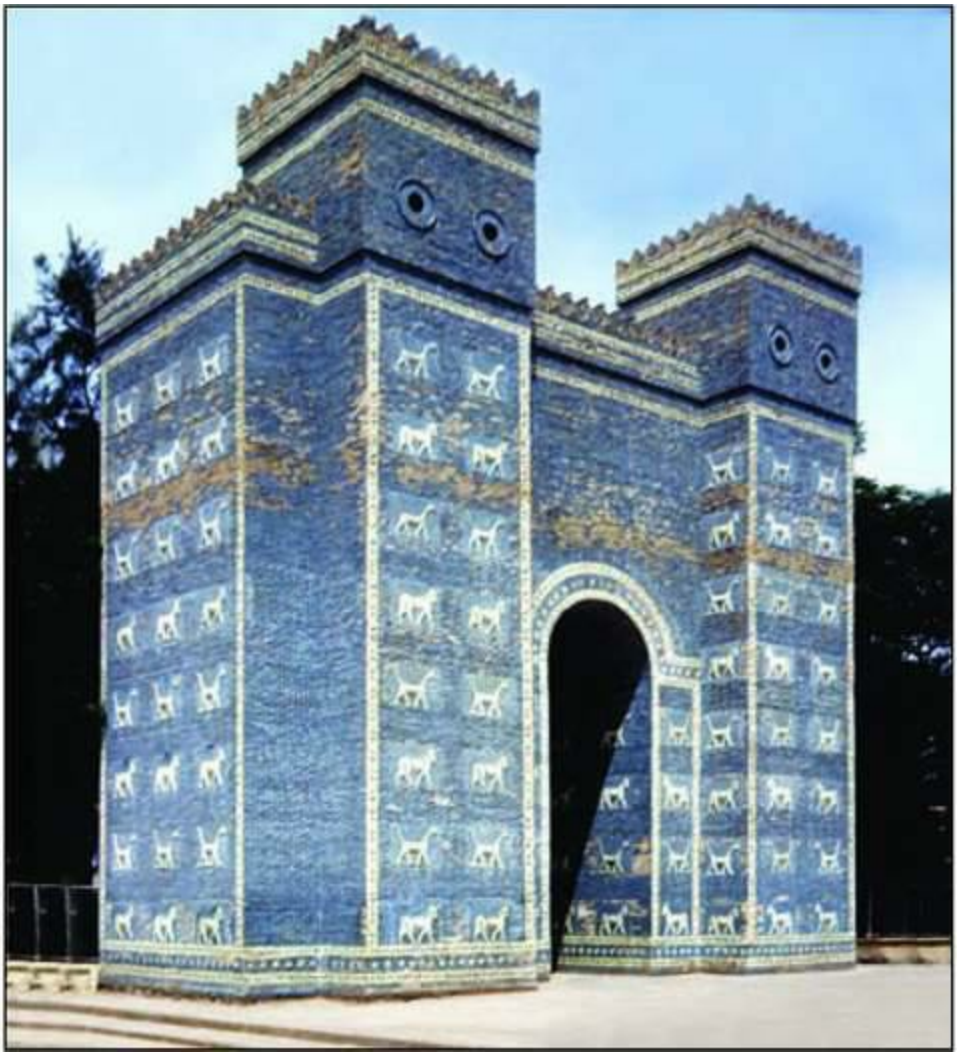
III. Identification. Early travelers sought to identify Babylon with the upstanding remains of the ZIGGURAT towers at Aqarquf, W of Baghdad, or at Borsippa, 7 mi. SSW of Bâbil, because of the tradition of the "Tower of Babel" (Gen. 11:1 – 11). Benjamin of Tudela correctly described the ruins without identification, which first may be attributed to Pietro della Valle in A.D. 1616. Some of the

early explorers sought to incorporate the ruins of Borsippa within a greater Babylon, but this is disproved by inscriptions. Some of these were brought to Europe by the Abbé de Beauchamp in A.D. 1784, and later by C. J. Rich, representative of the East India Company in Baghdad, and thus led to the confirmation of the identity of the ruins with the ancient capital of Babylon itself.

IV. Excavation. Rich made soundings in the two largest mounds, Bâbil and Qasr, which he mapped in A.D. 1817. Though spasmodic work was carried out by A. H. Layard and others in 1850 and by the Frenchmen Fresnel and Oppert, much of the time the site was in the hands of locals who dug for inscribed tablets, and these were found in abundance. A major expedition by Die Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft under Robert Koldewey in 1899 – 1917 laid a firm foundation for Neo-Babylonian archaeology, though only part of the citadel area was uncovered (cf. R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* [1914]). Remains of earlier occupation in the Old Babylonian period were uncovered only in a limited area owing to the high water table. Further work has been carried out by the Germans under H. Lenzen since 1956 in conjunction with the Iraq Department of Antiquities, who have undertaken clearing and restoration work in the citadel area (Procession Way, Ninmakh Temple, and the Royal Palace Throne Room) as well as having constructed a museum and rest house on the site.

A. The citadel (Qasr). Babylon had two citadels, the northern one built outside the N wall by NEBUCHADNEZZAR II. Both it and the southern citadel were entered by the Ishtar Gate, a 40-ft. high double tower decorated with alternate rows of glazed relief brickwork depicting the *mušnuššu-dragon* of MARDUK and the bull of HADAD. Many changes in the building level in antiquity mean that the outstanding remains now visible are thus largely the massive foundations for this edifice.

Outside the gateway lay the small temple dedicated to Ninmakh (now reconstructed). It was built by Labashi, the architect, for ASHURBANIPAL (669 – 627 B.C.) and measured 163 by 106 ft. Hundreds of female figurines in clay found here testify to its use and popularity. The Ishtar Gate led to the sacred Procession Way and to both citadels, which together formed a single defense for the palace complex to the S. The citadel in Neo-Babylonian times seems also to have been used as a "museum" to display objects and inscriptions from earlier periods within and without Babylon. Here were found a stela of the HITTITE god Teshup from Zinjirli (7th cent.) and inscriptions of the Assyrian kings Adad-nirari III and Ashurbanipal from Nineveh. The "Lion of Babylon," a massive basalt sculpture depicting a lion trampling a fallen human enemy,



Reconstruction of the Ishtar Gate at Babylon.

also may be of Hittite origin, though a similar design is also to be seen on the ivories of the 7th cent. from Nimrud.

The southern citadel incorporated a royal palace c. 350 x 200 yards grouped around five courts. One of these (197 by 164 ft.) gave access to the throne room (165 by 143 ft.), with its wall covered with glazed bricks forming friezes of garlands, palmettes, and rosettes in blue, white, and yellow. It may well have been in this palace, with its harem and domestic quarters attached, that BELSHAZZAR gave his feast to more than one thousand guests (Dan. 5:1, 5). The extensive and lofty walls built by Nebuchadnezzar would have been an impressive place for the writing to be seen by all. This area was reopened by the Iraqi Government in 1968.

The NW corner of the citadel, near the Ishtar Gate, was occupied by a building at a lower level comprising a series of vaults which, to judge by the discovery of documents made there, were used as administrative quarters or stores for the palace. It has been suggested that these were the substructure for the "Hanging Gardens" described by HERODOTUS. This was a palace built on ranges of lofty terraces on which were laid out trees and gardens watered by special hoists. They were said to have been constructed by Nebuchadnezzar on his marriage to Amytis, daughter of Astyages the Mede, to cement the alliance and to remind her of her hilly homeland.

B. The walls. Babylon was encircled by a double system of defenses, each comprising two walls. The inner Imgur-Bēl was 21 ft. thick and reinforced with towers at 60-ft. intervals. The outer wall

(Nimit-Enlil) was 11 ft. in width and also had protruding watchtowers. About 6 ft. outside these ring walls lay a brick-lined quay wall to contain the waters fed from the Euphrates River, which formed a flood defense. The walls were initially the work of the AMORITE kings of the First Dynasty but were strengthened by the last Assyrians to hold Babylon, ESARHADDON and ASHURBANIPAL, and by the successive rulers of the Chaldean line. Of the latter, it was Nebuchadnezzar who added an outer wall E of the Euphrates to enclose his Summer Palace ("Bâbil") to the N and to run for 17 mi. to defend the plain between the city and the outskirts, thus

Excavation of Babylonian palace.

forming an enclosure within which the local population could retreat and camp in time of war. Later writers (e.g., Ctesias) describe the outer city walls as running for 42 mi. with the inner walls extending for 2.5, 4.5, and 7 mi. respectively, with the middle wall 300 ft. high, and its towers reaching 420 ft. The wall behind the moat was said to be 50 royal cubits. Herodotus declared that the city walls were 480 furlongs, that is, a circuit of 56 mi.

Inscriptions show that eight gates gave access to the inner city; of these, four have been excavated: the Ishtar Gate to the N; Marduk (Urash) and Zababa to the E; Urash to the S. There were also the thus far undiscovered gates of Sin (N), Enlil and Shamash (S), and Adad (W). To these three major gates must be added four minor ones, to the N and S. On the W only one gate, built by Nebuchadnezzar II, gave entrance to the New City on the right bank of the Euphrates.

C. Streets. The city was planned on a symmetrical basis, with the main thoroughfares linking the city gates running parallel or at right angles to each other. Each street had its expressive name, the most distinguished being the "Procession way" *(Ai-ibūr-šabū,* "the enemy shall not prevail") which began at the Ishtar Gate and ran E of the southern citadel for more than a thousand yards before it turned westward by the sacred precincts of Esagila, Marduk's temple, to the seven-piered bridge that spanned the river to the New City. This road was 40 – 50 ft. wide and paved with stone, some inscribed "I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon…I paved the road of Babylon with mountain stone for the procession of the mighty lord Marduk. May Marduk, my lord, grant me eternal life!" Such an inscription is typical of many in Babylon of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, whose boast recorded in Dan. 4:30 is justified.

D. The temple area. The sacred precinct of Babylon now lies in the Sahn, S of Qasr, near ʿAmran ibn

ʿAli, whose mausoleum dates from c. A.D. 680. The dominant feature was the temple tower (ziggurat) Etemenanki ("the house of the foundation of heaven and earth"), standing in an irregular courtyard measuring 460 x 408 x 456 x 412 yards and entered by twelve gates. It is likely that the main entry was kept closed except for the annual procession of the gods Marduk and Nabu. One inscription (Esagila tablet) and the description by Herodotus *(Hist.* 1.187) show that the ziggurat had a square base (c. 300 yards) and rose eight stories to the small temple of blue enamel brick that topped it. Ascent was by staircases to the first platform (as at Ur) and thence by ramps or stairs diagonally to each upper and smaller level, thus giving the appearance to Herodotus of a "circular stair." The total height was c. 300 ft. However, excavations in 1913 yielded little evidence in support of this picture of the "Tower of Babel," since the site had been robbed heavily in the preceding centuries by locals searching for building materials. The site is now a deep depression, hence its name ("Sahn").

The tower also overshadowed the adjacent temple of Marduk, the city's prime deity, called Esagila ("the house of the uplifted head"). Since Shulgi of Ur restored the shrine in 2100 B.C., most kings who revered Babylon had maintained it in repair. It thus remained in use until about the 1st cent. A.D. despite the successive sackings of Babylon. Within the sanctuary, with its walls of gold and alabaster pillars supporting the cedar roof beams, Marduk was shown sitting on his throne with his sacred bed nearby. The temple area measured 470 x 270 yards and also housed chapels for Nabu and his wife Tashmetum in Ezida ("the house of knowledge") and lesser divinities. The texts list more than fifty shrines within the city, fifteen of them built by Nebuchadnezzar. Babylon was certainly conspicuous for its many statues (Jer. 50:38), and one text alone tells of "180 open-air shrines for Ishtar" and more than 1,800 niches, pedestals, or sacred places for other deities.

E. Other areas. East of the temple area the mound of Merkes was found to contain private houses of all periods, from the First Dynasty to the Parthians. Here too was a temple to ISHTAR of Akkad (Emeshdari). To the NE at Ḥomera was the debris as removed by ALEXANDER THE GREAT in clearing the city for his planned reconstruction and also a Greek theater.

V. History

A. Foundation. The book of Genesis ascribes the founding of Babylon to NIMROD (Gen. 10:10) and makes it contemporary with early ERECH (modern Warka) and AKKAD (Agade). Babylonian tradition commonly considers any religious site to have been created by the deity to whom it was dedicated, hence Marduk, but he did not come into prominence until about the 18th cent. B.C. The earliest literary reference is by Sharkalisharri c. 2250 B.C. when he removed earth from the city to found Agade nearby, which his father Sargon had begun, to preserve the sanctity and continuity of the site (cf. 2 Ki. 5:17).

B. Second millennium. The Ur III kings appointed governors over the city before the Amorite invasion led to the founding of the First (Semitic) Dynasty of Babylon under Sumu-Abum (1894 B.C.), who restored the walls. The sixth king of the line, HAMMURABI (1792 – 1750), enlarged the city and made it a prosperous capital and trading center. It was in Esagila that Hammurabi set up the copy of his laws as a report to Marduk of his stewardship as king. With the capture of the city by the Hittites c. 1595 and its subsequent occupation by Kassites, Babylon lost much of its power and splendor. Sometimes under governors ruling on behalf of Assyrian overlords, at other periods she

harbored a series of local dignitaries who sought to keep out the surrounding tribesmen.

C. First millennium. Assyria was drawn into the politics of Babylon when SHALMANESER III was called to intervene in a dispute for the throne among the sons of Nabu-apla-iddina. He settled the quarrel, offered sacrifices in Marduk's temple, and treated the inhabitants with respect. The mother of his son and successor, Adad-nirari III (870 – 783 B.C.), was Samuramat, possibly the classical Semiramis who, according to Herodotus, did much to embellish the city. TIGLATH-PILESER of Assyria left a native king Nabu-nasir on the throne until his death in 734. The southern tribes under Ukin-zēr of Amukkani thereupon seized Babylon, and to regain it Tiglath-Pileser first negotiated to win over his rival Marduk-apla-iddina (MERODACH-BALADAN) of Yakin and was successful until, on the death of SHALMANESER V in 722/1, Merodach-Baladan proclaimed Babylon's independence by taking "the hand of Bel" and the title "king of Babylon" (Isa. 39:1). With Elamite support he was able to repulse an Assyrian advance at Dēr and hold the city for ten years.

SARGON II led a successful Assyrian attack on the S in 710 B.C., being welcomed into Babylon, where he celebrated the New Year festival but only adopted the title of "viceroy of Marduk." Marduk-apla-iddina was allowed to remain as sheikh of his tribe. In 703 he made another bid for power, and it was probably at this time that he wrote to HEZEKIAH and sent an embassy to urge him to join the anti-Assyrian league (2 Ki. 20:12 – 17). Isaiah's opposition to such a pact was soon vindicated. Merodach-Baladan ousted the Assyrian puppet king and prepared to meet Sennacherib's counter attack. The men of Babylon, ill supported by the Elamites and the local tribesmen, were defeated near Kish. Babylon was plundered and given in charge of an Assyrian nominee.

Scarcely had the Assyrian army withdrawn than intrigues developed again. In 700 B.C. SENNACHERIB mounted a major offensive to remove Bēl-ibni and replace him by his own youngest son, Ashur-nadin-shuma. A further expedition in 695 caused the Elamites to react by capturing Ashurnadin-shuma and putting their own governor, Mushezib-Marduk, in his place. This led to prolonged hostilities that culminated in a bloody battle at Hallule on the Tigris. Sennacherib thereafter besieged Babylon for nine months and sacked the city. The statue of Marduk was removed with some of the sacred soil. Such drastic action established peace for the rest of Sennacherib's reign, but was never to be forgiven by the people of Babylon.

ESARHADDON, who followed his murdered father to the throne (681 – 669 B.C.), had firsthand experience of the city, where he had acted as governor for some years. His father's decree calling for "the devastation of the city for seventy years" was rescinded. He rebuilt the city, introduced an efficient administration, and returned many of the refugees. His son Shamash-shum-ukin was made "crown prince of Babylonia," while ASHURBANIPAL was chosen as "crown prince of Assyria." This arrangement worked well for twelve years after Esarhad-don's death. Dissension between the new ruler and his brother mounted with the growing restlessness of the southern tribes. Ashurbanipal advanced on Babylon in 651 and besieged the town for three years until, in despair, Shamash-shum-ukin set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. The Assyrians then installed Kandalanu as governor.

D. The Chaldeans. According to the contemporary Babylonian Chronicle, Babylon regained its independence during the last years of Ashurbanipal. Kandalanu died in 627 B.C., and a governor of the Sea lands, NABOPOLASSAR, rallied the tribes. He broke out from besieged Erech in 626 and cleared Babylon from the Assyrians for the last time. Six weeks later the people invited Nabopolassar to be their king. Defensive measures were taken, and the gods of outlying shrines were

brought in for safekeeping. However, the Assyrians were now themselves torn by internal strife and rebellion among their vassals, and were in no position to attack the city in force.

Nabopolassar's son NEBUCHADNEZZAR used the city as the base from which he marched on many campaigns to SYRIA and PALESTINE. The Babylonian Chronicle records his defeat of the Egyptians at CARCHEMISH in 605 B.C. and his hurried return to Babylon from RIBLAH on hearing of his father's death. On 6/7 September 605, Nebuchadnezzar claimed the throne but soon left for further operations. In 604 JEHOIAKIM of Judah became his vassal (2 Ki. 24:1), only to rebel three years later after the Egyptians had beaten the Babylonian army in open battle. In 598 Nebuchadnezzar "called up his army and in the month of Kislev of his seventh year marched to Palestine to besiege the city of Judah. On the second day of Addar he captured the city and seized its king. He then appointed a king of his own choice and, taking much tribute, went back to Babylon" (Babylonian Chronicle; cf. *ANET,* 564).

This precise date for the fall of Jerusalem on 15/16 March 597 B.C., the capture of JEHOIACHIN, and his substitution by a Babylonian nominee, Mattaniah (ZEDEKIAH), accords with the OT accounts of the same events (2 Ki. 24:10 – 17; 2 Chr. 36:5 – 10; Jer. 37:1). Skilled craftsmen from Judah were deported to assist in the immense building program then current at Babylon, where in Esagila and other temples the spoils of war were dedicated to be displayed on state occasions (cf. 2 Chr. 36:7; Dan. 5:3). Tablets from the vaulted rooms by the Ishtar Gate include four that list rations given to "Yau)kin of Judah" (among other westerners from Ashkelon, Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt). Five sons of Jehoiachin also are mentioned, as well as five carpenters from Judah, presumably captives from the siege of Jerusalem. These texts are dated to various years between 595 and 569 B.C. (Cf. A. Parrot, *Babylon and the Old Testament* [1958].)

The Babylonian Chronicle notes an insurrection in Babylonia in Nebuchadnezzar's tenth year (595/4), and a legal document of the following year records a decision to appropriate the land of a man put to death in Babylon for high treason. These details have been compared with Hananiah's prophecy that in the same year the yoke of the king of Babylon would be broken (Jer. 28:2), perhaps indicating that the plot was widely known and approved.

Nebuchadnezzar added considerably to the defenses of Babylon, especially to the E, for he foresaw that the main threat would come from the Medes (see MEDIA). His death was followed by a steady weakening of the regime, for his successor Amēl-Marduk (EVIL-MERODACH of 2 Ki. 25:27; Jer. 52:31) ruled but two years and was replaced in 560 B.C. after an army coup by the commander-in-chief, Neriglissar (Nergal-shar-uṣur, the NERGAL-SHAREZER of Jer. 39:3), son-inlaw of Nebuchadnezzar. After frequent absences on active service, including a period in CILICIA, he was ousted, and his weak son Labashi-Marduk lasted only a few months before another coup d'état brought Nabu-na)id (NABONIDUS) to the throne.

Soon after his election Nabonidus led the army to Palestine and N. Arabia, leaving his son Bēl-shar-uṣur (BELSHAZZAR) as coregent in Babylon. Nabonidus's decision to stay in Arabia at Teima (resulted from his unpopularity at home as much as from his desire to found a settlement there with exiles from Palestine. In Babylon there had been inflation brought on both by the continuing military expenditure and by the extensive program of public works begun by Nebuchadnezzar. This amounted to fifty per cent between 560 and 530 B.C., resulting in widespread famine. Nabonidus's absence has been connected with the seven-year madness of Nebuchadnezzar (which might also have been a royal throne-name assumed by Nabonidus himself in Dan. 4:28 – 33) and described in the Qumran "Prayer of Nabonidus." After being away ten years, Nabonidus returned to Babylon in 544 but was soon thereafter captured by Persian troops and exiled to Carmania. (Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626 – 556 B.C.) in the British Museum* [1956].)

E. The fall of Babylon. In the last year of Nabonidus, according to the Babylonian Chronicle,

Babylonian weight of 166 grams. The inscription (in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) gives the names and titles of Darius I (521 – 486 B.C.).

the gods of the cities around Babylon, except Borsippa, Kutha, and Sippar, were brought in, an action taken only at the sign of impending war. The Persian army clashed with the Babylonians at Opis while in the city Nabonidus seems to have quelled a popular uprising with much bloodshed. Sippar fell to the Persian army led by Ugbaru, the district governor of Gutium, who entered Babylon the next day without a battle. This ease of entry may have been due to action by fifth columnists or, as Herodotus asserts, to the diversion of the river Euphrates, which rendered the flood defenses useless and enabled the invaders to march through the dried-up river bed to enter by night. Belshazzar was killed (Dan. 5:30), and Gutean soldiers guarded the temple area of Esagila, where services continued without a break. Sixteen days later, on 29 October 539, CYRUS himself entered amid public rejoicing. A peace settlement was reached quickly, and Gubaru was appointed subgovernor. The fall of Babylon and the coming of Cyrus are mentioned frequently in the OT (Isa. 13:14; 21:1 – 10; 44:28; 47:1 – 5; Jer. 50; 51). Cyrus decreed religious freedom and the restoration of national shrines. Since Judah had no statues to be restored, compensation was granted (Ezra 1).

F. The Achaemenids. Cyrus claimed the title "King of Babylon" and made his son CAMBYSES "take the hands of Bēl" in the New Year ceremonies of 538 B.C. This enabled him to act as his viceroy in Babylon, which remained peaceful until his death in 522.

In the reign of DARIUS II (521 – 486) a further return of exiles to Jerusalem was allowed (Ezra 5:16; 8:1). His rule did not go unchallenged, and several local Babylonians controlled the city for varying periods, usually taking the throne-name of Nebuchadnezzar to bolster their claims. This way

Nidintu-Bēl (Nebuchadnezzar III) held sway October – December 522. Nebuchadnezzar IV (Araka) was put to death 27 November 521. Darius introduced a rigid royal control with local administrative reforms aimed at curbing corruption and establishing a courier system between Babylon and other capitals. He built himself a palace *(apadana),* a house for his crown prince, and an arsenal. In the fourth year of XERXES (485 – 465) the Babylonians made another attempt to gain their independence. Bēl-shimanni and Shamash-eriba claimed the throne in 482, and this revolt was suppressed with much cruelty and damage to Babylon, from which the statue of Marduk was removed. On his visit, c. 460, Herodotus claims to have seen the city virtually undamaged, which is contrary to the accounts of Ctesias and Strabo.

G. Decline. Xerxes and his successors (Artaxerxes I to Darius III, 464 – 332) had little to spare for Babylon amid their lengthy and expensive wars with Greece, and little of architectural merit from this time has been found. Irrigation work was neglected, and the diversion of trade on the main Persian road from SARDIS to SUSA aided the diminution of the city's influence. On 1 October 331 B.C., ALEXANDER THE GREAT was welcomed by the Babylonians when he entered the city after his victory over the Medes at Gaugamela (near Erbil). He was acclaimed king, and on his return from the E nine years later he planned extensive renovations including the creation of a port for the city. Though the site of Esagila was cleared, work ceased on Alexander's death in Babylon on 13 June 323.

The subsequent struggles among his generals did not leave the city unscathed. SELEUCUS, who claimed the title of king in 305 B.C., was acknowledged from 311, when all documents were dated by his "era." The foundation of a new capital city at Seleucia on the river TIGRIS (to be distinguished from SELEUCIA of Syria) increased the decline of the ancient metropolis. Documents on clay from a priestly school in the city continued at least until A.D. 100. For this reason some see in 1 Pet. 5:13 a reference to Babylon itself. See BABYLON (NT). (For some useful surveys, see S. A. Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq* [1956]; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that Was Babylon* [1962]; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq,* 2nd ed. [1980]; H. J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East* [1988]; H. W. F. Saggs, *Civilization Before Greece and Rome* [1989]; *CANE,* 2:807 – 979.)

D. J. WISEMAN

Babylon (NT) bab'uh-luhn (Βαβυλών *G956).* Name of the world center, both literal and allegorical, that acted against God's people. See also BABYLON (OT).

I. Literal. In the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, Matthew includes a reference to the deportations of Judah to Babylon on the Euphrates in the 7th cent. B.C. (Matt. 1:11 – 12, 17). STEPHEN, quoting Amos 5:27 in his impassioned defense before the high priest (Acts 7:43), changes the MT and SEPTUAGINT "beyond Damascus" to "beyond Babylon," since the latter was the destination of the Jews of Jerusalem in the great exile.

II. 1 Peter. This epistle ends with greetings from "She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you" (1 Pet. 5:13). While this statement could refer to Peter's wife, it is usually taken to be a greeting from a "sister church" (so NRSV) in this city (an interpretation supported by CODEX SINAITICUS and some versional evidence). Various identifications for this Babylon have been suggested.

A. Rome. Until the Reformation this verse was taken as a reference to ROME, it being always assumed that by "Babylon" PETER was indicating the place in which the letter was written (a few cursives read

"Rome" instead of "Babylon"). There is ancient tradition that Peter visited Rome, and Mark (see MARK, JOHN) had been summoned there by PAUL (2 Tim. 4:11). W. M. Ramsay *(The Church in the Roman Empire* [1893], 286) argues that the epistle reflects a Roman background, and there is other internal evidence supporting this theory, which is currently held by the majority of scholars. See PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.

B. Mesopotamian Babylon. That Babylon was still an active city during the 1st cent. A.D. is attested by dated Babylonian texts (latest A.D. 100) and by the presence of devout Jews from there who were visiting Jerusalem at PENTECOST (Acts 2:1). The dispersal of Jews from Babylon as reported by JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 18.9.6 – 9) was of short duration and but one of a number of persecutions there. It cannot be used as evidence for the abandonment of the city, which was visited by TRAJAN in A.D. 115 and first reported deserted by Septimus Severus eighty-four years later. The Eastern Church has claimed Peter for itself on the basis of this passage, and though there is no proof that Peter ever visited Babylon (if 1 Pet. 5:13 should require this interpretation), such a visit remains a possibility. This view was favored by Erasmus and Calvin in their questioning of the primacy of Rome. If "Babylon" is the place where 1 Peter was written, however, it would seem an extraordinary coincidence for Mark and Silvanus, Paul's companions, to have been in Mesopotamia also.

C. Egyptian Babylon. According to Strabo (*Geogr.* 17.1.30), c. A.D. 18 there was a Roman frontier post named Babylon after the city of its founders, either refugees from NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S army or later exiles. It is unlikely that this would be the site of a church, and there is no direct evidence of any stay in Egypt by Peter, though Mark was connected with the Alexandrine church, one of whose heretics, Basilides, claims the apostolic tradition of Peter through his interpreter Glaukias (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 7.17).

D. "Babylon" as a cryptogram. E. G. Selwyn *(The First Epistle of Peter* [1946], 243) has suggested that for reasons of security the name Babylon was used to cover an unknown church center where Peter was at work. The contents of the letter would scarcely warrant this view, which is closely allied to another supposition that Babylon merely stood for the "place of exile" recalling the dispersion of 1 Pet. 1:1. M.-E. Boismard (*RB* 64 [1957]: 183 n. 1) thus finds the book to have originated in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA. Since Peter is conveying particular greetings, these views are unlikely.

III. Revelation. "Babylon" is described as a great city that was to fall dramatically, as had Mesopotamian Babylon (Rev. 18:2, 10, 21). It was the "mother of prostitutes," the very antithesis of the new Jerusalem, and as such the fount of all earth's abominations (17:5). Its location is given as by many waters (17:1) and upon seven hills (17:9). The city was a ruling international capital (14:8; 17:1, 15, 18) and as such was an important center of trade and sea power (18:3, 11, 19). It was for long the persecutor of the saints (17:6; 19:2). Her downfall would be sudden (18:9) and at a time when she was morally weakened by wealth and luxury (18:11 – 17). All this accords with the OT description of Babylon, and a few have always interpreted the apocalyptic city as an extension of that Mesopotamian metropolis (just as they would posit the heavenly Jerusalem to be described in terms of an extended Palestinian Jerusalem) whose ruins were similarly described in 18:2 – 3 (cf. Isa. 13:1 – 2). A few see in this city a decadent early Jerusalem.

The name of Babylon is, however, clearly stated to be a "mystery" that is to be allegorically

interpreted (Rev. 17:5, 7). TERTULLIAN (*Against Marcion* 3.13), JEROME, AUGUSTINE, and the majority of commentators see Rome as fulfilling all the characteristics of the Babylon of Revelation. Rome had been designated as Babylon in the *Sibylline Oracles* (5.143), perhaps under the influence of Jewish apocalyptic (*2 Esdras* [= *4 Ezra]; 2 Baruch).* Faced by her opposition to the kingdom of God, it would be natural for Jews and Christians alike to see in the new world power of Rome a "Babylon" such as had oppressed Judah. Since God had overthrown the Mesopotamian city and delivered his people, in the same way the downfall of the Roman empire could be envisaged.

D. J. WISEMAN

Babylonia. See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA; BABYLON (OT).

Babylonian captivity. See EXILE.

Babylonish garment. KJV rendering of *)adderet šinār H168 + H9114,* "mantle of Shinar," one of the articles taken by ACHAN from the spoils of JERICHO (Josh. 7:21; NIV, "a beautiful robe from Babylonia"). The term *)adderet,* which can also mean "glory" (Zech. 11:3 NRSV; cf. Ezek. 17:8), is used of ELIJAH'S cloak (1 Ki. 19:13, 19; 2 Ki. 2:8, 13 – 14) and of the robe worn by the king of NINEVEH (Jon. 3:6). (Note also Gen. 25:25; Zech. 13:4.)

L. L. WALKER

Baca, Valley of bay'kuh (בָּכָא *H1133,* "balsam tree" or "weeping"). TNIV Baka. This name occurs only in Ps. 84:6, which says of those who trust in God and are blessed: "As they pass through the Valley of Baca, / they make it a place of springs." The SEPTUAGINT (83:7) rendered it "the Valley of Weeping" *(tou klauthmōnos,* which assumes that the Hebrew noun is related to the verb *bākâ H1134,* "to weep"), a translation followed by Jerome and Luther. Building on this understanding, Ernst Rénan (*The Life of Jesus* [1863], 117) interpreted the reference literally and identified the place as the last stage of the pilgrimage from N Palestine to Jerusalem, that is, (Ain el-Haramijeh, a gloomy, narrow valley where brackish water trickles out of the rocks and hence, "the valley of oozing water or tears." The sense "weeping" or "trickling," however,

Looking N from the excavations at Tell el-Qadi (Tel Dan) into the Baca Valley, one of several regions in Palestine that bear the name Baca.

would be expressed with *bĕkî H1140* (cf. KD ad loc.).

The name is more likely the same as the noun *bākā H1132,* usually rendered "balsam tree" (or "baka-shrub," 2 Sam. 5:23 et al.). It possibly refers to a plant that exuded gum or that dripped tear-like drops of moisture. Other interpretations have been suggested. (See J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of Old Testament* [1959], 332; M. Dahood, *Psalms II,* AB 17 [1968], 281.) In any case, the psalmist appears to use this name, not in reference to an actual geographical location, but as a symbol of the pilgrim's affliction.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Bacchides bak'uh-deez (Βακχίδης). A Seleucid official who figures prominently in 1 Maccabees (it is not certain whether the Bacchides mentioned in 2 Macc. 8:30 refers to the same person). Bacchides was a devoted friend and loyal servant of two Seleucid rulers. The first was ANTIOCHUS IV Epiphanes, during whose days he served as governor of MESOPOTAMIA (JOS. *Ant.* 12.10.2). The second was DEMETRIUS Soter (1 Macc. 7:8), under whom he served as general of the army. Just before his death, Antiochus designated one of his companions, Philip, to be guardian of his kingdom (1 Macc. 6:14), but it was LYSIAS, his general, who announced Antiochus's death and set up the king's son on the throne. Some years later, however, Demetrius fled from Rome (where he had been held as hostage) and declared himself king in the city of Tripoli (1 Macc. 7:4). He had both Antiochus V (Epiphanes's son) and Lysias killed and made Bacchides his general.

As general, Bacchides was required to conduct a number of campaigns against Judas and Jonathan MACCABEE. ALCIMUS'S desire to become high priest occasioned the first campaign. The priestly aspirant came to Demetrius representing the apostates of Judea. He won the support of Demetrius with accusations against Judas and his followers. Accordingly, the king sent Bacchides to Judea to establish Alcimus as high priest; the general succeeded in this task, but in the process alienated many (1 Macc. 7:5 – 20).

The second campaign of Bacchides resulted from the death of NICANOR, whom Demetrius had sent to destroy Israel (1 Macc. 7:26 – 46) after Alcimus had appealed to him a second time. Bacchides attacked Judas with a large force. Following a defeat of his wing, the left wing counterattacked and slew Judas, dispersing his army (9:1 – 18). Bacchides then enlisted the aid of the apostates to kill the followers of Judas. The faithful Jews, however, elected Jonathan as their leader, and after securing garrisons throughout the country Bacchides returned to his king. After two years the deserters, alarmed at Jonathan's growing power, once again appealed to Demetrius, who responded by sending Bacchides against Jonathan and Simon. The siege proved unsuccessful, and after venting his displeasure over his misfortunes upon the deserters who had sent for him, Bacchides withdrew permanently from Judea, providing a basis for a truce (9:57 – 63). Bacchides's conquests against Judea, therefore, were a mixture of victories and defeats ultimately surrendering to Maccabean independence.

J. J. EDWARDS

Bacchurus ba-kyoor'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of ZACCUR (1 Esd. 9:24).

Bacchus bak'uhs (Βάκχος). The Greek god of wine, originally known as DIONYSUS.

Bacenor buh-see'nor (Βακήνωρ). A Jewish officer in the army of Judas MACCABEE who fought in the

war against GORGIAS, the governor of IDUMEA (2 Macc. 12:35).

Bachrite bak'rit. KJV form of Bekrite. See BEKER.

back. This and similar terms are used in English translations of the Bible to render several Hebrew words. The adverb *)aḥar H339* is rendered "backside" by the KJV in Exod. 3:1, where it probably means "the far side," as in NIV (NRSV, "beyond"). It might mean "west side" here (RSV), since directions in Palestine were defined by facing E (cf. Jdg. 18:12, where the pl. of this same word clearly means "west"). Of special interest is Exod. 33:23, where God tells Moses, "you will see my back" (KJV, "back parts"). The word here is *)āhôr H294* (which most often functions as an adverb, "behind") and is used anthropomorphically to indicate that Moses cannot see God's "face," that is, his full glory, but only a glimpse of it. A third word, *gaw H1567* (also *gēw H1568),* is never used adverbially; it always refers to the back of the person, whether literally (e.g., Prov. 10:13 et al., the back of the fool is suitable only for the rod; Isa. 50:6, the back of the servant of the Lord is given over to the smiters) or metaphorically (Isa. 51:23, of Jerusalem). It can also be used idiomatically (1 Ki. 14:9 et al., in the phrase "cast behind the back," i.e., "neglect, ignore").

F. W. BUSH

backbite. The KJV uses this term to render the Hebrew verb *rāgal H8078,* "slander" (Ps. 15:3), and the noun *sēōoter H6260,* "secrecy" (Prov. 25:23, "backbiting tongue"; NIV, "sly tongue"). It is also used by the KJV to render the Greek verb *katalaleō G2897,* "to speak against, slander" (Rom. 1:30, ptc., "backbiters"), and the cognate noun *katalalia G2896,* "evil report, slander" (2 Cor. 12:20, "backbitings").

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backsliding. This English term is primarily a translation of the Hebrew noun *měšûbâ H5412* (from *šûb H8740,* "to turn back"), especially in the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 2:19; 3:22; 5:6; 14:7; the NIV also uses it as a verb in 15:6 to translate the phrase *)āhôr tēlēkî,* lit., "you are going backward"). Moreover, it occurs in the NIV at Ezek 37:23 (where KJV follows a different reading). In these passages, the NRSV employs the term APOSTASY. Where the KJV uses "backsliding" as an adjective, modern translations prefer "faithless" or a comparable term (e.g., Jer. 3:6). Other Hebrew terms can be used with a similar meaning (e.g., *sārar H6253* in Hos. 4:16). In each instance the relevant term was used when Israel turned away from the true and living God to worship the heathen nature gods and idols, usually referred to with the name BAAL. The term "backsliding" does not appear in the NT, but the idea is implied (Mk. 4:16, 17; Lk. 9:62; Gal. 3:1 – 5; 1 Tim. 5:15; 2 Tim. 4:10; Rev. 2:4; 3:17). The NT concept carries with it the idea that those who once made profession of the Christian faith have turned aside or have reverted to a life of sin and spiritual indifference.

H. A. HANKE

Bacuth, Bakuth. See ALLON BACUTH.

badger. This English word is used by the KJV only in the phrase "badgers' skin" to translate a Hebrew word *(taḥaš H9391)* that probably refers to the dugong, a marine mammal (see SEA cow). The RSV uses "badger" for another term *(šāpān H9176)* that apparently means CONEY.

Baean bee'uhn (Βαιαν). The phrase "sons of Baean" refers to an otherwise unknown tribe, which Judas MACCABEE put to the BAN because they had been ambushing the Jews (1 Macc. 5:4 – 5; KJV, "Bean"). Uncertainty attaches not only to the derivation of the name, but also to the question of whether it refers to a clan or to a place (cf. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 405).

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bag. This term is used in English versions of the Bible to translate various Hebrew and Greek nouns. The most common Hebrew word is *kîs H3967,* used especially of a "weight bag" (e.g., Deut. 25:13; Isa. 46:6). A frequent Greek noun in the NT is *pēra G4385,* which probably refers to a knapsack (e.g., Matt. 10:10; it is distinguished from *ballantion G964,* "purse," in Lk. 22:35).

baggage. This term is used in some English Bibles, such as the NRSV, to translate the Hebrew noun *kĕlî H3998* (in the pl.) when it refers to the materiel or *impedimenta* of a military force or caravan (e.g., 1 Sam. 17:22; NIV, "supplies"). It is also used of personal belongings (e.g., Ezek. 12:3 – 7).

Bago bay'goh. KJV Apoc. form of BIGVAI (1 Esd. 8:40).

Bagoas buh-goh'uhs (Βαγώας). The EUNUCH in charge of HOLOFERNES'S affairs. It was Bagoas's duty to invite JUDITH to a banquet with Holofernes and to provide her with the courtesies extended to a special guest. Bagoas also discovered the beheaded body of his master (Jdt. 12:11, 13, 15; 13:3; 14:14). It is possible that Bagoas is a title rather than a personal name. Some have seen a connection with Bagoses, a general under ARTAXERXES who had authority in Jerusalem and who is reported to have polluted the temple (Jos. *Ant.* 11.7.1 §§297 – 301); he is evidently the same as Bagohi (*bgwhy),* governor of Judea from 410 to 407 B.C., according to the ELEPHANTINE papyri *(ANET,* 492).

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Bagoi bay'goi. KJV Apoc. form of BIGVAI (1 Esd. 5:14).

bagpipe. See MUSIC IV.B.

Baharum buh-hair'uhm. See BAHURIM.

Baharumite, Barhumite buh-hair'uh-mit, bahr-hyoo'mit (בַּחֲרוּמִי *H1049*, בַּרְחֻמִי *H1372).* Apparently, two alternate ways of designating someone from BAHURIM (1 Chr. 11:33; 2 Sam. 23:31). The NRSV renders these two designations with the phrases "of Baharum" and "of Bahurim" respectively.

Bahurim buh-hyoor'im (בַּחוּרִים *H1038,* "[village of] young men" or "[village of] the choice ones"). NRSV also Baharum (in 1 Chr. 11:33). A village in the territory of BENJAMIN, often identified with modern Ras et-Temim, just NNE of the MOUNT OF OLIVES, on the N side of the Roman road to Jericho from Jerusalem (cf. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of Old Testament* [1959], 330). Here it was that PALTIEL was separated from his wife MICHAL, SAUL'S daughter, when she was

returned to DAVID (2 Sam. 3:16). David took the road going past this village when he fled from ABSALOM (16:5). Bahurim happened to be the home of SHIMEI, who ran along the ridge throwing stones at David and cursing the king (16:5; 19:16; 1 Ki. 2:8). This town also had some loyal supporters of David, for an unnamed woman concealed David's spying messengers, JONATHAN and AHIMAAZ, in a well at Bahurim (2 Sam. 17:18 – 20). Further, one of David's elite military heroes, AZMAVETH, was apparently a native of this town (2 Sam. 23:31, "the Barhumite"; 1 Chr. 11:33, "the Baharumite"). All the references to the town appear in the history of David.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Baiterus bi'tuh-ruhs (Βαιτηρους). The head of a family that returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:17; KJV, "Meterus"). The name is omitted in the parallel lists (Ezra 2 and Neh. 7).

S. BARABAS

Bajith bay'jith (בַּיִת *H1074,* "house"). Also Bayith. According to the KJV and other versions, this is the name of an otherwise unknown city, mentioned alongside DIBON (Isa. 15:2, *ʿālâ habbayit wĕdîbōn,* "He is gone up to Bajith, and to Dibon"). The Hebrew text is difficult, and many scholars (following the lead of the Targum and the Syriac) take the word as a common noun and translate, "Dibon went up to the temple" (as though it read *ʿālâ ʾel-habbayit dîbōn;* cf. NIV and NRSV). Others emend the text to read, "The daugher of Dibon has gone up" (so RSV, reading *ʿālĕtâ bat dîbōn;* cf. Jer. 48:18).

Bakbakkar bak-bak'uhr (בַּקְבַּקַּר *H1320,* meaning uncertain). One of the Levites who ministered in the temple after the return from the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:15; possibly identical to BAKBUKIAH).

Bakbuk bak'buhk (בַּקְבּוּק *H1317,* apparently related to a word meaning "jar"; possibly short form of בַּקְבֻּקְיָה *H1319* [see BAKBUKIAH]). The head of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:51; Neh. 7:53; 1 Esd. 5:31 [KJV, "Acub"; NRSV, "Acuph"]).

Bakbukiah bak'buh-ki'uh (בַּקְבֻּקְיָה *H1319,* perhaps "Yahweh has emptied, poured out" [see also BUKKIAH]). A Levite who served after the EXILE; he is described as an associate of MATTANIAH, the director of worship (Neh. 11:17; 12:9). In another reference (12:25), Bakbukiah and Mattaniah are grouped with the gatekeepers, so it is not certain whether the same persons are meant. See also BAKBAKKAR.

bake. See BREAD II.

Balaam bay'luhm (בִּלְעָם *H1189,* possibly "devourer, glutton" [but see *HALOT,* 1:135]; Βαλαάμ. *G962).* Soothsayer from MESOPOTAMIA secured by BALAK to curse Israel (Num. 22 – 24).

I. Consternation among the pagans. The scholarly concern with problems arising in the Balaam account tends to obscure the picture the OT attempts to paint. Far too often the questions of whether there is more than one Balaam, whether there is one account or two, the strange behavior of Balaam's

animal, and Balaam's relationship to Yahweh have dominated the scholar's interest in Balaam. Meanwhile, the real nature of the divine activity in Israel's history has suffered. The primary concern of the OT is the reader's view of God and his activities.

The account of Balaam and his nefarious activity is a part of the biblical record because Balak feared the advancing Israelites. Hebrew accomplishments under Yahweh's control had struck fear into the heart of everyone in the path of the national advance. The countries through which the incoming nation was passing faced not just the challenge of a new neighbor but also the progress of the divine purpose in the world and history. Terror gripped the nations wherever the story of the advancing Hebrews spread. First JERICHO, then MOAB and MIDIAN trembled before Yahweh. This is the Bible's way of saying that mankind, particularly when it chooses to oppose the divine will, acts out of fear and desperation.

II. Conflict between magic and providence. A second part of the picture the OT attempts to paint is the undeniable superiority of Hebrew faith over that of her neighbors, as well as the totally invincible security it provides. This it does through a series of conflicts in which Yahweh is pitted against foreign gods or against the practices carried on under them. Yahweh always emerges the victor. This activity is a part of the redemptive pattern in which Yahweh delivers his people by entering into conflict with hostile forces. The pattern first emerges in boldness in Egypt just prior to the exodus. It continues as Balak's attempt to destroy Israel with a curse turns into a contest of who can and will control the fate of the Hebrews. Yahweh's rigid control of the activities of the pagan Balaam is basically a conflict of powers—a conflict between PROVIDENCE and MAGIC.

The ill-fated attempt to derail the train of historic events and to grind its progress to a halt provide another grand demonstration that divine purposes cannot be thwarted. Balak sent to Mesopotamia for Balaam, who was not a prophet but a soothsayer whose activity was condemned (cf. Deut. 18; see DIVINATION). It appears most likely that Balaam belonged to a family in which magical arts were hereditary. Space does not permit discussion of the ancient practice of attempting to control another's fate by use of magic, but it was given a wide place among Israel's neighbors. The importance of this case is that it was directed against a nation whose future already had been determined by covenant promise of a providentially controlled welfare.

It is not known how Balaam had become acquainted with Yahweh or his covenants with

Relief from a palace in Nimrud (c. 860 B.C.) depicting an eagle-headed protective spirit picking fruit from a sacred tree. As a soothsayer, Balaam would have been familiar with similar Mesopotamian art.

Israel, or how he had come into relationship with Israel. It should not come as any surprise to learn, however, that should Balaam's magical arts be practiced against Israel, the magician's activity would come under divine control. Balaam was forced to seek God's permission to accept Balak's invitation (Num. 22:14 – 19). That the permission was preceded by refusal cannot be taken as evidence of weakness or indecisiveness on God's part. It must be regarded as a part of those activities that create the controls under which Balaam must act. A further part of these activities included the experiences leading to the strange behavior of Balaam's beast.

The appearance of the angel of the Lord and the animal's unexpected movement to avoid him, coupled with Balaam's rebuke following his outburst of temper were a part of the cautions against any attempt to step out of line and violate Yahweh's strict guardianship of Israel's future. To argue that a donkey does not possess the necessary vocal cords for speech is to beg the question. God can and has spoken to man with no human instrument present, as with Saul of Tarsus or Moses on Mount Sinai. The point is that Balaam got the message without raising the question of the possibility of such a phenomenon. The occurrence appears in history not to demonstrate that God can make an animal speak, but that he can use any circumstance to communicate his message. Balaam may now proceed to answer the call of Balak, but with cautions he cannot ignore.

There is still another part of the biblical picture to be painted. The divine blessing is irrevocable and not subject to hostile counteraction. Such a blessing carries with it a providential guardianship that is totally impervious to magic or any of its kind. Not only was Balaam prevented from effecting a curse, but he could only strengthen what had been done. This was manifestly evident in each of the three places where Balak attempted to set up a curse: BAMOTH (Bamoth Baal), PISGAH, and PEOR. An analysis of the oracle Balaam delivered at each place reveals a remarkable confirmation of Israel's spiritual heritage and a total defeat of any attempt to destroy it.

At Bamoth Baal, Balaam made it clear that Israel stood alone in her remarkable security. Being accounted righteous, her end was assured. Balaam could not curse—he could only envy! "Let me die the death of the righteous, and may my end be like theirs!" (23:10). At Pisgah, the soothsayer repeats

his inability to oppose Yahweh's will successfully and makes a ceremonial declaration that because of the nature of the divine control no enchantment or divination can possibly succeed against Yahweh's blessing. It is no wonder that Balak spoke in a rage. Balaam had just pronounced one of the most far-reaching truths ever uttered in any theology: "There is no sorcery against Jacob, / no divination against Israel. / It will now be said of Jacob / and of Israel, 'See what God has done!'" (23:23). At Peor, Balaam's oracle was in superlatives! Israel under Yahweh constituted the most beautiful picture in all religious history. While the oracle was intended to magnify Yahweh and his love for Israel, it threw the door wide open to universal opportunity. "May those who bless you be blessed / and those who curse you be cursed!" (24:9).

III. The teaching of Balaam. In a fit of anger Balak sent Balaam home without reward, but the soothsayer's greed was not to be denied. The warning and experiences had been enough to convince Balaam that cursing Israel was out of the question. There may be other ways of attaining the end, however. Balaam's counsel might be worth more to Balak than his magical arts. After the king's anger had cooled, Balaam sent a plan of action to the frustrated monarch. His teaching involved the most contemptible action ever conceived in an unregenerate heart: Corrupt a people you cannot curse and God will have to chasten them. In short, this means to take a people under divine blessing and deliberately lead them into sin to strip them of the divine blessing. Note the NT interpretation of the act: "You have people there who hold to the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to entice the Israelites to sin by eating food sacrificed to idols and by committing sexual immorality" (Rev. 2:14; cf. also 2 Pet. 2:15). Following Balaam's advice, Balak made friends with Israel and led them into temptation, corruption, and ultimately downfall. See BAAL PEOR.

IV. Balaam's death. Balaam's cry, "may my end be like theirs," was not to be. His death was a part of the judgment upon Moab and Midian. Because of their failure to meet Israel at their borders with friendship and hospitality, God disallowed their entrance into Israel for ten generations, and ultimately sent Moses to avenge the indignities Israel had suffered at their hands. The women were not permitted to escape the judgment because they had been used to follow Balaam's advice and to lure Israel into immorality. At the same time Balaam, as instigator of the plot, was put to death (Num. 31:8). The name of Balaam is attested outside the Bible in a very ancient inscription that has some parallels with the OT narrative (see DEIR ʿALLA, TELL).

J. J. EDWARDS

Balaam Inscription. See DEIR ʿALLA, TELL.

Balac bay'lak. KJV NT form of BALAK.

Baladan bal'uh-duhn (בְּלֹאדָן *H1156*, Akk. *Aplaiddin,* "[God] gave a son"). The father of king MERODACH-BALADAN of BABYLON (2 Ki. 20:12; Isa. 39:1). His name is not attested outside the Bible; originally, it may have been a theophoric name (perhaps Nabu-Baladan) that became textually corrupted (cf. M. Coggan and H. Tadmor, II Kings, AB 11 [1988], 259).

Balah bay'luh (בָּלָה *H1163,* possibly "old"). A town within the territory of JUDAH that was allotted to the tribe of SIMEON (Josh. 19:3; cf. v. 1). See BAALAH #2.

Balak bay'lak (בָּלָק *H1192,* "devastator"; Βαλάκ *G963).* Son of Zippor and king of MOAB when Israel emerged from the wilderness to enter Canaan. Having seen what the Hebrews had done to the AMORITES, he attempted to prevent Israel's advance by hiring BALAAM to curse them (Num. 22 – 24). He built altars at three different sites for the purpose, but each attempt failed. He remains throughout Hebrew history as an example of the folly of attempting to thwart Yahweh's will (Josh. 24:9; Jdg. 11:25; Mic. 6:5; cf. Rev. 2:14).

J. J. EDWARDS

Balamon bal'uh-muhn (Βαλαμων). A town near which JUDITH'S husband, Manasseh, was buried (Jdt. 8:3; KJV, "Balamo"). The site was apparently not far from DOTHAN and is identified with IBLEAM by some scholars (cf. Y. Aharoni et al., *Carta Bible Atlas,* 4th ed. [2002], map 212). See also BALBAIM; BELMAIM.

balance (scales). A device to determine WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. The scales or balances (Heb. *mōzĕnayim H4404)* used by the Hebrews were not the delicate devices of our scientific age, but consisted of a horizontal yoke or bar that was suspended on a chain or cord fastened in the exact middle as a fulcrum; in some instances, the bar was balanced on a stick or bar serving as fulcrum at the center. From each end of the bar, a scale or pan was suspended, one to hold the exact known weight and the other the object to be weighed. Careful weighing meant that the fulcrum was located exactly at the center of the crossbar, and that the crossbar was truly horizontal (a matter of judgment!) for correct weight. For this reason the words "line" or "level" came to be used for balances or scales.

Although most of our scales are of the spring or mechanical kind, the ancient type of balance device is used today, particularly in the exact weighing of valuable metals, chemicals, or other materials. In ancient times satisfactory weights could be had from a common pair of balances described above for such things as grain or crude metals. The common people sometimes used a field-stone or an odd scrap of iron or bronze for weights (cf. Prov. 11:1). How quickly and deftly people could use such

Bronze pair of scales from the Roman period.

scales and weights may be observed in the open markets of the Middle East even today.

Most of the references in the OT indicate that, human nature being what it is, the weight system was often abused and the seller would take advantage of the unsuspecting buyer. Archaeologists have found inscribed weights that were both over and under the average standard. The inference must be drawn that merchants often had one set of weights by which to buy and another by which to sell. Even when items were weighed in full view of the buyer or trader, the balances could be slyly manipulated. The ancients often spoke of unbalanced or "crooked" scales.

As the Lord's special people, Israel was expected to have "honest scales and honest weights" (Lev. 19:36). The wise man wrote, "The LORD abhors dishonest scales, / but accurate weights are his delight" (Prov. 11:1; cf. 16:11). Social prophets denounced deceitful balances with scathing heat (Amos 8:5; Hos. 12:7). Moreover, proper scales became the symbol of human integrity, honesty, and righteousness. Prophets such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel use the picture of weights and balances to call Israel to repentance and righteous living. Job asks: "let God weigh me in honest scales / and he will know that I am blameless" (Job 31:6). Isaiah speaks of the righteousness of God in grandiose terms when he says that the Lord "weighed the mountains on the scales *[peles H7144] /* and the hills in a balance *[mōzĕnayim]"* (Isa. 40:12).

In the NT, scales are mentioned only in Rev. 6:5, where the rider of the black horse is said to hold in his hand a *zygos G2433* ("yoke," fig. for the cross bar of a pair of scales). The picture of the black horse, its rider, and his scales represents a prophecy of famine, when food staples would become cruelly expensive and money would be inflated and buy very little (a denarius, one day's wages, would purchase only about a liter of wheat for bread, v. 6). It would be a time for closely checking and watching all scales, balances, and measuring devices. People would weigh carefully even the cheaper barley (three liters for a denarius).

L. M. PETERSEN

Balas bay'las. See ALEXANDER #2.

Balasamus buh-las'uh-muhs KJV Apoc. form of BAALSAMUS (1 Esd. 9:43).

Balbaim bal-bay'im (Βελβαιμ). A town near DOTHAN where the forces of HOLOFERNES encamped (Jdt. 7:3 NRSV; KJV, "Belmaim"); it is possibly the same as BELMAIN (4:4). Its location is uncertain, but some identify it with BALAMON (8:3) and IBLAIM (modern Khirbet Bel(ameh, c. 12 mi. SE of MEGIDDO).

baldness. Natural baldness, as seen commonly in otherwise healthy aging men of our communities, was uncommon in biblical times. When unwanted baldness did occur it was regarded in one instance, at least, as being due to hard work or disease. As a result of NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S campaign against TYRE, "every head was made bald *[qārah H7942]* and every shoulder was rubbed bare" (Ezek. 29:18 NRSV), presumably from the carrying of material used in the siege of the city over a period of thirteen years. Baldness (head sores) as a sign of disease was promised to the vain young women of Jerusalem when the prophet contrasted the proud gait and gaudy appearance of these empty people with the degradation of the future (Isa. 3:16 – 17). It thereby illustrates the folly of trusting in transient physical appearance to the neglect of the soul.

As ELISHA returned from ELIJAH'S ascension, some youths came out of the city and jeered at him, saying "Go on up you baldhead!" (2 Ki. 2:23). This jibe may have meant, "You go up into the sky the way you say Elijah did. We know very well you have killed him." This charge, which ultimately reflected on God, coupled with the insinuation that Elisha suffered from a disease (such as leprosy or syphilis) and with the likelihood that these youths were not "little children" (KJV), amply explains the justice of the retribution (v. 24).

The OT records a number of instances in which people made themselves bald (by SHAVING the head) as a sign of mourning, the implication being that they were too sorrowful to be concerned with personal appearance (Jer. 16:6; 48:37; Ezek. 27:31; Mic. 1:16). Generally baldness was something with unpleasant associations, except in the case of the NAZIRITE VOW, since the shaven hair was offered to God (Num. 6:18 and Acts 18:18). In Egypt it was the custom to shave head and face, so that JOSEPH was merely conforming to the local situation (Gen. 41:14).

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

ball. The Hebrew word *dûr H1885* occurs in English Bibles only in Isa. 22:18, where the prophet Isaiah, addressing SHEBNA, the steward of King HEZEKIAH, predicts that the Lord will cause his downfall and his exile in Assyria: "He will roll you up tightly like a ball / and throw you into a large country." The same word occurs in the MT at Isa. 29:3 (*kaddûr,* "like a ball," i.e., "all around"), but the NRSV, following the SEPTUAGINT, translates "like David" (reading the final consonant as *d* rather than *r*).

S. BARABAS

ballad singers. This phrase is used by the NRSV to render Hebrew *hammōšĕlîm* (pl. ptc. of *māšal H5439,* "to make or repeat a proverb") in Num. 21:27, where the NIV translates "poets."

balm. An aromatic resin (Heb. ṣ̌rî *H7661).* Is the "balm in Gilead" (Jer. 8:22; cf. 46:11; Gen. 37:25) —so often sung about in hymns—the *Commiphora (Balsamodendron) opobalsamum?* This shrub is not truly native to Palestine, but is known and grown in ARABIA. JOSEPHUS, the Jewish historian, says it was grown in the days of King SOLOMON from seeds brought by the QUEEN OF SHEBA (if so, obviously a different plant is meant in Gen. 37:25; 43:11). The trees were certainly growing at the time of the Turkish invasion—though apparently destroyed by vandals by the time the Crusaders had landed. The tree is evergreen—a straggly grower with few trifoliate leaves. The white flowers are borne three to a cluster. When a cut is made in the trunk or branches of the tree, the sap exudes. The small, sticky globules harden, and then may easily be removed from the bark. One can get this GUM from the root as well as from the trunk.

Because Jer. 8:22 says, "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there?" (cf. also 46:11; 51:18), it is questioned whether Jeremiah considered that the balm had a medicinal value. For this reason, some think this plant to be the turpentine tree, *Silphium terebinthinaceum.* Silphium was the name given to a plant that produces slightly fragrant gum resin. This grows in Canada and in the United States, where it is given the name of prairie dock, a tree not indigenous in Palestine. This tree, however, grows near GILEAD today, and the Arabs claim that its resin is invaluable. Josephus mentioned the balm ointment obtained from it. Others believe that the word refers to MASTIC, the resin of *Pistacia mutica* (or *lentiscus),* or to *Balanites aegyptiaca* ("Jericho balsam"), or to other sources of resin, such as the Aleppo PINE (see further *FFB,* 93 – 94). According to Ezek. 27:17, the balm was exported to TYRE. See FLORA (under *Zygophyllaceae);* SPICE.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Balnuus bal'noo-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BINNUI (1 Esd. 9:31; NRSV, "Belnuus").

balsam tree. In one of the battles with the PHILISTINES in the Valley of REPHAIM, God instructed DAVID to circle the enemy "and attack them in front of the balsam trees" (Heb. *bākāʾ H1132).* He was to wait until he heard "the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam trees" as an indication that God had "gone out in front…to strike the Philistine army" (2 Sam 5:23 – 24; 1 Chr. 14:14 – 15; KJV, "mulberry trees"). This plant is often referred to as the baka-shrub. It is probably the *Populus euphratica,* which makes a rustling sound when the wind blows through it. The tree grows readily in the Jordan valley and may be the same as the POPLAR or WILLOW mentioned in Ps. 137:2. It is also possible

In this photo of Tel Dan (looking N), the large square raised platform may have functioned as the high place where

that a balsam tree *(Balsamodendron opobalsamum)* is sometimes referred to with Hebrew *bōśem H1411* (cf. esp. Cant. 8:14), a term that normally refers to SPICE. See also FLORA under *Burseraceae.*

Balthasar bal-thaz'uhr (Βαλτασαρ). (1) KJV Apoc. form of BELSHAZZAR (Bar. 1:11). Cf. also BELTESHAZZAR.

(2) In late Christian tradition, the name (also spelled Balthazar) of one of the MAGI who traveled to BETHLEHEM (Matt. 2:1 – 12).

Bamah bay'muh (בָּמָה *H1196,* "high place"). This name occurs only in Ezek. 20:29, where the prophet is instructed to ask the Israelites, with scorn and an apparent word play, "What *[mâ]* is the high place *[habbāmâ]* to which you go [*habbāʾîm]?"* Then follows the comment, "And its name is called Bamah to this day" (literal translation). The location of this HIGH PLACE is not known, although some scholars speculate that it may be a reference to a prominent center of worship such as the one at GIBEON (cf. 1 Ki. 3:4).

Bamoth, Bamoth Baal bay'moth, bay'moth-bay'uhl (בָּמוֹת *H1199,* בָּמוֹת בַּעַל *H1200,* "high places of Baal"). A place in TRANSJORDAN, N of the ARNON River, where the Israelites stopped (Num. 21:19 – 20). Bamoth is probably the shortened form of Bamoth Baal (22:41). This Moabite town probably was named for the special cultic installation found at this spot, where King BALAK brought the prophet BALAAM to curse Israel. Subsequently, the tribe of REUBEN was assigned this city as part of its inheritance (Josh. 13:17). The MOABITE STONE (c. 830 B.C.) records King MESHA'S claim that he rebuilt various towns, including one named Bethbamoth (see *ANET,* 320, line 27), which most scholars identify with Bamoth Baal. The precise location is not known, but most fix it on the W edge of the Transjordanian plateau, S of Mount Nebo (see NEBO, MOUNT) and near modern Khirbet el-Quweiqiyeh. (On Moabite toponymy, see J. M. Miller in *JBL* 108 [1989]: 577 – 95.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

ban. This English term is sometimes used to render Hebrew ḥ*ērem H3051* ("that which is devoted to destruction or cultic use"). The ban was a primitive religious institution, found among the Israelites and their Semitic neighbors, by which persons (and their possesssions) hostile to the deity were devoted to destruction. Among the Israelites the ban particularly concerned the Canaanites (see CANAAN), who, because of their IDOLATRY and shameful immorality, were to be utterly consumed (Exod. 23:31 – 32; 34:13; Deut. 7:2; 20:16 – 17). Thus JERICHO suffered the ban (Josh. 6:17, 21), as did also the household of ACHAN for violating its ban (Josh. 7:25). The same fate was threatened against Israel if it turned aside from Yahweh (Deut. 8:19 – 20; Josh. 23:15). On occasion only the inhabitants of a doomed city were destroyed (Deut. 2:34 – 35; Josh. 11:14), or only the males were put to death (Deut. 20:10 – 14). Apparently the practice of the ban gradually ceased, and we read no more of it after DAVID ordered two-thirds of some captured Moabites slain (2 Sam. 8:2).

The NIV renders the Hebrew verb ḥ*āram H3049* with the phrase "totally destroy" or a comparable expression. It uses the English noun "ban" only in 1 Chr. 2:7, which speaks of Achan (Achar) as "violating the ban on taking devoted things" *(māʿal bahērem,* lit., "transgressed in [the

matter of] the devoted thing"). The NRSV uses the verb "banned" in Ezra 10:8 to translate the Hebrew *bādal H976* ("separate"; NIV here uses the verb "expel"), although *ḥāram* occurs in the same context with regard to property being "forfeited." In this passage Ezra orders all returned exiles to assemble in Jerusalem within three days and threatens that all who refuse to do so will have their property confiscated and they themselves will be banned from the congregation of Israel. Some form of EXCOMMUNICATION was evidently involved, but its exact form is unknown. See also ACCURSED; ANATHEMA; CURSE.

S. BARABAS

Ban (person) ban. A name found in KJV Apoc., which wrongly reads the form *Touban* (see TOBIAH) as *tou Ban* (1 Esd. 5:37).

Banaias buh-nay'yuhs. KJV Apoc. form of BENAIAH (1 Esd. 9:35).

band. This English term has various meanings and translates several Hebrew nouns and verbs. For example, the noun *ḥāšûq H3122* is used with reference to the silver rings (KJV, "fillets") put on the posts of the tabernacle (Exod. 27:10 et al.). The very different meaning "a group of people" is often expressed in Hebrew with the term *gĕdûd H1522,* which usually refers to a raiding party (Gen. 49:19 et al.). For the verbal idea "to band together," Hebrew can use the niphal stem of *yāʿad H3585* (Num. 14:35 et al.). In the NT, the KJV uses English "band" to render the military Greek noun *speira G5061* (e.g., Jn. 18:3; NIV, "detachment"). Other Hebrew and Greek terms may be rendered with "band" or its synonyms in various English translations.

bandage. This term is used by the NRSV to render two rare Hebrew nouns: *ʾăpēr H710* (which refers to a headband worn to cover one's identity, 1 Ki. 20:38, 41) and *ḥittûl H3151* (which may indicate a splint put on a broken limb, Ezek. 30:21). The English verb is used by both the NIV and the NRSV to render Greek *katadeō G2866* in the story of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:34).

Bani bay'ni (בָּנִי *H1220,* possibly a short form of בִּנְיָהוּ *H12262,* "Yahweh has built"; see BENAIAH). This name, which was popular in the postexilic period, is easily confused with others that have a similar form (e.g., Binnui); it may have also been used as a clan name. The items included below may therefore not correspond precisely with the number of individuals referred to in the Bible.

(1) A Gadite who was one of DAVID'S Thirty, the military elite of its time (2 Sam. 23:36 NRSV and other versions). The NIV, however, emends the text from *bānî hagˇdî,* "Bani the Gadite," to *benhagrî,* "the son of Hagri," on the basis of the parallel passage (1 Chr. 11:38). See HAGRI.

(2) Son of Shemer, descendant of LEVI through MERARI, and ancestor of ETHAN; the latter ministered with music in the tabernacle during the time of David (1 Chr. 6:46).

(3) Descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and ancestor of Uttai; the latter was among the first to resettle in Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:4; the *Ketib* wrongly combines the consonants of this name, *bny,* with the following preposition, *mn,* to read "Benjamin").

(4) The ancestor of a large group that returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:10; 1 Esd. 5:12; called Binnui in Neh. 7:15).

(5) Ancestor of Shelomith; the latter accompanied EZRA as a representative from Babylon (Ezra 8:10, on the basis of LXX and of 1 Esd. 8:36; the MT omits the name).

(6) In the list of exiles who had married foreign women, the (clan?) name Bani occurs three times according to the MT (Ezra 10:29, 34, 38). The first two occurrences may refer to the same family head (but cf. 1 Esd 9:30 *[Mani],* 34 *[Baani;* KJV, "Maani"]). The third occurrence probably reflects a scribal mistake, so that the name Bani should be emended to "descendants of" *(bĕnê;* so NIV and NRSV, following LXX).

(7) A Levite whose son Rehum helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:17).

(8) A Levite who along with others assisted Ezra in expounding the law of God (Neh. 8:7; called Anniuth in 1 Esd. 9:48). He is probably the same person mentioned twice among those who led the people in confession and worship (Neh. 9:4a, 5; the Bani mentioned in 4b, if not a textual corruption [LXX has *huioi],* is a different individual).

(9) One of the Levitical representatives who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:13).

(10) One of the leaders of the people who signed the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:14).

(11) Father of Uzzi; the latter, who was "chief officer of the Levites in Jerusalem" after the return from the exile, is also described as "one of Asaph's descendants, who were the singers responsible for the service of the house of God" (Neh. 11:22).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Banias. Modern (Arabic) name for CAESAREA PHILIPPI, a town on the southern slopes of Mount HERMON. Also known as Paneas or Panias.

Banid bay'nid. KJV Apoc. variant of BANI (1 Esd. 8:36).

banishment. The Bible records some ostensible cases of voluntary exile that involve an element of constraint (e.g., JACOB to HARAN, Gen. 27:43; DAVID to GATH, 1 Sam. 27:1 – 4; those who fled to one of the CITIES OF REFUGE, Num. 35). Banishment, on the other hand, is decisive action by one in power, either forcing a change of residence or excluding one from certain rights and privileges. When ADAM and EVE sinned, they were dispossessed and banished from the Garden of EDEN (Gen. 3:22 – 24). During the reign of CLAUDIUS, all Jews were driven out of ROME (Acts 18:2). In both cases official action was taken.

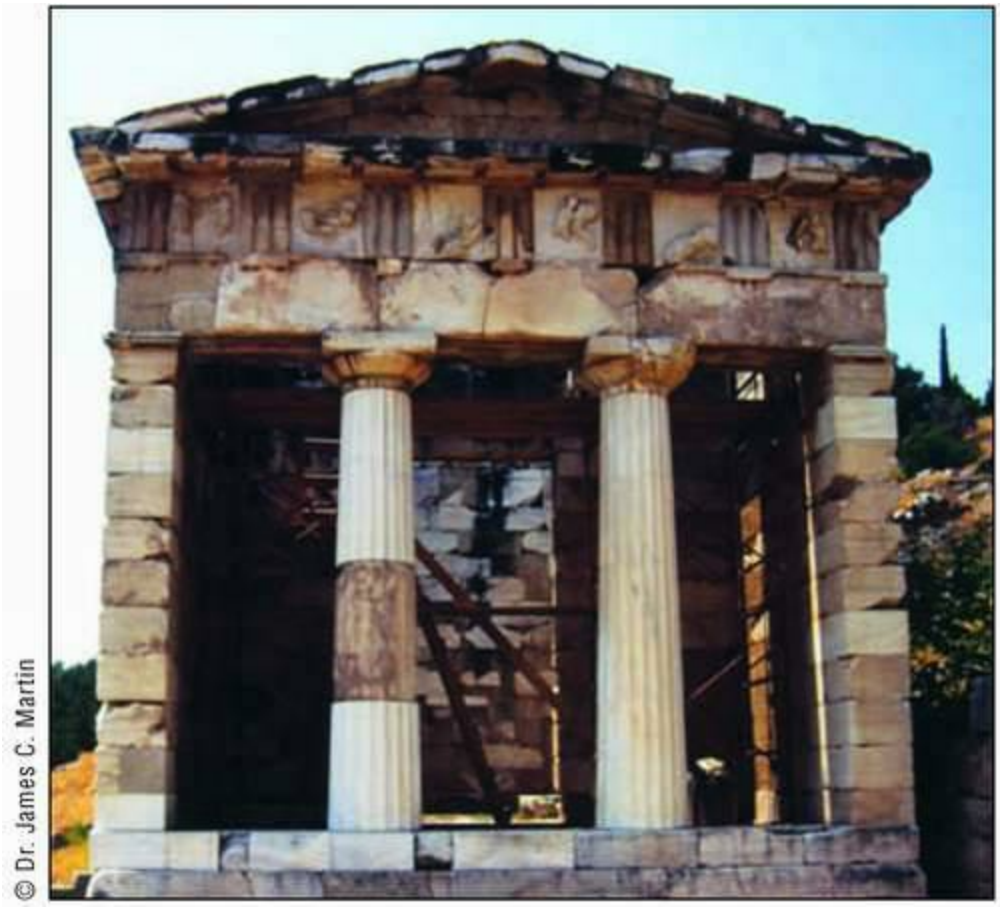
Banishment was not prescribed by Mosaic law. It was not similar to the confiscation of property or capital punishment. The law did, however, call for one to be "cut off from his people" on occasion. That was the penalty, for instance, for refusal to be circumcised (Gen. 17:14), for eating blood (Lev. 17:10), and for sinning deliberately (Num. 15:31). The meaning of the phrase is not entirely clear, but most likely it indicated EXCOMMUNICATION and exclusion from the fellowship of the faithful. In the early era, deportation was not practiced, for it would have meant sending one out of the context of the true religion into a pagan environment. That form of banishment was not adopted by the Jews until after their return from captivity. It was practiced by the Romans, and it may be that the postexilic Jews borrowed it from their neighbors.

J. H. BRATT

banking. Banks and the banking business were first established in Israel after the EXILE. Previously, people generally buried their treasures and valuables (Josh. 7:21; cf. Matt. 13:44; Lk. 19:20). Palaces and temples were depositories of wealth. During the exile, the Jews learned the trading and banking business from the Babylonians and some reached the highest levels in Babylonian trade and commerce. Near a canal in NIPPUR, scholars found the archives of a wealthy banking house run by the

Murashu family (450 B.C.) that contains many Jewish names (see *CANE,* 3:1380 – 85). In OT times lending was not for capital purposes, but for helping a person in need or in poverty (Deut. 15:7 – 11). The word *bank,* as now known, was not part of the vocabulary. INTEREST could not be charged on loans except to a foreigner, and poor people received special consideration (Exod. 22:25; Lev. 25:35 – 37). The prophets condemned high interest rates (Deut. 23:19 – 20).

During the Roman empire in NT times, the bank became prominent among the people of Palestine. The banker's bench *(trapeza G5544,* Matt. 21:12; Lk. 19:23) or shop stood beside those of bakers, butchers, and fish vendors. Jesus made several references to the subject: "Well then, you should have put my money on deposit with the bankers *[trapezitēs G5545],* so that when I returned I would have received it back with interest" (Matt. 25:27; cf.



Temples such as this one at Delphi, dedicated to Greek and Roman deities, functioned as financial depositories.

21:12; Mk. 11:15; Lk. 19:23; Jn. 2:15). Roman law was more severe than Hebrew law, and a creditor could put his debtor in bonds or in prison (Matt. 18:25).

Most bankers, however, got into the banking business through moneychanging, which was necessary in any city that used coins from other countries. In Israel much foreign currency was changed into the *shekel* for the temple tax (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IV.C). The great confusion of money systems in the ancient world allowed bankers to make easy profits, which later were placed into loans and investments at high interest rates. Bankers (often called usurers) were generally wealthy people who would lend others money for mortgages, purchases, and emergencies. Interest rates were very high, generally between twelve and twenty percent. In times of high inflation, interest rates in Rome and Athens reached as high as forty-eight percent.

In wealthy merchant centers in the Roman world, one found many complex banking establishments. One could make deposits and make arrangements for foreign exchanges. Payment was

authorized by a handwritten check. Bills could be drawn on a bank in one city and payment made in another, thus avoiding theft and robbery during travel. Bankers helped clients with investments, and through foreign connections supplied travelers with what one might call a letter of credit today. The Jewish people became adept in the commercial enterprise. International loans were made by wealthy bankers in Israel and nearby cities. In fact, all the essential aspects of modern business are to be found in the old world of business 2,000 years ago. (Cf. H. Daniel-Rops, *Daily Life in Palestine at the Time of Christ* [1962], 153, 249 – 51.) See also TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS.

L. M. PETERSEN

bank of river. The outer limiting border of a RIVER. The most common Hebrew word for "bank" is *śāpâ H8557* (lit., "lip"), sometimes used of the shore or edge of the sea (1 Ki. 9:26), but more often referring to the bank of a river (Gen. 41:17; Exod. 2:3; Ezek. 47:7, 12). Another term is *gidyâ H1536,* possibly derived from a root *gdh,* meaning "to cut." It is always used in connection with a river's overflow, as though the bank of the river were cut or torn by the force of the stream's flow. The JORDAN overflowed its banks in the spring, its waters easily scoring its muddy banks at other times of the year (cf. Josh. 3:15 and 4:18, where NIV translates the Hebrew phrase with "at flood stage"; 1 Chr. 12:15). The term is also used figuratively of Assyria overflowing its banks like a river and sweeping down upon Judah in Isaiah's time (Isa. 8:7).

N. B. BAKER

Bannaia buh-nay'yuh. KJV Apoc. variant of ZABAD (1 Esd. 9:33).

Bannas ban'uhs (Βαννας). The ancestor of some Levites who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:26; KJV, "Banuas"); the name is not found in the parallel passage (Ezra 2:40).

banner. A standard or emblem, generally on a high pole or carried on a staff, to represent a cause or to indicate a rallying point for battle. Although banners and standards originated in Egypt and countries like Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia to the E, they also made their way into Palestine during OT times. The Israelites carried such standards on their march through the deserts to the Promised Land. Thereafter, banners were quite common on the biblical scene.

The development of ensigns and standards must have taken place in a military context. In the countries surrounding Israel, including Rome later, standards were carried by the various divisions of the army or attached to the masts of fighting ships. The early standards were not flags made of fabric, but figures, emblems, or images of animals or of the gods made of wood or metal, brightly painted and fastened at the end of a long pole or staff. The eagle was a common emblem on national banners. Some of the ensigns or standards were connected with the religion of the country, and could be found at temples or other places of worship. The exact nature of the standards of Israel is not known, but their presence at the camp, if comparable to other ensigns, causes scholars to believe that the wandering in the desert was really a military expedition. Later on, banners were used for other purposes also, such as communication.

The purpose of standards has always caused discussion among Bible scholars. Were they simply

Roman banner engraved on the Arch of Titus, located in the Roman Forum.

symbolic identification marks, for example, of a regiment of the army? Or is a deeper meaning and purpose to be seen? This writer believes that they certainly served as marks of identification, but they also represented the ideals and aspirations of the people bearing them, and were used as a means of arousing the emotions and devotion to a cause, person, or nation. Images and inscriptions carried at the head of a group, or mounted in stationary manner on a hill, caused the people to "rally around the flag" in unified effort. All movements may be characterized by three common necessities: symbol, slogan, and song. This fact is apparent also from the use of the terms in the Bible.

In the OT three different Hebrew words are used to designate a standard or banner. Often they seem to be synonymous, but broader usage allows one to make certain distinctions between them. The noun *degel H1840* is used for the ensign of each of the four large divisions of the tribes of Israel encamped in the desert: "The Israelites are to set up their tents by divisions, each man in his own camp under his own standard" (Num. 1:52). Again, "The Israelites are to camp around the Tent of Meeting some distance from it, each man under his standard with the banners [*)ôt*, see below] of his family" (2:2; cf. v. 34; 10:14 – 28). The standard of Judah was on the E side of the camp, Reuben's on the S, Ephraim's on the W, and that of Dan on the N. It appears from this that *degel* designates a larger group or division of people, organized around a central goal, and no doubt the "armies of

Israel" marched in this fashion to the Promised Land. In Ps. 20:5, the term seems to refer to a battle flag: "We will shout for joy when you are victorious / and will lift up our banners in the name of our God." In the Song of Solomon, however, it is used in a beautiful figure of love: "He has taken me to the banquet hall, / and his banner over me is love" (Cant. 2:4).

Another Hebrew term, *nēs H5812,* refers more specifically to a rallying point for the people. It marks the center of attraction on which people should pin their hopes. Generally, such a signal was raised on some special occasion, and always on a high elevation and very conspicuous. After defeating AMALEK, MOSES called the altar of thanksgiving *yhwh nissî,* "The LORD is my banner" (Exod. 17:15; cf. Isa. 49:22). Banners were raised to assemble the soldiers of an army at the sound of trumpets (Isa. 13:2; 18:3) or to communicate an urgent message (30:17). The banner tells the people to flee from the country to the cities for safety (Jer. 4:6). When the army left a banner on a hill unattended, it was a sign of defeat (Isa. 31:9). Under this type of standard may be included the FIERY SERPENT of bronze raised on a pole, indicating the rallying point of salvation for the people (Num. 21:8 – 9).

The third term, *)ôt H253,* is used less frequently, and it generally refers to lesser "banners" such as signals and signs. In Num. 2:2 (quoted above) it appears to identify individual families within the entire division, the latter being indicated by *degel.* In Ps. 74:4 it is used twice to speak of enemy forces setting up "their signs for signs" (NIV, "their standards as signs").

R. de Vaux *(Ancient Israel* [1961], 226 – 27) states that these terms must be understood only in a military sense. Thus *degel* does not mean a sign or flag but a division of the army itself, and this is the sense in Num. 1:52 (cf. NRSV, "in their respective regimental camps"; in 2:2 et al., the LXX renders the noun with Gk. *tagma G5413,* which can refer to a military detachment, as in 1 Sam 4:10). Similarly, de Vaux says that *nēs* is not really a banner but a pole or mast raised on a hill to give the signal to take up arms and to rally against the enemy. He argues these were generally religious symbols and that the ARK OF THE COVENANT played such a role.

The NT does not speak of banners and ensigns in the military sense. Luke, however, uses the term *parasēmos G4185* ("a distinguishing mark") to designate the figurehead of CASTOR AND POLLUX in an Alexandrian ship (Acts 28:11).

L. M. PETERSEN

Bannus ban'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BINNUI (1 Esd. 9:34).

banquet. This English term is sometimes used to render Hebrew *mišteh H5492* (often translated "feast," but also "drink"; cf. the cognate verb *šātâ H9272,* "to drink"), especially in the book of ESTHER (e.g., Esth. 1:3 – 5; 5:4 – 12). Instances of banqueting in the OT, however, are more frequent than any specific term. Note, for example, the feast prepared by Wisdom in Prov. 9:1 – 5, a passage that parallels closely the Ugaritic description of Queen Hurriya's feast in the Legend of Keret Epic (KRT B iv-vi = *ANET*, 146 – 47; see M. Lichtenstein in *JANESCU* 1 [1968]: 32 – 35). In both passages three events occur: (1) preparation of the meal and invitation of the guests; (2) statement of the invitation; (3) setting forth of meat and wine in sequence. Another such description is apparent in Amos 6:4 – 6 and alluded to in Isa. 22:13; 25:6. In all passages the action of eating meat and drinking wine is prominent. The ritual consumption of WINE was an integral part of the oriental banquet. A different noun, *kērah H4130,* is used in 2 Ki. 6:23 (with the cognate verb, which possibly occurs also in Job 41:6 [MT 40:30], but contrast KJV and NIV), while the phrase "banquet hall" in Cant. 2:4 translates *bêt hayyāyyin H1074 + H3516* (lit., "house of wine").

In the NT the term *deipnon G1279* ("main meal, dinner, supper") is used of the banquet held in honor of Herod Antipas's birthday (Mk. 6:21; see HEROD V) and is found in several other passages (e.g., Matt. 23:6; Lk. 14:16 – 17). Especially significant is its use in Rev. 19:9 with reference to "the wedding supper of the Lamb" (cf. Matt 26:29 and see MESSIANIC BANQUET). Luke uses also the term *dochē G1531* ("reception, banquet") on two occasions (Lk. 5:29; 14:13). Because weddings were always accompanied by feasting, the noun *gamos G1141* ("wedding [celebration]") is sometimes rendered "wedding banquet" (e.g., Matt 22:4 – 10). The NIV uses the phrase "master of the banquet" to render the term *architriklinos G804* in Jn. 2:8 – 9 (NRSV, "chief steward"). Finally, English "banquetings" occurs in the KJV as a translation of the plural of *potos G4542* ("drinking party, carousal") in 1 Pet. 4:3.

Banuas ban'yoo-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BANNAS (1 Esd. 5:26).

baptism. Christian baptism is that initiatory washing with water in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit which the risen Lord commissioned his apostles to administer to all his followers as a mark of their discipleship (Matt. 28:19 – 20). The blessings associated with baptism in the NT are FORGIVENESS of sins (Acts 2:38; 22:16), UNION WITH CHRIST (Gal. 3:26 – 27), the receiving of the HOLY SPIRIT (Acts 2:38), and membership in the BODY OF CHRIST, which is his CHURCH (1 Cor. 12:13). For a discussion of Jesus' own baptism, see JESUS CHRIST V.C. The rest of this article is devoted to the three major views of baptism. (For a useful attempt to mediate between Baptist and non-Baptist approaches, see D. Bridge and D. Phypers, *The Water that Divides: The Baptism Debate* [1977].)

I. Baptist view. Baptists have generally taught that the outward rite confirms and seals to the recipient the knowledge of these blessings as they are apprehended by faith, rather than causing and conveying them by its own proper working. That is to say, Baptists stress the *cognitive* rather than the *sacramental* efficacy of the rite. (For this reason the majority of Baptists avoid even the word SACRAMENT when speaking of baptism.) Baptism is a proclamation on God's part, signifying by the outward sign, to those who believe, that their sins are washed away by the blood of Christ, that they have been united with him by his Spirit in the newness of his resurrection life, and are partakers of all the benefits he has secured for his people. On the part of believers, baptism is a public confession of their sin and a sign of their giving up of themselves to Christ to walk in newness of life, as the gospel enjoins.

In keeping with their emphasis upon the symbolical and cognitive nature of the ordinance, Baptists differ from the majority of Protestants in that they believe that the proper mode (many would insist the *only* mode) of baptism is immersion, and especially that none but believers should receive the rite.

As for the question of the proper mode of baptism, the day is past when immersion can be ridiculed for its eccentricity and scorned for its indecency. Lexicographers universally agree that the primary meaning of *baptizō G966* is "to dip" or "to immerse," and there is a similar consensus of scholarly opinion that both the baptism of JOHN THE BAPTIST and of the apostles was by immersion (cf. Jn. 3:23; Acts 8:36 – 38). In the *Didache 7* (A.D.

Ritual purification pool used by the Qumran community.

100 – 160), the oldest baptismal manual extant, triple immersion is assumed, and pouring is allowed if there is an insufficient amount of water (the word used for pouring is *ekcheō G1772).* Not only do Baptists believe that immersion was the original form of baptism, but also that the act of sinking below the water and rising again out of the water more adequately symbolizes union with Christ in his death and resurrection. As Paul says: "We were therefore buried with him through baptism into death in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we too may live a new life" (Rom. 6:4; cf. Col. 2:11 – 12).

The hallmark of the Baptist view of baptism, however, is not immersion—as is popularly supposed—but the restricting of the ordinance to believers. In insisting on believers' baptism (or "conversion baptism," as it is sometimes called), Baptists differ from other Christians. The great majority of confessing Christians have, from ancient times till the present, baptized infants as well as adults. In fact, it is undoubtedly true that most Christians, if one takes into account all the centuries of Christian history, have been baptized in infancy, having been brought to the font by their parents or sponsors, rather than having come by their own consent and volition. Because of the stress on believers' baptism in Baptist circles and the importance of this issue for the understanding of baptism

(witness the continued and lively discussion of infant baptism in contemporary theological circles), the case against infant baptism shall be briefly reviewed, using it further to illumine the Baptist understanding of the ordinance.

It is beyond cavil that in the NT FAITH is the threshold over which one must step into the Christian life, a faith that is confessed in the act of baptism. The clear structure of apostolic history is *kerygma,* which consists in Spirit-filled proclamation of the message of salvation, believing acceptance of the message, baptism, and the receiving of the Holy Spirit. In order to justify infant baptism, one must somehow set aside this ordered sequence. From the earliest moments of the Reformation, Paedobaptists have struggled with this problem. Though it cannot be doubted that the radicalism and intransigence of many of the Anabaptists drove the Reformers to a churchly defense of the status quo, yet their polemic against the Anabaptists is for the most part inferior and unconvincing theological writing. The crux of the problem is: how can one escape the medieval doctrine of *ex opere operato* (which effectually unites the grace of cleansing and renewal to the water) save by affirming *nullum sacramentum sine fide* (where there is no faith, there is no sacrament)? If faith is indispensable to the sacrament, so that where there is no faith, there is no true baptism, how then shall infants, who cannot confess their faith, properly receive baptism?

The oldest solution is *fides vicaria,* faith by proxy, a faith confessed by those who bring the child to baptism as godparents and sponsors. At the time of the Reformation, Luther rejected this view of Rome and taught in its place that the infant has faith. Calvin held that a seed faith was implanted in the children of believing parents, in virtue of the covenant promise. Since the NT knows nothing of vicarious faith, not to mention infant faith, it is admitted on all sides that the child must in due course publicly confess his own faith. Hence, infant baptism is unfinished until consummated by some sort of confirmation. Here evangelical Paedobaptists find themselves in a dilemma. If they stress confirmation, they are threatened with a third sacrament; but without it, the evangelical principle of faith, as necessary to the sacraments, is jeopardized. Some have sought to relieve this problem by discovering corroborative evidence for infant baptism in the NT, as well as in the OT practice of circumcising male children on the eighth day as the sign of the covenant promise.

As for the NT evidence, it is admitted that there is no express instance of infant baptism. However, there are several occurrences of household baptism (Acts 10:47 – 48; 16:15, 29 – 34; 1 Cor. 1:16; 16:15), and Paedobaptists have regularly appealed to these. It appears to Baptists, however, that these instances reflect a picture, not of parents converted and whole families baptized, but rather of whole families converted and baptized.

Even more prominent than household baptism in the Paedobaptist literature is the appeal to Jesus' blessing of children (Mk. 10:14 – 16 and parallels). To this writer it seems hardly tenable to argue, as Baptists often do, that these Scriptures pertain only to those who are childlike in spirit, especially since Luke uses the word for literal infants. But, if it be granted that Jesus gave his blessing to infants and little children, this hardly seems to imply that they should be baptized. Baptists have no objection to bringing infants to the Lord and invoking his blessing upon them. (Services of infant dedication are frequently held in Baptist churches.) It is one thing to bring children to Christ that he may bless them; it is another to bring them to the font. "See," said Spurgeon, preaching on this text, "that you read the word as it is written and you will find no water in it, but Jesus only. Are the water and Christ the same thing? Nay, here is a wide difference, as wide as between Rome and Jerusalem…between false doctrine and the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Charles H. Spurgeon, *Children Brought to Christ Not to the Font,* a sermon delivered July 24, 1864.)

Because of the indecisive character of the arguments for infant baptism from the NT data, those

who favor the practice have put a major emphasis on the argument that the NT age is the fulfillment of the COVENANT made with ABRAHAM, as signed and sealed by CIRCUMCISION. Therefore baptism may be said to take the place of circumcision, as the apostle PAUL wrote in Col. 2:11 – 12: "In him you were also circumcised, in the putting off of the sinful nature, not with a circumcision done by the hands of men but with the circumcision done by Christ, having been buried with him in baptism and raised with him through your faith in the power of God, who raised him from the dead." Once it is established that baptism takes the place of circumcision, it may be inferred—Paedobaptists plead—that infants of believing parents are to receive the sign now as they did circumcision in the OT. John Calvin calls this the "whole of the subject" *(Institutes* 4.16.24).

Admittedly Baptists have, for the most part, failed to appreciate the full implications of this argument. It is true that the NT fulfills the OT, and it may even be said that circumcision is to the OT what baptism is to the NT. But the weakness of the Paedobaptist argument is that it stresses the *continuity* in redemptive history without allowing due place for the *discontinuity.* The significant difference between the age of type and anticipation on the one hand, and the age of fulfillment on the other, is not sufficiently appreciated. The Paedobaptist argues, from the OT concept of a literal seed to be circumcised, to the conclusion that the children of Christians are a literal seed now to be baptized. But the NT teaches that one becomes the seed of Abraham by *faith,* not by birth or heredity.

It is for this reason that Baptists do not see the force of the argument from 1 Cor. 7:14, that children are to be baptized on the grounds that Paul refers to them as holy *(hagios G41).* In the context he is discussing the problem of mixed marriage, and if "holy" means such children are candidates for baptism, then the unbelieving spouse who is "sanctified" *(hagiazō G39)* should also receive baptism. As for the alleged parallel between circumcision and baptism, if the NT is the fulfillment of the OT, then as circumcision belonged to all the natural seed of Abraham in the age of type and anticipation, so baptism belongs to all his spiritual seed in the age of fulfillment. Who are the spiritual seed of Abraham? Are they not all those who walk in the steps of his faith? (Cf. Rom. 4:11 – 12). But this is the same thing as to say that all believers are to be baptized, which is the Baptist position. (See further R. E. O. White, *The Biblical Doctrine of Initiation* [1960]; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism Today and Tomorrow* [1966]; P. K. Jewett, *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace* [1978]; M. J. Erickson, *Christian Theology,* 3 vols. [1983 – 85], 3:1089 – 1105.)

P. K. JEWETT

II. Reformed view. According to Reformed theology, baptism is the ordinance instituted by Christ on the eve of his ascension to heaven (Matt. 28:19), dispensed by washing with water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and signifying and sealing the benefits of the new covenant (see COVENANT, THE NEW).

A. Import. Though the washing of REGENERATION and sprinkling with the blood of Christ are signified by baptism (cf. Jn. 3:5; Acts 2:38; 22:16; 1 Cor. 6:11; Col. 2:11, 12; Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet. 3:21), yet the more explicit references indicate that central to the import is UNION WITH CHRIST (cf. Rom. 6:3 – 6; 1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:27 – 28; Col. 2:11 – 12). The word of institution points in the same direction, for baptism into the name of the persons of the Godhead means baptism into union with and the discipleship of the three persons. In accord with Num. 6:24 – 27, the words of our Lord signify that in baptism there is the seal of God's ownership and of the distinguishing relation each person of the Godhead comes to sustain to believers in covenant union and communion (cf. Jn. 14:16 – 17, 23; 17:21 – 23). Though the accent falls on union with Christ, the Father and Holy Spirit are also

necessarily embraced in the bond signified by this ordinance.

B. Mode. There are various modes by which baptism may be administered: sprinkling, affusion, and immersion. The Baptist insistence upon immersion as the only valid mode and therefore of the essence of the symbolism is controverted by non-Baptists. The two arguments advanced by Baptists are: (a) that certain passages (cf. Rom. 6:3 – 6; Col. 2:11 – 12) indicate that the burial of Christ in the earth and emergence from it in the resurrection supply the pattern that must be adhered to, and (b) that the Greek terms for baptism mean immersion.

The fallacy of the first argument resides in an arbitrary selection of certain aspects of Paul's teaching regarding our union with Christ. It is true that believers are united with Christ in his burial and RESURRECTION, and it is also true that immersion in and emergence from the water appear to represent and symbolize this phase of union with Christ. But the union with Christ signified by baptism includes more than union with him in his burial and resurrection. It signifies union with him in his *death* and *crucifixion* as well. The burial must not be equated with either. Paul in Rom. 6 speaks of being baptized into Jesus' "death" (v. 3), of being "united" with him in the likeness of his death (v. 5), and of being "crucified" with him (v. 6; cf. Gal. 2:19). It is apparent that immersion and emergence do not resemble these. But they are as germane to union with Christ as burial and resurrection. In the Baptist argument, therefore, the burial and resurrection are accorded the exclusive relevance in the plea for symbolism.

Other passages likewise prove the arbitrariness of preoccupation with the analogy of burial and resurrection. Paul also writes, "all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ" (Gal. 3:27). It would be as legitimate to argue for the mode of baptism from this passage as from Rom. 6:4. But the figure here is that of putting on a garment to which immersion bears no resemblance. In 1 Cor. 12:13 the figure is that of making up one body, which is foreign by way of analogy to immersion. The fact is that baptism signifies union with Christ in the whole range of his ministry, and other aspects are as integral as burial and resurrection. It is prejudicial to the completeness of the union signified to limit the symbolism to any one phase of Christ's redemptive accomplishment.

It is not possible in the space available to set forth the evidence bearing upon the meaning of the terms that denote baptism. Suffice it to say that there are numerous instances in which the action denoted does not imply immersion and which prove that baptism does not *mean* immersion (cf. Lev. 14:6, 51; Matt. 15:2; Mk. 7:2 – 5; Lk. 11:38; 1 Cor. 10:2; Heb. 9:10 – 23). The Greek term *baptizō G966* indicates a certain effect without prescribing the precise mode by which this effect is secured. Hence the ordinance is properly administered by sprinkling or affusion. (See J. W. Dale, *An Inquiry into the Meaning of the Word Baptizō, and the Nature of Christic and Patristic Baptism,* 2nd ed. [1874].)

C. Subjects. There is no issue of principle between Baptists and non-Baptists respecting the conditions necessary for the baptism of adults. It is true that there has been in some cases a difference of viewpoint or at least of emphasis on the question of the prerogatives belonging to the church in the admission of candidates for baptism. This difference can exist among Baptists and among non-Baptists. So the line of demarcation should not be drawn in these terms. The injunctions of PETER on the day of PENTECOST and the practice followed on that occasion make it clear that repentance, the faith of the gospel, and the reception of the Word are the conditions upon which baptism was administered (Acts 2:38 – 44). Other instances corroborate this as apostolic practice (8:34 – 38;

10:34 – 47; 16:14 – 15, 31 – 33).

The only question that properly arises is: what criteria does the church apply in its judgment? The classic Reformed position is that it is not the prerogative of the church or of those who in the name of the church administer baptism to

Baptism scene from an illuminated MS (11th cent., Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece).

determine whether those seeking baptism truly and sincerely repent and believe. It is the duty of the church to propound the conditions and insist that only those complying with them are eligible in the sight of God. And the church must assist candidates to examine themselves. But the church accepts for baptism those who make an intelligent and uncontradicted confession of faith. Any other position errs either on the side of presumption or looseness.

The crucial issue concerns the baptism of infants, and on this Baptists offer vigorous dissent. The argument in support of infant baptism is based upon the essential unity and continuity of the COVENANT grace administered to ABRAHAM, unfolded in the Mosaic and Davidic covenants, and attaining to its richest fruition in the new covenant. The new covenant is the administration of grace that brings to fulfillment the promise given to Abraham: "through your offspring all nations on earth will be blessed" (Gen. 22:18). It is the blessing of Abraham that comes upon the Gentiles through Christ (Gal. 3:14). Abraham is the father of all believers, and they are Abraham's seed and heirs according to promise (Rom. 4:16 – 18; Gal. 3:7 – 9). The promises fulfilled in Christ were given to Abraham with covenantal confirmation. So it is proper and necessary to say that the new covenant is the fulfillment and unfolding of the Abrahamic covenant (cf. Gal. 3:15 – 17). The same unity and continuity are intimated when the covenant people of God are likened to one olive tree with several

branches, all of which grow from one root and stock and form one organism (Rom. 11:16 – 24).

The covenant made with Abraham included the infant seed and was signified and sealed by CIRCUMCISION administered by divine command (Gen. 17:9 – 14). That circumcision is the sign of the covenant in its deepest spiritual significance is demonstrated by the fact that it is called the covenant (Gen. 17:10; cf. Acts 7:8) and therefore identified as token (cf. Gen. 17:11), with the covenant in the highest reaches of its meaning (cf. Gen. 17:7; Exod. 10:5 – 6; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 30:6; Jer. 4:4; Rom. 4:11; Col. 2:11 – 12). Since the infant seed of the faithful were embraced in the covenant relation and there is no indication that this feature of covenant administration has been abrogated under the new covenant, the conclusion derived from the unity and continuity of covenant grace is that the same privilege belongs to the infant seed of believers under the new covenant. In addition, there is the evidence showing the continuance of this principle (Matt. 19:13 – 14; Acts 2:38 – 39; 16:15, 33 – 34; 1 Cor. 1:16; 7:14; Eph. 6:1, 4; Col. 3:20 – 21). These considerations are the ground for the propriety and validity of infant baptism.

The basis upon which baptism is dispensed to infants is, therefore, this divine institution. The promise of the covenant is to believers and their children. The abuses often attendant upon the baptism of infants should not be pleaded as objections to the ordinance itself. It is necessary that the church should exercise care and vigilance to prevent these abuses. Parents eligible to receive baptism for their offspring are only such as are faithful in their confession and in the discharge of their covenant obligations. Those who do not give evidence of the union with Christ which baptism signifies cannot claim the grace and promise extended in this institution (cf. Ps. 103:17 – 18).

D. Efficacy. As a rite instituted by Christ, baptism is not to be identified with the grace signified and sealed. This is apparent from the terms of institution (Matt. 28:19) and from the nature of baptism as seal. The existence of the grace sealed is presupposed in the giving of the seal. The tenet of baptismal regeneration reverses the order inherent in the definition that Scripture provides. The efficacy resides entirely in the pledge of God's faithfulness. God not only brings men and women into union with Christ as the embodiment of covenant grace at the zenith of its realization, and he not only gives exceeding great and precious promises that are yea and amen in Christ, but he also seals this union and confirms these promises by an ordinance that portrays to our senses the certainty of his grace. Depreciation of baptism insults the wisdom and grace of God and, more particularly, his faithfulness. He confirms to us the bond of union with himself by adding the seal of baptism, to the end that we may be more firmly established in the faith of his covenant grace. (Cf. P. Ch. Marcel, *The Biblical Doctrine of Infant Baptism* [1953]; J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries* [1960]; J. Murray, *Christian Baptism* [1962]; M. Green, *Baptism: Its Purpose, Practice, and Power* [1987]; J. V. Brownson, *The Promise of Baptism: An Introduction to Baptism in Scripture and the Reformed Tradition* [2007].)

J. MURRAY

III. Sacramentarian view. Among Protestants, this point of view is held primarily by Lutherans, by churches in the Anglican communion, and by other groups, although with various differences.

A. Biblical basis. The sacramental view of baptism rests upon an interpretation of Scripture that conceives of salvation as a drama played out in the progression of time. The Latin term *sacramentum* means "token" or "pledge." It was used commonly in the world of exchange as a token or guarantee that full payment would eventually be made in a business transaction. Today it might be called a

down payment on a mortgage. The word had another secular use as a pledge of loyalty from an individual to a group, as for example the vow of allegiance from a soldier to the military platoon in which he served. A SACRAMENT was a promise to fulfill a certain kind of conduct in one's vocational relationships. This promise was sealed with a token such as a ring, just as in the business pledge, and there was always a physical element accompanying the vow.

Biblical writers proclaimed the coming of Jesus as the fulfillment of the ancient promise made to ABRAHAM that God would provide from his seed a Redeemer who would be a blessing to all nations. Jesus was believed to be the conclusion of an old covenant, the tokens or sacraments of which had been given through prophets and priests in the traditional ordinances of worship in the temple of Jerusalem. He ushered in the end time—not the end of time, but the last era when all things are to be brought into subjection under his lordship for the glory of the Father. Since he came in humiliation, however, and since he can be seen to be Lord only by faith, Christians still wait for the final consummation when God's promise of redemption will be accomplished not just by faith but in full view for all to see.

In this sense the coming of Jesus was itself sacramental, since he functions as the physical pledge for an eschatological promise. When he left in the flesh, he provided tokens, such as water, bread, and wine, to continue to guarantee his promise until he comes again in glory. Jesus, who was the fulfillment in history of an old covenant that had its prior sacraments in the cultus of Israel, now becomes the sacrament of a new covenant that developed in its new worship a new set of sacraments. Just as secular usage combined the physical element with the inward vow, so church usage called the combination of a physical element with the spiritual promise a sacrament. Later in the tradition, the sacraments were described as an outward manifestation of an inward grace. The water of baptism is the first of these physical elements: it signifies and also guarantees, as a down payment, the pledge of God to be with mankind faithfully until the Last Day when Christ will come in glory to raise the dead and grant everlasting life to all who believe.

Baptism as a rite of immersion was not begun by Christians but was taken by them from Jewish and pagan forms and given the new meaning attached to the promise of Christ. Daily ablutions were common in pagan circles, and even the Jews practiced a regular baptism for proselytes. When JOHN THE BAPTIST began to baptize in the river Jordan, a new dimension was added to Jewish experience. He called all Jews to a baptism of repentance as preparation for Another who would come with a baptism of fire and the Spirit. John's baptism was a sacrament pledging the coming of a new kingdom and a new king, and when Jesus came and was recognized by John as the one who was to come, he at first refused to baptize Jesus. His sacrament was now fulfilled and therefore had lost its usefulness as a token.

Yet Jesus insisted that he be baptized so that the righteousness of God might be fulfilled. He suffered this ritual as a token beginning of his humiliation under the curse of sin and death. For this reason Jesus came from the Father to be one with mankind as a sinner who yet committed no sin. He suffered the curse of sin although he was obedient to God, and unlike every sinner had never defied God. Having come in the form of a sinner, he went to death where sinners go. He began in this baptism his course of death. Later, on several occasions, he referred to his death as a baptism he must endure. "Can you drink the cup I drink or be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with?" (Mk. 10:38). "I have a baptism to undergo, and how distressed I am until it is completed!" (Lk. 12:50). Clearly the first significance of baptism is the dying of Jesus.

In the second place, it is interesting to note that Jesus himself did not baptize, but that his disciples began to baptize immediately after the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, that is, not until

after the resurrection. The second significance of baptism is the rising of Christ with the newness of the Spirit, who came first to the disciples in the upper room. As the dying of Christ is represented by the physical element of water in which the old man drowns, so the rising of Christ is represented by the physical laying on of hands to lift the new man up in the Spirit. In this way the promise of John was fulfilled at Pentecost when the risen Christ came through his Spirit in the rushing wind and the tongues of flame.

The new promise of God to bring all things under the lordship of Christ is sealed and guaranteed in the dying and rising of Jesus of Nazareth. Here was a physical man whom all had seen and whom the Jews together with the Romans had crucified. He had mysteriously and wonderfully risen from the tomb in which his body had been laid. After many appearances to specially chosen Jews, the risen Christ came to abide with his elect ones through the presence of his Spirit. The Spirit not only guided them in truth but also gave them power to do the things Jesus did when he was with the disciples in the flesh. They healed the sick and raised the dead. Although these miraculous signs diminished after the first generation, the community of Christians still acknowledges and celebrates the presence of Christ in his Spirit. Indeed, this presence is what the church has always proclaimed as a sacramental reality, sealed and guaranteed by both the physical elements of water and the laying on of hands in baptism.

It appears from biblical records that the earliest Christians baptized with the formula "in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:38). The trinitarian formula ascribed to Jesus in his final commission (Matt. 28:19) is often regarded to have been shaped at a later date through the liturgical usage of the community of Christians. If true, however, such a development in no way undermines the trinitarian basis for sacramental baptism, since the formula "in the name of Jesus Christ" can make no sense without a trinitarian understanding of God. As noted, the biblical accounts declare that baptism involves the dying and rising of Christ with the descent of the Spirit.

The Spirit calls the elect ones into a community that lives by the presence of the risen Christ. Under the call of the Spirit through water and laying on of hands, God's chosen ones become incorporated in the BODY OF CHRIST and share in his dying and rising. This incorporation is called the CHURCH, a term derived from the Greek word *kyriakos G3258,* "belonging to the Lord," and referring to those who are members of his body completely. The third significance of baptism is thus incorporation into the eschatological community, the church or the body of Christ, the new family of God that lives by the sacramental presence of its Lord, who has promised to come again in glory at the Last Day.

B. Doctrinal construction. There have been many disputes in the history of the church over the doctrinal construction of the meaning of baptism. Some have defined baptism as a symbol that indicates the presence of faith in the believer (believer's baptism). Others have contended that the sacramental significance of baptism is the inward reality of God's grace, manifested outwardly in the tokens of water and laying on of hands. According to the first view, the token of water signifies the human decision to be cleansed, and it announces the belief that the Spirit is presently active with power to accomplish this sanctification. According to the second view, the token of water signifies the divine act of grace whereby God through the dying and rising of Christ regenerates sinners by incorporating them as new creatures in a redeemed community.

Believer's baptism must necessarily require a responsible decision and therefore is usually delayed until the age of discretion is reached. Sacramental baptism, since it is viewed as the gracious action of God, is offered to infants soon after birth. The Spirit as the Lord and Giver of life is

believed to regenerate the child and to make him a living member of the body of Christ, the family of God. This is sacramental because it is seen in faith and not empirically, and it is believed to begin a process of growth in grace that carries the new creature into his eternal destiny.

Based on biblical teaching, the sacramental understanding of baptism declares that three things happen to one who has been elected in Christ and called by the Spirit: (1) he dies with Christ to his old self; (2) he rises with Christ to become a new creature; and (3) he is incorporated in his new life with a living community that looks for the coming of its Lord in glory on the basis of the sacramental pledge it has received in baptism. There are, of course, other sacramental pledges, such as the bread and wine of the EUCHARIST, which corroborate and substantiate this initial incorporation of baptism. (Cf. F. Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics,* 4 vols. [1950 – 57, Ger. orig. 1917 – 24], 3:253 – 87; N. Clark, *An Approach to the Theology of the Sacraments* [1956]; D. M. Baillie, *The Theology of the Sacraments* [1957].)

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baptism for the dead. In the midst of his discussion of the RESURRECTION, the apostle PAUL argues: "Now if there is no resurrection, what will those do who are baptized for the dead *[hoi baptizomenoi hyper tōn nekrōn]?* If the dead are not raised at all, why are people baptized for them?" (1 Cor. 15:29). This verse is a famous *crux interpretum.* Opinion concerning its meaning has been divided since early times, and there can be few passages of Scripture concerning which the views of modern commentators are so bewilderingly diverse.

I. Divergent views. Only a selection of the more important views can be given: (1) Vicarious baptism to benefit those who died unbaptized. (2) Baptism for the sake of the dead, that is, in order to secure reunion with Christian relatives after death. (3) Baptism on account of the dead, that is, because of the witness in life of Christians martyred for the faith, such faith leading to the conversion and subsequent baptism of others. (4) Baptism to take the place of the dead, that is, to make up their number and so, perhaps, to hasten the SECOND COMING by assisting the completion of one of its preconditions. (5) Baptism over the dead, that is, over their graves, to express solidarity with them if they are Christian believers; if they are not, to involve them in salvation by this ritual. (6) Ceremonial ablution because of defilement through contact with a dead body. (7) Prayer for the dead described figuratively as baptism for them, comparable to the way "sacrifice" is sometimes spiritualized as prayer in the NT. (8) Death for the dead: the death of Christians regarded as redemptive and as securing salvation for the dead, and described as baptism because this symbolizes death. (9) Baptism to wash away mortal sins. (10) Baptism to confess the resurrection of the dead, because it symbolizes death and resurrection. (11) Baptism to secure benefit after death, because the thought of death has hastened the act of baptism. (12) Baptism "on account of the apostles," whose suffering makes them "truly dead" (for this last view, cf. J. R. White in *JBL* 116 [1997]: 487 – 99; for the other interpretations, see the standard commentaries).

II. Important factors bearing upon the interpretation of the passage. The chief of these would appear to be the following: (1) The general context—the verse must be relevant to an argument for the RESURRECTION of the dead. (2) The connection of thought between 1 Cor. 15:29 and 30—here are either two separate arguments for the resurrection or two parts of one argument. (3) The congruity of the interpretation with apostolic thought and practice or with some perversion of the same. (4) Grammatical factors, of which the chief is the sense of *hyper tōn nekrōn* (NRSV, "on behalf of the

dead"); for example, (9) above requires a dubious sense both for the preposition and for the noun.

III. Conclusion. The issue is anything but simple to decide. A number of the above interpretations are very forced, especially in their understanding of the Greek. Number 10 is popular because it presents no theological problems, but is grammatically suspect. Number 2 has been powerfully advocated by J. Jeremias (in *NTS* 2 [1976 – 77]: 151 – 59), but number 1 still seems much the most natural.

The postapostolic heretical sect of the Marcionites certainly practiced vicarious baptism, although possibly in misinterpretation of this passage. It does not seem likely that Paul was expressing approval of the practice; rather, he was only seeking to show the inconsistency of those who follow the practice while doubting or denying the resurrection. "It is wholly illegitimate to suppose that because Paul pronounces no condemnation on a custom to which he refers he must have given it his approval. This is surely a misapprehension of the very nature of an *argumentum ad hominem"* (H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions* [1913], 253). (See further B. M. Foschini, *Those Who Are Baptized for the Dead* [1951]; R. Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul* [1964]; M. F. Hull, *Baptism on Account of the Dead (1 Cor 15:29): An Act of Faith in the Resurrection* [2005].)

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baptism of the Holy Spirit. This phrase is sometimes used today in the sense of a "second blessing," an in-filling of the HOLY SPIRIT subsequent to, and quite distinct from, conversion, and usually regarded as a deeper spiritual experience, ushered in by spiritual phenomena, such as glossolalia (see TONGUES, GIFT OF). Without discussing the rightness or wrongness of the view in question, it would seem to be more proper to describe such an experience or state by using a different biblical phrase, "filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4 et al.). In biblical usage "baptism of the Holy Spirit" is more general and somewhat different, as will be seen from the examination of the texts.

The origins of the phrase are probably to be sought first in the saying of JOHN THE BAPTIST to his disciples, recorded in Lk. 3:16 and parallels. John strongly contrasts his own preparatory rite of water baptism, a mere token of REPENTANCE, with the Spirit-baptism that will be given by the "more powerful" one who is to succeed him. (Some critics have rejected this whole saying as being a "back-projection" of the phenomena of PENTECOST, which included "fire" as well as "Spirit" [Acts 2:3 – 4]; but this is impossible, since the saying is reported in all four Gospels.)

Water BAPTISM was indeed long familiar to first-century Jews from the practice of baptizing proselytes. The Qumran Community shows how widespread and manifold were ritual lustrations (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS); and later heretical sects like the MANDEANS seem to have continued many of these practices well into Christian days. Even on the fringes of the church, bare "water baptism" persisted until the days of PAUL, as can be seen from the Spirit-less disciples at Ephesus (Acts 19:1 – 7). So unusual did Paul consider their case that he gave them rebaptism (a practice never recorded elsewhere in the NT), this time in the name of Jesus. He apparently did not consider them to have been "Christians" before; the manifestation of tongues and prophecy that follows would seem to have been the beginning of their Christian faith, not a later and higher stage.

Since the baptism of Christ is the pattern of all Christian baptism, it is not surprising that Lk. 3:21 – 22 shows the "baptism of the Spirit" being fulfilled (doubtless in a very special sense) in the case of JESUS CHRIST himself, after his water baptism at the hands of John. This event, coming after John's testimony, was powerful confirmation of his words, and must have made a deep impression on his disciples.

If the first "root" is to be seen in the preaching of John the Baptist, and the second in the experience of Jesus at or after his baptism, then the third is in the express teaching of Jesus himself. In Jn. 3:5 Christ is recorded having said to NICODEMUS, "no one can enter the kingdom of God unless he is

Jewish pilgrims from around the world who had come to Jerusalem for Pentecost listened to Peter proclaim the message of Jesus and the baptism of the Spirit. It is possible that they gathered near the southern steps of the temple mount. (Modern reconstruction : of 1st-cent. Jerusalem; view to the NE.)

born of water and the Spirit." There has been much discussion of this verse (see the standard commentaries), but the reference seems to be to Christian baptism in its two aspects of outward sign and experience signified. Nor does the Greek text seem to indicate two separate occasions of "new birth"; the sole contrast is between "what is born of the flesh" and "what is born of the Spirit" (3:6 NRSV). See REGENERATION.

Later references to this concept are surprisingly few. It is clear from Acts 1:5 that the promise of "baptism of the Spirit" was to be fulfilled for the first disciples at PENTECOST. In the account of that day, however, and on subsequent occasions in the NT, the phrase used is "filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4, Pentecost; 9:17, Paul's conversion). This event was apparently something that could happen repeatedly to the same group (cf. Acts 2:5; 4:8, 31). One clear instance of the original metaphor is in 1 Cor. 12:13, "we were all baptized by one Spirit." Here Paul, by the wording, must be appealing to the universal spiritual experience of all true Christians, not to something unusual belonging to a minority. Otherwise his argument would lose all its point.

"Baptism with water" seems therefore to be John's baptism, or any other similar purificatory rite. "Baptism with water and the Spirit" seems properly to refer to Christian baptism at its two levels, not, of course, in any mechanical or ritualistic sense. "Baptism with the Spirit" was seen by the early church to be the gift of Christ, fulfilled for the first disciples at Pentecost, and subsequently the initial experience of every Christian (1 Cor. 12:13), enjoyed when faith in Christ was exercised (Acts 19:2; Rom. 8:9). "Filling with the Spirit," by contrast, appears to be something that can take place repeatedly. (Cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* [1970]; J. I. Packer, *Keep in Step with the Spirit* [1984]; H. M. Ervin, *Spirit Baptism: A Biblical Investigation* [1987].)

R. A. COLE

Baptist, the. See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Baqaa. See BEQA(.

Bar- bahr (Aram. בַּר *H10120,* "son, descendant"). This form occurs in English Bibles only as a prefix in patronymics. For example, Acts 13:6 refers to a Jewish sorcerer in PAPHOS who was named BAR-JESUS, that is, "the son of Jesus [= Joshua]." The same pattern is found in several other names, such as BARABBAS, BARNABAS, and BARTHOLOMEW. Like the corresponding Hebrew word for "son" *(bēn H1201),* this Aramaic term is also used widely to indicate various kinds of relationships, such as membership in a group. See BEN-. Especially significant is the construction *bar)ĕnāš* (Dan. 7:13; spelled differently in other texts); though it means literally "son of man," it has a variety of senses in Aramaic documents and lies behind Jesus' use of the phrase. See SON OF MAN.

Barabbas buh-rab'uhs (Βαραββᾶς *G972,* from Aram. בַּר אַבָּא , "son of Abba [= the father]"). The criminal whom the crowd, in response to PILATE'S offer, chose for release instead of Jesus. The release of Barabbas at the demand of the people is recorded in all four Gospels (Matt. 27:15 – 26; Mk. 15:6 – 15; Lk. 23:16 – 25; Jn. 18:39 – 40; cf. also Acts 3:14). Barabbas is identified as "a notorious prisoner" (Matt. 27:16), "a bandit" (Jn. 18:40 NRSV), and one of "the insurrectionists who had committed murder in the uprising" (Mk. 15:7; cf. Lk. 23:19). The motive for the insurrection in Jerusalem is uncertain. It may have been a bold case of brigandage, but probably it was a politically motivated attempt to throw off the hated yoke of the Romans. As the leader of the group, Barabbas had gained a reputation as something of a hero.

Beyond the evidence in the Gospels, nothing is known about the governor's custom of releasing a prisoner at the PASSOVER. But the releasing of prisoners for various reasons is otherwise attested (Jos. *Ant.* 20.9.3; Livy, *Hist.* 5.13; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* [1927], 267). Pilate offered the crowd the option between Jesus and Barabbas in the expectation that Jesus would be released. The chief priests could readily influence the vote of the people because the sight of Jesus as a helpless and unresisting prisoner deeply outraged their messianic expectations concerning him. Their vote was motivated not by popular esteem for Barabbas, but by aroused antipathy to Jesus because of disappointed hopes.

The name Barabbas may simply be a conventional proper name. It is found as the surname of several rabbis. JEROME (*on Matthew)* asserts that in the apocryphal *Gospel according to the Hebrews* the name was "son of their master" *(filius magistri eorum),* which points either to a form Bar-Rabban ("son of a rabbi") or to Bar-Abba ("son of the father," in the sense of teacher). That Barabbas was chosen because he was the son of a rabbi is improbable.

Codex Θ (9th cent.) and some other witnesses read "Jesus Barabbas" (i.e., Jesus son of Abba) in Matt. 27:16 – 17, and the antiquity of this variant is confirmed by ORIGEN *(Commentary on Matthew).* If his personal name was indeed JESUS, in itself not improbable, it made Pilate's offer more pungent—"Jesus son of Abba or Jesus called Christ." This reading has been accepted by some scholars, but its authenticity must remain dubious; it is included within brackets in UBS^4. (Cf. H. A. Rigg, Jr., in *JBL* 64 [1945]: 417 – 56; R. L. Merritt in *JBL* 104 [1985]: 57 – 68.)

D. E. HIEBERT

Barachel. See BARAKEL.

Barachiah, Barachias. See BEREKIAH.

Baraita (Aram. בָּרַיְתָא "external"). Plural *baraitot.* Traditions of the Tannaitic rabbis (see TANNAIM) not included in the MISHNAH, but brought together in the TOSEFTA and in some Midrashim (see MIDRASH). Many baraitot are also found in the TALMUD.

Barak bair'ak (בָּרָק *H1399,* "lightning"; Βαρ-άκ *G973).* Son of Abinoam, from KADESH in the tribal territory of NAPHTALI. Barak became a significant part of Israel's history during the period of the judges when he was summoned by DEBORAH, the prophetess, to lead volunteers from ZEBULUN and Naphtali against the forces of JABIN, king of the Canaanites, who was located at HAZOR (Jdg. 4:1 – 24). See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF; JUDGES, PERIOD OF V.

Israel had been brought into bondage as one of a series of punishments Yahweh had inflicted upon his people because they had abandoned him for IDOLATRY. When this bondage became exceedingly grievous, and in response to national penitence, Yahweh would raise up a deliverer, who after delivering the nation would become a judge the rest of his life. The bondage under the Canaanites had been especially burdensome because Jabin had oppressed them with 900 chariots of iron. The

Barak came from the mountainous region of Naphtali, N of the Sea of Galilee. The site of Hazor is visible in the photo at the base of the ridge. (View to the N.)

Hebrews were lightly armed and were no contest for chariots. Their courage having failed them, they avoided the call to defend the nation (Jdg. 5:15 – 17).

It was under these circumstances that Deborah summoned Barak to leadership. He flatly refused unless she accompanied him in the endeavor. She agreed but declared that the glory of victory would go to a woman. It did—to JAEL the Kenite, when the fleeing SISERA, Jabin's general, sought refuge at her tent. The rout of Sisera's army came when God turned the river KISHON into a torrent and the heavy rains made a morass of the land along the stream, making it easy for Israel to destroy the enemy.

The victory of Barak is celebrated in the Song of Deborah (Jdg. 5). This poem, one of the oldest extant texts in Scripture, is widely regarded as a literary masterpiece and as one of the best sources of information concerning the time. In spite of his initial hesitation, Barak rather than Deborah is listed by the author of Hebrews among the heroes of faith (Heb. 11:32).

J. J. EDWARDS

Barakel bair'uh-kuhl (ברכאל *H1387,* "God blesses"). Father of ELIHU, who was the last of the friends to reason with JOB (Job 32:2, 6). Barakel is also described as "the Buzite" (BUZ was a country in the eastern part of ARABIA), and the unusual Hebrew vocalization of his name possibly reflects an Arabian setting.

barbarian. When the psalmist, describing the exodus, says that the house of Jacob came out of Egypt "from a people of foreign tongue" (Ps. 114:1), he reflects the kind of setting that gives rise to the use of a word such as *barbarian* (from Gk. *barbaros G975,* "foreign," i.e., "non-Greek"). Indeed, the SEPTUAGINT here (113:1) translates the phrase with *ek laou barbarou,* "a barbarian people." The Greek word originally alluded to the stammering of someone attempting to imitate the sounds of an alien language. No emotive overtones necessarily accompanied the word.

With the defeat of the Persians, and the spread of the Greek culture throughout the ANE (see HELLENISM), the tendency developed to conceive of the conquered people who were destitute of the superior Greek culture as crude, uncivilized, and even immoral. (The LXX uses the word in Ezek. 21:31 [LXX v. 36] to render the ptc. of the Heb. verb *bāʿar H1279,* "to be brutish"; cf. also 2 Macc. 4:25 et al.) For nations that quickly assimilated the Greek manner of living, the derogatory connotations of the word "barbarian" were neutralized by speaking of such people as "Hellenic and Barbarian." The Romans, for example, were referred to in such a manner by the Greeks. Some Jewish writers tended to reciprocate the Greek attitude of superiority over others.

In the NT the writers were not concerned to engage in personal expressions of superiority over other nationalities, and when the occasion arose to refer to the various people of the earth, the word *barbaros* was used in the older, nonpejorative fashion. The word is used six times. In two of these places (Acts 28:2, 4), it may be translated "natives" (NRSV; NIV, "islanders"). Nothing derogatory is implied; the people of MALTA were simply non-Grecian. However, in mentioning the unusual kindness that the Maltese people extended to the ship-wrecked travelers, Luke may have been showing that the lack of civility commonly associated with the barbarians is an unfounded prejudice.

Two additional occurrences of the Greek word *barbaros* (both in 1 Cor. 14:11) also illustrate the classical way of referring to someone who is speaking a language not understood to the subject. The NIV and other modern versions correctly translate the term with English "foreigner." Paul reflected the Greek method of referring to all of humanity when he wrote, "I am obligated both to Greeks and non-Greeks *[lit.,* barbarians]" (Rom. 1:14). No judgment upon these diverse groups was intended, only that the same gospel is meant for and needed by all. Normally the classes of people denominated by the words "Greek, Jew, and barbarian" would include all of the human race. Fearing that some might think that the gospel is not for the uncivilized tribes living beyond the outer limits of the Roman empire, Paul placed the large group of people indicated by the word "barbarians" in direct antithesis to these uncivilized groups, which he represented by the name of one such tribe, SCYTHIAN (Col. 3:11; J. B. Phillips, *The New Testament in Modern English* [1962], "savages"). Paul, then, passionately declared that the transforming gospel of Christ extends even to the remote, uncouth members of the human race.

T. M. GREGORY

barber. One who shaves or trims the HAIR or BEARD. The word is used only once in the Bible (Heb. *gallāb H1647,* Ezek. 5:1). In this passage Ezekiel is commanded by the Lord to use a sharp sword "as

a barber's razor" and to cut off his hair and beard. Tomb paintings from Egypt show the barber at work. See RAZOR; SHAVING.

Bar Cochba. See BAR KOKHBA.

Bardaisan. Also Bardesanes. The earliest known Syriac author (c. A.D. 155 – 222), Bardaisan of EDESSA was reputed to have written 150 hymns in imitation of the Psalms, as well as works on such subjects as astronomy, history, and philosophy. He appears to have adopted a docetic Christology (see DOCETISM) and was later regarded as a heretic who denied the resurrection of the body. (Cf. H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* [1966].)

Barhumite bahr-hyoo'mit. See BAHARUMITE.

Bariah buh-ri'uh (בְּרִיעָה *H1377,* possibly "fugitive"). Son of Shemaiah and descendant of DAVID through SOLOMON (1 Chr. 3:22; some scholars emend the text so that Bariah appears as a son of Shecaniah).

Baris bair'is (βᾶρις from Heb. בִּירָה *H1072,* "citadel"). A fortress built during the time of the HASMONEANS (Jos. *Ant.* 15.11.4 §403); it became the forerunner of the Tower of ANTONIA.

Bar-Jesus bahr-jee'zuhs (Βαριησοῦς *G979,* from Aram. בַּר יֵשׁוּעַ "son of JOSHUA"). An opponent of Christianity at PAPHOS on CYPRUS who became temporarily blind when PAUL denounced him (Acts 13:6 – 11). Before recording the man's name, Luke describes him as "a Jewish sorcerer and false prophet" (v. 6). He opposed the preaching of the gospel for fear of losing his influential position with the governor. Paul's empowered denunciation, exposing his character and deeds (vv. 10 – 11), defeated the opposition. His announcement of divine punishment on Bar-Jesus was immediately fulfilled. Luke's added words, "But Elymas the sorcerer (for that is what his name means)…" (v. 8), are obscure (for various suggestions, see C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994 – 98], 1:615 – 16; cf. also *BC,* 4:143 – 45; 5:164 – 88; L. Yaure in *JBL* 79 [1960]: 297 – 314). Possibly the simple meaning is that Bar-Jesus was his Jewish patronymic while ELYMAS was his personal Greek name.

D. E. HIEBERT

Barjona bahr-joh'nuh (Βαριωνᾶ *G980,* from Aram. בַּר יוֹנָה "son of Jonah"). A family name identifying Simon PETER by his father, JONAH (Matt. 16:17 KJV; modern versions translate "son of Jonah"). In Jn. 1:42 and 21:15 – 17 Peter is called the "son of John."

Bar Kokhba bahr-kohk'buh (Aram. בַּר כּוֹכְבָא "son of the star"). Also Bar Cochba and Bar Kochba. Sobriquet given to Simon ben Kosiba, leader of the Jews in their disastrous second war with Rome, A.D. 132 – 135. See WARS, JEWISH. This revolt was apparently precipitated by HADRIAN'S move to found a non-Jewish city, Aelia Capitolina, on the site of JERUSALEM. Some scholars believe that a Roman ban on CIRCUMCISION, and possibly other factors, also contributed to the rebellion.

Bar Kokhba proclaimed an independent Jewish state and issued coinage struck from defaced Roman currency. The Romans summoned Julius Severus from the governorship of Britain to crush the

new rebellion, and it took three years to stamp resistance down. The rebel headquarters were in the wadis and cliffs where the Judean wilderness breaks into the Dead Sea. In this area Y. Yadin *(Bar Kokhba* [1971]), after photographic survey by helicopter, located a Roman commando camp on a plateau, as well as the inaccessible cave-complex where the rebels hid and were finally starved to death or committed suicide.

Coins from the revolt under Bar Kokhba (A.D. 132 – 135).

Mirror from the Bar Kokhba finds near the Dead Sea.

The cave was lined in one part by baskets of bones. There were metal objects made from looted Roman cult vessels. In March 1961 a basket was found containing a bundle of papyrus documents, women's sandals, of the sort known among Israelis today as "Elath sandals," together with farm and household implements. There was a file of twelve years' content, ending significantly in the year 132, which gives a picture of life in one family a century after Christ. Along with the documents were beads, a mirror, a comb—a whole toilet set, in fact, along with a powder and perfume container.

Among the letters cached in a remote rear corner of the cave were some apparently from Bar Kokhba himself. They are in varied hands, so we may not have the guerrilla leader's own

handwriting. One orders the arrest of a certain Tahun ben Ishmael and the confiscation of his wheat. Another calls for punishment on some who have repaired their homes, in defiance of a scorched earth policy. (Cf. N. Lewis et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* [1989]; R. A. Freund, *Secrets of the Cave of Letters: Rediscovering a Dead Sea Mystery* [2004].)

Bar Kokhba is mentioned frequently in the rabbinic literature (esp. *y. Taʿan.* 4:68d – 69b; *b. Giṭ.* 57a – 58a). Rabbi AKIBA, a contemporary, is thought to have given him his nickname as a messianic allusion to Num 24:17, but later rabbis were critical of him and apparently came up with a different sobriquet, Bar Koziba (Aram. *kôzîbāʿ,* also *kôzbâ),* "son of a lie." (See further *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973 – 87], 1:534 – 57; G. S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from Maccabees to Bar Kochba* [1998].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Barkos bahr'kos (בַּרְקוֹס *H1401,* "son of Kos"). The ancestor of some temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:53; Neh. 7:55; 1 Esd. 5:32 [KJV, "Charcus"]). The second element of the name is identified by some scholars with the Edomite deity Qaus (however, see M. Rose in *JSOT* 4 [1977]: 28 – 34).

Bar Kosiba bahr-koh'si-buh. See BAR KOKHBA.

Barlaam and Josaphat, History of. See ARISTIDES, APOLOGY OF.

barley. There are more than thirty references to barley in the Bible (Heb. *śĕʿōrâ H8555;* Gk. *krithē G3208* and *krithinos G3209).* It was one of the main cereal crops of Palestine, and being cheaper than WHEAT (cf. 2 Ki. 7:1; Rev. 6:6), it was used for feeding horses, donkeys, and cattle. It was often mixed with wheat to prepare flour for human beings. Barley bread, even today, is the staple food of the poorer people in Palestine and thus can have negative associations. It was good enough for the price of a harlot (Hos. 3:2), and was a poor symbolic offering (Num. 5:15). Modern Arabs have sometimes referred to Jews as "cakes of barley" (a scornful term: the true followers of Muhammad are "wheat" and the Jews are "barley"). In a dream, a Midianite soldier saw that a "round loaf of barley bread came tumbling into the Midianite camp" (Jdg. 7:13), suggesting that perhaps the Israelites were referred to as "cakes of barley" by their enemies.

There are three main barleys—spring barley *(Hordeum vulgare), winter barley (H. hexastichon),* and common barley (*H. distichon).* Barley was sown in the fall and harvested the following spring (Ruth 2:23). In the lowlands near JERICHO the harvest usually began in April (Josh. 3:15); in the hill country, not until May or the beginning of June. The wheat harvest came four weeks later (cf. Exod. 9:31). When the barley harvest began, FIRSTFRUITS were brought to the Lord (Lev. 23:10). The loaves given to the Lord Jesus (Jn. 6:9) were made of barley. ELISHA said that the price of barley flour was half that of wheat flour (2 Ki. 7:1). See BREAD; FOOD; GRAIN; HARVEST.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

barn. In ancient Palestine, GRAIN was usually stored in dry CISTERNS in the ground, but sometimes in buildings. God promised to send a blessing on the barns of the Israelites if they obeyed him (Deut. 28:8, *ʾāsām H662;* cf. Prov. 3:10; in Ps. 144:13, *māzû H4646).* The Greek term *apothēkē G630* occurs several times in the Gospels, once metaphorically in JOHN THE BAPTIST'S eschatological warning (Matt. 3:12; Lk. 3:17), elsewhere in the teachings of Jesus (Matt. 6:26; 13:30; Lk. 12:18, 24).

Barnabas. bahr'nuh-buhs (Βαρναβᾶς *G982,* possibly from Aram. בַּר נְבוּאָה "son of prophecy"; Luke gives the meaning "son of encouragement" [Acts 4:36] not as a scientific etymology but as an indication of character). A noted member of the early Jerusalem church and an active missionary to the Gentiles.

I. Jewish background. His original name was JOSEPH (KJV "Joses," following the Majority Text), but the apt name bestowed by the apostles completely superseded the old (Acts 4:36). It apparently marked his ability to console and encourage (although the term *paraklēsis G4155* could indicate that he was eminent in exhortation or teaching). He was a Levite (see PRIESTS AND LEVITES), born in

CYPRUS; John Mark of Jerusalem was his cousin (Col. 4:10; see MARK, JOHN). His conversion is unrecorded, but as an early member of the Jerusalem church he showed his generous nature by selling a field (on Cyprus?) for the benefit of the poor (Acts 4:37). He proved himself "a son of encouragement" in courageously befriending the suspected Saul (Acts 9:26 – 27). Convinced of the reality of Saul's conversion, he sponsored him and secured his acceptance by the church in Jerusalem. That he had known Saul as a student at TARSUS is mere conjecture (see PAUL).

II. Coworker with Paul. When news of a predominantly Gentile church in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA reached Jerusalem, Barnabas was selected as the one best qualified to assist his Hellenistic brethren in the new undertaking (Acts 11:19 – 22). His hearty response to the new work evoked a rare scriptural eulogy (11:24). He saw there the fitting sphere of work for the forgotten Saul (11:23 – 25). Their united ministry resulted in great growth and the origination of the name "Christian" at Antioch (11:26). The Antioch church later sent "Barnabas and Saul" to Jerusalem with a relief offering (11:29 – 30).

The list of the "prophets and teachers" at Antioch (Acts 13:1) implies that Barnabas was the acknowledged leader. In compliance with the Spirit's call, "Barnabas and Saul" were commissioned by the church for missionary work (13:2 – 4). Sent out by the church, Barnabas was properly called an APOSTLE (14:14) in the general sense of that term. They began their work in Cyprus with Barnabas as the recognized leader (13:7). The emergence of Paul as leader is indicated by Luke's expression in 13:13, "Paul and his companions" *(hoi peri Paulon)*. Luke plainly marked the recession of Barnabas to second place by using the order "Paul and Barnabas" (13:43, 46, 50) for the remainder of the journey, with one notable exception (15:12, 25; see below). When the cripple at LYSTRA was healed, the excited inhabitants regarded them as visiting deities. "Barnabas they called Zeus, and Paul they called Hermes because he was the chief speaker" (14:12). Barnabas was regarded as the main god, while Paul as his subordinate spoke and worked for him. See HERMES (DEITY); ZEUS.

The Antioch church recognized Paul's leadership ("Paul and Barnabas," Acts 15:2, 35). But in Jerusalem Barnabas clearly was held in greater esteem than Paul. "Barnabas and Paul" (15:12) reported of their work among the Gentiles. The letter sent by the conference also reflected this position (15:25 – 26). Barnabas had joined Paul at Antioch in stoutly resisting the attempt of the Judaizers to impose CIRCUMCISION on Gentile converts, and at the conference in Jerusalem he stood as the champion of Gentile liberty. The Jerusalem leaders sanctioned the position of Paul and Barnabas and agreed on a division in the field of labor (Gal. 2:9).

III. Separation from Paul. Following their public vindication at Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas continued their ministry at Antioch (Acts 15:35). It was apparently during this time that the incident recorded in Gal. 2:11 – 14 occurred. That "even Barnabas" was carried away indicates the tremendous pressure created by Peter's action. Paul's wording of the momentary wavering of Barnabas implies his deep appreciation of his companion.

Barnabas readily accepted Paul's proposal to go on another joint tour, but Barnabas's insistence upon again taking Mark along resulted in "a sharp contention" in which neither man shines. True to his gracious and forgiving nature, Barnabas felt Mark should be given another chance, while Paul believed that would be a mistake (Acts 15:36 – 41). If Barnabas erred on the side of leniency, Paul may have erred on the side of sternness. With his departure to Cyprus with Mark, Barnabas passed from the story. The rupture ended their joint ministry but not their friendship. Paul appreciated the subsequent labors of Barnabas, who continued to follow the same principle of self-support that Paul

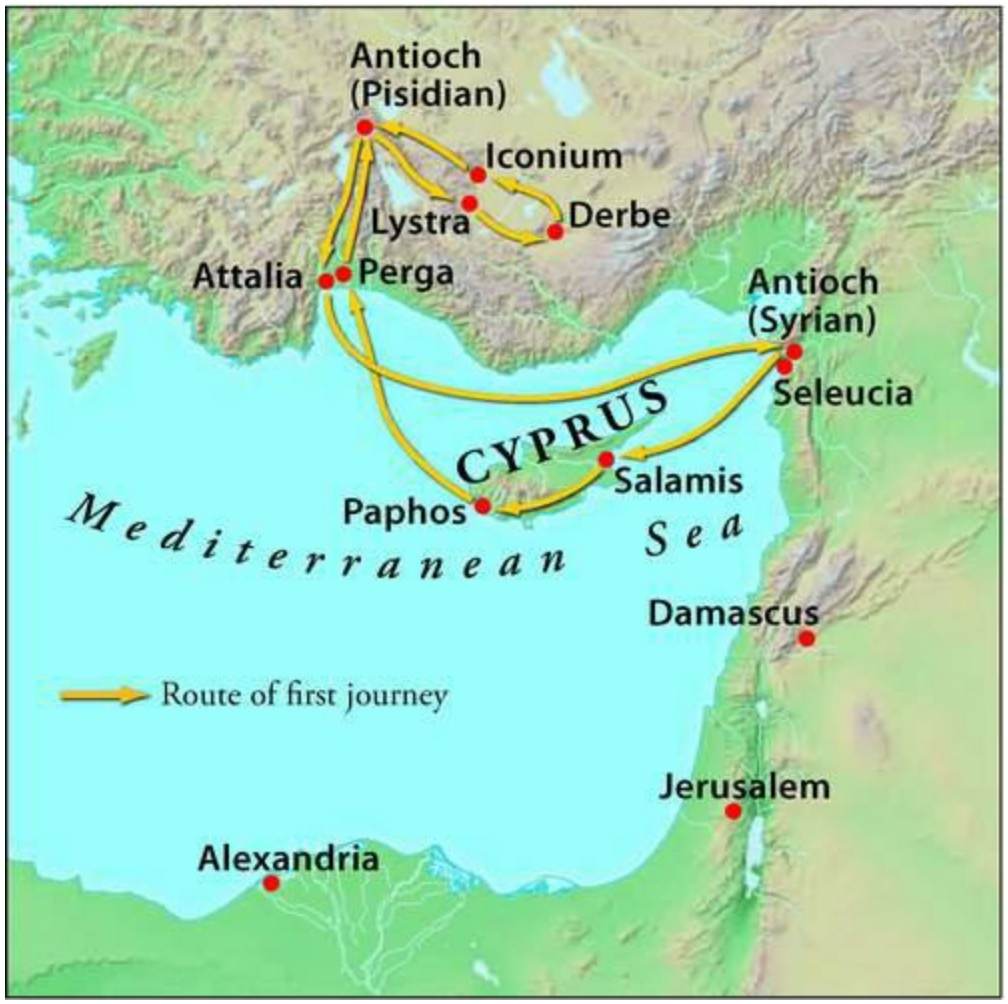
used (1 Cor. 9:6). (See further M. Öhler, *Barnabas: Die historische Person und ihre Rezeption in der Apostelgeschichte* [2003].)

IV. Conclusion. Tradition has made Barnabas one of the "seventy" (cf. Lk. 10:1 NRSV) and says that he died as a martyr on Cyprus. TERTULLIAN ascribed to him the authorship of Hebrews, while CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA made him the author of the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas.* These ascriptions of authorship indicate the high esteem in which the name of Barnabas continued to be held. See BARNABAS, ACTS OF; BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF.

Barnabas must be ranked as one of the truly great men of the early church. He was a worthy peer of Paul, but has been overshadowed by his more gifted companion. He was a gracious personality, characterized by his generous disposition and keenness to discern the spiritual potentialities of others. He was free from petty narrowness and suspicion and had a largeness of heart that enabled him to act as the encourager of those who failed and as the succorer of the friendless and needy. Such faults as he had arose out of his ready sympathy for those who failed and his eagerness to think the best of others.

D. E. HIEBERT

Barnabas, Acts of. Also known as *Pseudo-Mark.* The earliest postcanonical tradition, in the Pseudo-Clementines, links BARNABAS with ALEXANDRIA or ROME (according to the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* respectively; see CLEMENTINE LITERATURE). Later there were two cycles of tradition, one linking him with Milan, the other with Cyprus. It is the latter which appears in the *Acts of Barnabas,* probably composed in Cyprus not earlier than the 5th cent. The book claims to be written by John Mark (converted by Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, and baptized in Iconium!), and is clearly based on the canonical Acts (see MARK, JOHN). It recounts the travels of



The cities visited by Paul and Barnabas.

Barnabas with Paul, their quarrel over Mark, and Barnabas's later travels and martyrdom in Cyprus, after which Mark went to Alexandria. More sober and less extravagant than other apocryphal acts, it is essentially an imaginative expansion of the canonical book. (Summary in *NTAp,* 2:465 – 66; English trans. in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* 16 [1870]: 293ff.)

R. McL. WILSON

Barnabas, Epistle of. An anonymous writing of the early church, in the form of a general exhortation to Christian "sons and daughters" *(Barn.* 1.1). The name BARNABAS does not appear in the text itself (only in the title and the subscription). This work is included among the APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

I. Authorship. In spite of the opinion of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and other church fathers, it is highly unlikely that this document has any connection with the Barnabas who is recorded in the book of Acts as a fellow missionary of the apostle PAUL. The probable date of its origin is too late for that (see below). But more important is the fact that the type of teaching of this epistle is utterly different from the message of Paul: salvation is pictured as the object of a quest by which works bring righteousness. According to this writer, the PENTATEUCH is full of figures representing spiritual teaching. It was not intended to be understood literally, but was designed to convey spiritual meanings. The law was not to be understood as fulfilled by Christ, but as spiritually binding for Christians.

If not Barnabas, who? No answer can be given. Many scholars believe that the author was a

Jewish Christian, but others argue that he must have been a Gentile who made use of Jewish sources. (Cf. his comment in 16.7: "Before we believed in God the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, like a temple really built with hands, because it was full of idolatry, and was the house of demons through doing things which were contrary to God." Trans. by K. Lake in LCL.)

II. Place of origin. There are elements in *Barnabas* that are reminiscent of ASIA MINOR. One of them is the author's view of the millennial period after the coming of the Son (cf. PAPIAS and IRENAEUS). Another is the idea of building again spiritually what has been destroyed physically (ch. 16). The story of the two ways, the way of light and the way of darkness, is common to both *Barnabas* and the DIDACHE (cf. J. Muilenberg, *The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* [1929]). However, this story was probably widely circulated and is not of much help in determining a place of origin (a similar passage is found among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS; see 1QS III, 18—IV, 26).

The only evidences of the use of *Barnabas* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries are connected with ALEXANDRIA. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA quoted it as canonical, and ORIGEN appeared to have had the same view of it. Moreover, its method of interpreting the OT is distinctly in accord with traditions popular in that city. It is thus quite possible that the document had an Alexandrian origin.

III. Date. The use of *Barnabas* by Clement of Alexandria in the late 2nd cent. furnishes a date before which its composition must have occurred. There is, however, a passage bearing more directly upon the subject: "Furthermore he says again, 'Lo, they who destroyed this temple shall themselves build it.' That is happening. For on account of the war it was destroyed by the enemy; now even the servants of the enemy will build it up again" *(Barn.* 16.3 – 4). It seems highly probable that this refers to the destruction of the Jewish TEMPLE in Jerusalem during the revolt against the Romans put down by TITUS in A.D. 70. The rebuilding referred to as in progress must have reference to rumors of a rebuilding in the middle days of HADRIAN, or to the building later in Hadrian's time of a pagan temple on the site. The date of writing is probably, therefore, in the neighborhood of A.D. 130.

IV. Content. An extensive amount of the text of *Barnabas* is made up of quotations, largely from the SEPTUAGINT of Isaiah, but also from other canonical and noncanonical works. The book of 2 Esdras (*= 4 Ezra)* is quoted as having been written by "another prophet" *(Barn.* 12.1). The phrase "the Scripture says" (16.5) introduces a quotation from *1 Enoch.* There are other instances of similar phenomena.

At *Barn*. 16.4 one reads, "many called but few chosen," the words of Matt. 22:14. "He came not to call the righteous but sinners" *(Barn.* 5.9) is from Matt. 9:13 (Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:32). For other NT allusions, cf. *Barn.* 4.12 with Rom. 2:11 and 1 Pet. 1:17; *Barn.* 5.6 with 2 Tim. 1:10; *Barn.* 7.9 with Rev. 1:7; *Barn.* 12.11 with Mk. 12:37 (Matt. 22:45; Lk. 20:44); *Barn.* 15.4 with 2 Pet. 3:8 (concerning a thousand years being with the Lord as one day).

After a general salutation to Christians, the writer mentions three "dogmas": the hope of life, righteousness, and the love of joy and gladness *(Barn.* 1.6, but the text is not in good condition). Sacrifices are not needed, but rather righteousness. The care of the hungry and the doing of righteousness are what is now necessary, for the end is at hand. The covenant of Jesus is to be sealed in men's hearts, but they must not become indolent. The sprinkled blood of Christ is for man's sanctification. Jesus chose wicked apostles to demonstrate what he could do with evil men. His suffering was foretold by the prophets. A new creation is now in process. When believers have been

made perfect, they will rule the earth. Jesus suffered and mankind must lay hold of him through pain and suffering.

The author stresses that CIRCUMCISION must be of the heart and the hearing, not of the body. An evil angel led the fathers astray on bodily circumcision. The dietary regulations of the law were to teach ethical truth concerning fellowship with others and concerning sexual relationships. Baptism and the cross were described allegorically in the OT. As JACOB supplanted ESAU, so the Christians supplanted the Jews. Christians have inherited the covenant that the Jews have rejected. After six thousand years the wicked will be destroyed and the true rest of the people of God will come. The true temple of God is his people.

The last four chapters of *Barnabas* recount the story of the two ways, the way of light and the way of darkness. The former is love, simplicity, humility, purity, meekness, generosity, peacefulness. The latter is idolatry, hypocrisy, adultery, murder, pride, and the like. "May you gain salvation, children of love and peace" *(Barn.* 21.9).

V. Theology and ethics. *Barnabas* taught the attainment of salvation by the suffering of the Lord and human obedience to the commandments spiritually interpreted. Baptism and the hope of the cross bring eternal life *(Barn.* 11.11). The Son of God came in the flesh (5.11). After the millennial sabbath there will be another world, the eighth day (15.8).

VI. Text. The CODEX SINAITICUS includes the Greek text of *Barnabas* immediately after the book of Revelation and before the *Shepherd of Hermas.* The text is also in the MS discovered by Bryennios in 1873 that brought the *Didache* to the attention of the modern world. There are a number of defective MSS (all descended from the same archetype) that contain part of *Barnabas.* A Latin version, possibly as old as the 2nd cent., omits the story of the two ways. (Recent and valuable editions include M. W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations,* 3rd ed. [2007, a revision of the 1891 work by J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer]; and B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers, 2* vols., LCL [2003]. For a full commentary, F. R. Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief [1999];* see also J. Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background* [1994]; J. N. Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition: Polemics, Paraenesis, and the Legacy of the Golden-Calf Incident* [2004].)

P. WOOLLEY

Barnabas, Gospel of. The Gelasian Decree (6th cent.) mentions a spurious work entitled *Evangelium secundum Barnabam* (see *NTAp,* 1:38; it is listed beside the *Gospel of Matthias,* and Matthias is identified with Barnabas in the Clementine *Recognitions).* There appears to be no other trace of this work, and it is doubtful if it ever existed. The extant *Gospel of Barnabas* (text and English trans. by L. and L. Ragg [1907]) is a 14th-cent. Italian forgery by a renegade from Christianity to Islam, preserved only in Spanish and Italian MSS (see also L. Cirillo, *Évangile de Barnabé* [1977]).

R. McL. WILSON

Barnea. See KADESH BARNEA.

Barodis buh-roh'dis (Βαρωδεις). The ancestor of a family of servants of SOLOMON who returned to Jerusalem with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:34; the name is omitted in the lists of Ezra 2:57 and Neh.

7:59).

barrel. A term used in the KJV to translate Hebrew *kad H3902,* better rendered "jar" (1 Ki. 17:12, 14, 16; 18:33).

barrenness. To be a wife without motherhood has always been regarded in the E not merely as a matter of regret, but also of reproach and humiliation. Notice SARAH'S sad laughter of despair (Gen. 18:12), HANNAH'S silent pleading (1 Sam. 1:10 – 17), and RACHEL'S passionate alternative of children or death (Gen. 30:1; cf. also REBEKAH, 25:21). Among the Hebrews, this reproach attached to barrenness was probably partially caused by the expectation of most women that they might be mother of the MESSIAH. Barrenness was a family's great misfortune.

It is significant that the mothers of the Hebrew race were by nature sterile (Heb. *ʿāqār H6829,* Gen. 11:30; 25:21; 29:31), and therefore God's special intervention showed his favor to Israel (cf. also ELIZABETH, Lk. 1:7, 36; Gk. *steira G5096).* The wives of the patriarchs, in order to avoid the disgrace of barrenness, were willing to give their handmaidens to their husbands, regarding the children born under such circumstances as their own (Gen. 16:2; 30:3). Barrenness was removed by the mercy of God, often through prayer (Gen. 25:21; 1 Sam. 1:12; cf. Ps. 113:9; Lk. 23:29). Isaiah compared the nation of Israel with a barren woman who will sing because of the promise of children (Isa. 54:1), and Paul appealed to that promise to illustrate the principle of freedom from the law (Gal. 4:27).

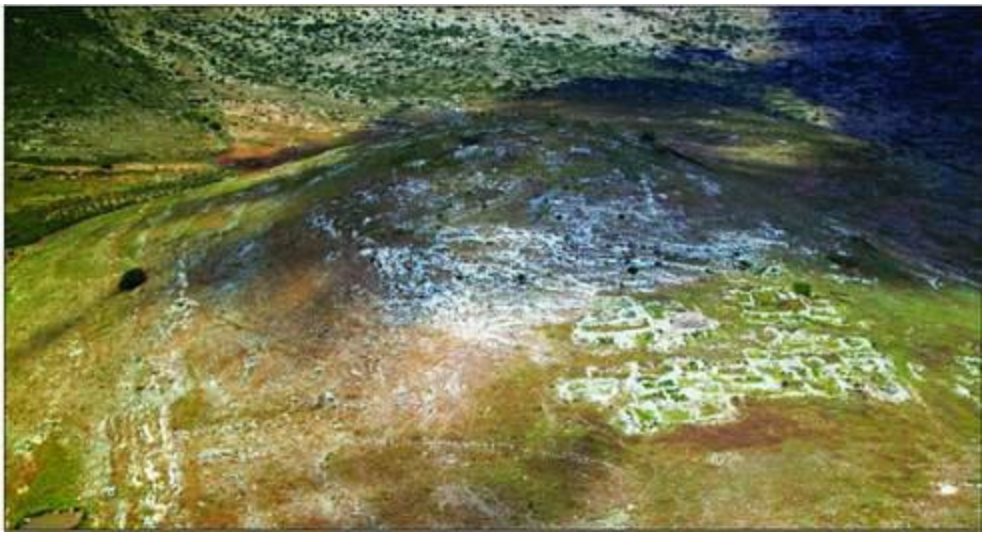
L. L. WALKER

Barsabbas bahr-sab'uhs (Βαρσαββᾶς *G984,* from Aram. בַּר סָאבָא "son of the elder *[or* the scholar]," or בַּר שְׁבָא "son of Seba/Sheba" [other interpretations are possible]). KJV Barsabas. A patronymic of two early Jewish Christians, possibly brothers: JOSEPH, surnamed JUSTUS, who must have had a close acquaintance with Jesus, since he was one of the two men nominated to succeed JUDAS ISCARIOT in the apostolic band (Acts 1:23); and JUDAS, a Christian prophet who, along with SILAS, was sent to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA with the decision of the Jerusalem conference (15:22, 32).

Bartacus bahr'tuh-kuhs (Βάρτακος). Known as "the Illustrious" *(ho thaumastos),* Bartacus was the father of APAME, concubine of King DARIUS (1 Esd. 4:29).

Bartholomew bahr-thol'uh-myoo (Βαρθολομαῖος *G978,* from Aram. בַּר תַּלְמַי "son of Talmai"). One of Christ's apostles, mentioned only in the four lists of the Twelve (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:14; Acts 1:13; see APOSTLE). His name is found always in the second group of four apostles. In the synoptics, Bartholomew is always mentioned next to PHILIP, who heads the second group in all the lists. In Acts, the name of THOMAS stands between Philip and Bartholomew.

Bartholomew may not have been the apostle's complete name. As the first syllable indicates, the name probably was a patronymic, Bar-Talmai, designating him simply as "the son of Talmai." On this view it may be assumed that he had a personal name in addition. But it is possible that the name, while originally a patronymic, had become an independent proper name, like BARNABAS. If he had no



Khirbet Qana, probably the site of Cana of Galilee (view to the N W). These may be the remains of the hometown of Bartholomew, if he is the same person as Nathanael.

other name, we know nothing further about this apostle from the Scriptures.

However, a comparison of the lists of the Twelve in the synoptics with data from the fourth gospel has led to the widely accepted view that Bartholomew is to be identified with NATHANAEL. Several observations support the identification. The synoptics never mention Nathanael, while the fourth gospel never speaks of Bartholomew. The juxtaposition of the names of Philip and Bartholomew in the lists of the Twelve suggests the close relationship between Philip and Nathanael in Jn. 1:43 – 51. All the companions of Nathanael (1:35 – 51) are known apostles. In Jn. 21:1 – 2 Nathanael appears as a member of a group of apostles. Christ's promise to Nathanael, that he would be a witness to the central role of the SON OF MAN in God's revelation to men, suggests an apostolic function (1:50 – 51). There is nothing against the identification; it creates no difficulties.

Yet the identification is not proved. To assume the identification without question, as is often done, is to go beyond the evidence. Categorically to reject the identification is likewise unwarranted. Other proposed identifications for Bartholomew—MATTHEW, MATTHIAS, the unnamed EMMAUS disciple (Lk. 24:13 – 32), even PAUL—are all groundless hypotheses. If Bartholomew is not the same as Nathanael, he remains a mere name among the Twelve. Tradition, however, has been busy with him. Widely different fields of missionary labor have been assigned to Bartholomew: India, Phrygia, and Armenia. Various apostles were named as his coworkers, and different forms of martyrdom were ascribed to him. See BARTHOLOMEW, GOSPEL OF. (Cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 166 – 86, 467 – 68; W. Barclay, *The Master's Men* [1959], 102 – 13.)

D. E. HIEBERT

Bartholomew, Gospel (Questions) of. A *Gospel of Bartholomew* is mentioned by JEROME among other apocryphal works *(PL,* 26:17A; the 6th-cent. *Decretum Gelasianum* speaks of "Gospels," which may be simply an error). Other references are rather few and late. Some scholars have linked the work with the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, said to have been carried by Bartholomew to India (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 5.10.3), but this seems unlikely: in view of his interest in the "Hebrew Gospel," Jerome could not have written as he did had the two works been identical.

The extant literature under Bartholomew's name includes a Coptic *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle* (see below), several Coptic fragments of doubtful attribution, and a document entitled the *Questions of Bartholomew.* This last is extant in five recensions, two

Greek, two Latin, and one Slavonic, of varying extent and quality. It begins with a question put by the apostles before the passion, to which Jesus replies: "I can reveal nothing to you before I have put off this body of flesh." After the resurrection the apostles do not dare to ask again, but Bartholomew plucks up courage and asks Jesus where he went from the cross. This leads to an account of the *Descensus ad Inferos* that has some points of affinity with the *Acts of Pilate* (see PILATE, ACTS OF). In the second chapter, the apostles ask Mary about the birth of Jesus, persisting despite her warning of the consequences. As she relates the story of the ANNUNCIATION (expanded with apocryphal detail), fire comes from her mouth as she prophesied, and the world is on the point of being burned up when Jesus intervenes.

In ch. 3 the apostles ask to be shown the abyss; in ch. 4 Peter urges Mary to ask Jesus to reveal to them all that is in the heavens. This, however, is forgotten in the sequel, as each tries to persuade the other to go forward, Mary urging that Peter is the rock on which the Lord built his church; Peter, urging that Mary had made good the transgression of Eve.

Then Bartholomew asks to be shown the adversary of men, and after some demur Jesus grants the request. Beliar (BELIAL) is brought up, held by 660 angels and bound with chains. After a description of him, Bartholomew is empowered to tread upon his neck and question him about his doings. Beliar declares his name was at first Satanael and later SATAN, and describes the creation of the angels. A question from Bartholomew elicits an account of the punishment of the wicked, and before his departure Satan relates the story of his fall. There are links with other texts, and also some highly fanciful etymologies. In the final chapter Bartholomew asks Jesus which is the most grievous sin, and what is the sin against the Holy Spirit.

The chapters are of unequal length, the fourth being especially long. The ascription to Bartholomew is obviously linked with the fact that it is he who figures most prominently among the apostles. The date of the document is probably not earlier than the 5th or 6th cent., but it may be based on older material. (English trans. in *NTAp,* 1:539 – 53.)

The *Questions of Bartholomew* is not identical with the *Book of the Resurrection,* although there are certain affinities. W. Schneemelcher *(NTAp* [1963], 1:508) conjectures that both streams of tradition may go back to the 3rd or 4th cent. (with the possibility of a shorter *Gospel of Bartholomew* as the starting point for the development). The *Book of the Resurrection* is preserved in a Coptic text from the British Museum (text and trans. in E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [1913]). In addition, there are fragments in Paris and Berlin, which present two different recensions. From a comparison, Schneemelcher concludes that the latter are more original, the London MS showing further development. "Often indeed the London text seems to be a paraphrase of an older original" *(NTAp* [1963], 1:507).

The London MS presents a fairly coherent account, although there are many gaps. The episodes are loosely strung together, and not always consistent (e.g., the story of doubting Thomas is narrated *after* Thomas himself has raised his son Siophanes from the dead in the name of Jesus). The first five pages are missing, but a fragment relating the death of one Ananias probably belongs here, since there is a reference to the incident at the beginning of the extant text, which continues with the burial of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathea, the coming of Death and his sons to the tomb and Death's complaint to the corpse, the havoc wrought by Jesus in hell, and the cursing of Judas. The resurrection story of the women at the tomb introduces Philogenes the gardener, who had given his own tomb for the burial; it also confuses Mary Magdalene with the mother of Jesus. Then comes the ascent of Jesus into heaven, followed by the eight hymns that accompany the reception of Adam and the righteous into glory. After a further revelation on the Mount of Olives, the apostles ascend to heaven, where each in turn is

blessed. Then follow the episodes of Siophanes and Thomas.

The title of the work is inferred from the statement near the end, "This is the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ, our Lord, in joy and gladness." Noteworthy also is the injunction given by Bartholomew to Thaddaeus (fol. 9a): "Do not let this book come into the hand of any man who is an unbeliever or a heretic."

R. McL. WILSON

Beneath this modern asphalt road lies the ancient Jericho road on which Jesus probably met blind Bartimaeus. (View to the E.)

Bartimaeus bahr'tuh-mee'uhs (Βαρτιμαῖος *G985,* possibly from Aram. בַּר טְמַי "son of Timai [a shortened form of Timotheus?]" or "son of the unclean," or a hybrid from Aram. בַּר and Gk. τιμαῖος "son of the highly prized"). A blind beggar, called also "the son of Timaeus," whom Jesus healed as he left the city of JERICHO (Mk. 10:46 – 52). The narrative places emphasis on his persistence and faith. Since Bartimaeus is the only person healed by Jesus who is identified by name in the Gospel of Mark, he may have been well known in early Christian circles.

The order of events is somewhat different in Luke (Lk. 18:35 – 43), where the blind man's name is not given. In Matthew's account (Matt. 20:29 – 34) two unnamed blind men appear. Various attempts have been made to explain the apparent discrepancies in these accounts, but none has received universal acceptance. A widely accepted explanation is that a blind man made his request as Jesus approached Jericho, but Jesus did not heed him, perhaps to test his faith. When Jesus left Jericho, the blind man was accompanied by another and both were healed by Jesus. Another interpretation is that the healing occurred between the old Jericho (the site of the Canaanite city) and the new Jericho (the recently built Herodian city). Jesus evidently healed two blind men, but for some reason Mark and Luke chose to mention only one, perhaps because he later became widely known as a disciple of Christ.

S. BARABAS

Baruch bair'uhk (בָּרוּךְ *H1358,* "blessed"). (1) Son of Neriah and devoted friend of JEREMIAH. His brother was Seraiah, King ZEDEKIAH'S staff officer (Jer. 51:59). The designation "Berechiah ben Neriah, the scribe," occurs in a 7th-cent. seal impression and evidently refers to the biblical Baruch (see N. Avigad in *IEJ* 28 [1978]: 52 – 56). Baruch first appears as a scribe taking Jeremiah's

dictation in the year 605/4 B.C., when JEHOIAKIM was king of Judah, and when NEBUCHADNEZZAR, rising rapidly in Neo-Babylon, defeated Egypt at CARCHEMISH and extended his controls to include the declining Israelitish kingdom. Jeremiah dictated his message to Baruch because he was not permitted to enter the temple and he wanted a message delivered to the people on the day of fasting. Baruch took the dictated message to GEMARIAH'S chamber in the upper court at the entry of the New Gate and delivered it there. When MICAIAH son of Gemariah reported to the princes what Baruch had read to the people, they wished to have a hearing themselves. Thereupon they ordered Jeremiah and Baruch to hide while they took the scroll to the king. Upon hearing the scroll the king, in unbelief, cut up the scroll and burned it, ordering his men to seize the prophet and his scribe. The men avoided capture by remaining hidden, where Jeremiah redictated the scroll to Baruch (Jer. 36:1 – 32).

Baruch must have served at personal sacrifice for, in that same year, Jeremiah directed a message from Yahweh to Baruch in which the scribe was instructed not to seek great things for himself because Yahweh's punitive action would bring about a tearing down of what he had built (Jer. 45:1 – 5). The scribe's activity appears again in 587, during the siege, while Jeremiah was imprisoned in the court of the guard. At the offer of his cousin, the prophet exercised his right of redemption and purchased a property in ANATHOTH. Jeremiah delivered the deeds which had been witnessed in the court of the guard to Baruch for hiding until the restoration from captivity (32:12 – 16).

Just after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar permitted Jeremiah to choose his and Baruch's destiny. Jeremiah chose to stay in Jerusalem, but when he warned against going to Egypt, Hoshaiah and Johanan accused him of being influenced by Baruch and took the prophet and his scribe with them into Egypt (Jer. 43:1 – 7). See also the subsequent articles dealing with books attributed to Baruch (and cf. J. E. Wright, *Baruch ben Neriah: From Biblical Scribe to Apocalyptic Seer* [2003]).

(2) Son of Zabbai; he aided NEHEMIAH in rebuilding the Jerusalem walls by repairing the section from the ANGLE to the house of the high priest, ELIASHIB (Neh. 3:20).

(3) A leader who affixed his seal to Nehemiah's covenant (Neh. 10:6).

(4) Son of Colhozeh and a descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ (Neh. 11:5).

J. J. EDWARDS

Baruch, Apocalypse of (Greek). Also known as *3 Baruch.* A pseudepigraphic work, probably of Jewish origin, but with heavy Christian redaction (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA). It appears to have been composed in Greek sometime during the 2nd cent. A.D. Two late Greek MSS contain this work, but a dozen MSS in the Slavonic tradition are thought to have preserved a better text. (Parallel English trans. of the two texts in *OTP,* 1:653 – 79.)

The book purports to have been written by BARUCH, Jeremiah's scribe, who cries out to God lamenting the destruction of Jerusalem. In response, an angel comes to show him God's mysteries. Baruch is taken through five heavens and has his questions answered. The main thrust of the document appears to be that although Jerusalem has been destroyed, the prayers of God's people are still accepted in the heavenly temple. See also BARUCH, BOOK OF.

Baruch, Apocalypse of (Syriac). Also known as *2 Baruch.* A pseudepigraphic work of Jewish origin (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA), known primarily from one 7th-cent. Syriac MS. A 5th-cent. Greek fragment, containing chs. 12 – 13, as well as brief excerpts from Syriac lectionaries and a recently discovered Arabic MS, provide modest aid in the work of textual restoration. (English trans. with

introduction in *OTP,* 1:615 – 52.)

I. Contents. The work comprises eighty-seven chapters in its present Syriac form, although the original was possibly longer. The text contains a number of anachronistic and contradictory passages, but the literary and source criticism to which it has been subjected has not elucidated its origins. The systems of sources proposed by scholars have not disproven the unity of the work. It is apocalyptic and reiterative. Like similar works from other sources, it is impossible to construct a chronological outline of the prophetic expectations.

The original language was probably Hebrew, but no fragment of such a version has yet been identified. The Syriac was most certainly translated from a Greek version, as there are a number of renderings explicable in no other way (cf. F. Zimmermann, "Translation and Mistranslation in the Apocalypse of Baruch," in *Studies and Essays in Honor of A. N. Neuman,* ed. M. Ben-Horin et al. [1962], 580 – 87). The book states that it is written by BARUCH, the servant and amanuensis of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 32:12 et al.). Because of his part in the period before Israel's final destruction by Babylon, a rich tradition arose around his name and deeds, and a number of apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works were circulated under his name (see BARUCH, BOOK OF). The text is a mixture of prose and poetic passages, but they may be separated for consideration.

A. Prose. The book is divided into seven sections, each of which is marked by a fast, usually of seven days' duration. The author speaks throughout in the first person singular and gives a declarative message of the events that are to occur. Here and there the narrative is interspersed with sermonic exhortations. The passages parallel in expression to various NT passages are most frequent in the prose sections. However, it is the poetic passages that are quoted by the later rabbinical writings. The symbolic language is drawn from the common notions of Jewish apocalyptic, with the singular exception that some of the prophecies, such as the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem, take place during the author's discussion. See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE. The prose sections mark out a long statement of the history of Israel from Adam until the time of the Gentiles and then offer hope and consolation in the promise of a consummation and rebuilding of the kingdom of the MESSIAH. However, the actual figure of the Messiah is not clearly drawn, and the emphasis seems to be rather on the corporate blessing of Israel.

B. Poetry. The parallel poetry that follows most of the prose sections is obviously of Hebraic origin and may have been older than the text. In many cases it is used to support the text and usually states the same idea. Often the poetic segments are redundant. The determination of the manifold sources of the poetry is a difficult question, as some are clearly biblical while most have been derived from sectarian hymns of the time. Of special interest are chs. 21 – 34, where a twelvefold vision foresees the coming of various catastrophes, precluded by an "opening of the books" and culminating in the coming of the Messiah. The Messiah however appears only to go away again—a notion possibly represented in 2 Esd. 7:29 – 30. The final coming of the Messiah is the occasion of the resurrection of the dead. The righteous join the congregation of Israel, and the wicked shrivel and suffer in torment. The scene of the death of Baruch contains a fulllength hymn, "The Prayer of Baruch," which has affinities in grandeur of style to some parts of the Minor Prophets. The thought is completely Jewish and contains some points at odds with the early Christian church in its conception of Judaism.

II. Origin and date. Since the book appears to have been written originally in Hebrew, and since the

writer shows familiarity with rabbinic literature, a Palestinian origin seems likely. The writer also shows some reliance upon the legendary material about Baruch. The book contains at least twenty statements similar to phrases in the NT, suggesting a 1st-cent. date. It does seem to be an apologetic for later Judaism, and its emphasis on the resurrection and culmination of history may have supplied a large lack in the Jewish theology of the time. The date must be some time during or immediately after the APOSTOLIC AGE (A.D. 50 – 150). The mention of the Romans, under the pseudonym "Babylonians," especially the narration of their destruction of Jerusalem, undoubtedly places the book more closely in time as after A.D. 70. And since the author seems to have used 2 Esdras, most scholars date it shortly after 100.

III. Relationship to the NT and Qumran. Although the text has parallels with the NT (e.g., Acts 15:10; 41:3), they are applied in all cases to Jewish ideas. The theology of *the Apocalypse* may be described as auto-soteristic and urges the keeping of the details of the Mosaic law. Each will be justified by God for his acts and piety in regard to the law. In this way the text is wholly at variance with NT teaching on the subject. There is an implicit denial of predestination but a resignation to a sort of fatalism. This strange mixture was drawn possibly from late Roman Stoicism (see STOICS). The ethical tone is nearer that of the OT wisdom literature than that of the major prophets.

There is almost nothing about either the temple or the sacrifices, which are such a central part of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. There is no criticism of the priests, Levites, or temple administration. Ostensibly this could be because they already had been destroyed. The Judaism of the *Apocalypse* is a symbolic and legal structure in which the form remains but the substance has passed away. The last section of the work is an appended piece, "The Epistle of Baruch to the Nine and a Half Tribes." It is similar to the dirges quoted in the DSS. It is said to have been sent to the scattered congregations (prob. the Jews of the DIASPORA) by means of an eagle. (See further R. Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* [2003].)

W. WHITE, JR.

Baruch, Book of. Sometimes referred to as *1 Baruch.* A book not found in the Hebrew Bible, but only in the SEPTUAGINT (along with LAMENTATIONS, as a supplement to JEREMIAH), and which thus also finds a place in the APOCRYPHA. This relatively brief book purports to be written by BARUCH son of Neraiah, who is well known for his duties as secretary to Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 36:4, 18, 32). It has appended to it the so-called Letter of Jeremiah (which is often numbered as ch. 6 of Baruch; see JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF). This book is only one of several attributed to him. The others, which are not included within the Apocrypha but rather within the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, consist of the following: *2 Baruch*—see BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF (SYRIAC); *3 Baruch*—see BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF (GREEK); and *4 Baruch*—see BARUCH, FOURTH.

I. Content. Baruch is easily divided into the following sections: introduction (Bar. 1:1—14); confession (1:15—2:10); prayer (2:11—3:8); poetical discourse on wisdom (3:9—4:4); songs of lament and encouragement (4:5—5:9). The introduction speaks of gathered exiles in Babylon who are sending to Jerusalem what money they have been able to collect in order to underwrite various offerings and make possible prayers for the well being of NEBUCHADNEZZAR (and consequently their own). With the money and requests, however, a book of confession designed for periodical reading in the temple is also to be sent. Thereupon follows the actual confession and penitential prayer. The confession (a declaration not addressed directly to the Lord, whose name occurs only in the third

person) begins with an unmistakable allusion to Dan. 9:7 – 8 and centers on the failure and disobedience of the men of Israel and Judah upon whom judgment has justly come from the Lord. This disobedience is regarded as nothing new, but as something which has continued since "the day when the Lord brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt until today" (Bar. 1:19).

The prayer itself is a confession of sin and a plea for mercy and deliverance. Several quotations from the book of Jeremiah are included (Bar. 2:21 = Jer. 27:12; Bar. 2:23 = Jer. 7:34; Bar. 2:25 = Jer. 36:30) as well as a number of allusions to other OT writings, particularly Deuteronomy and Daniel. According to the prayer, the prophets were right in their warnings, yet they saw that during the exile Israel would turn to the Lord ("in the land of their exile they will come to themselves," Bar. 2:30). The concluding plea for mercy suggests that the author regards his prayer, expressing the attitude of the people, as the fulfillment of this hope. The poem on wisdom, which follows, asserts that the God of Israel alone possesses wisdom, but he has disclosed it to Israel in the form of the law. Wisdom is thus equated with the law, and the conclusion naturally follows: "Happy are we, O Israel, for we know what is pleasing to God" (4:4). This passage seems reminiscent of other wisdom poetry, such as Prov. 1 – 9 (cf. Job 28). The final section of the book combines lamentation and hope expressed in a passage spoken by personified Jerusalem (Bar. 4:5 – 29), containing many allusions to Isaiah, followed by a response of encouragement spoken by the poet (4:30—5:9).

II. Unity, date, and purpose. There is no intrinsic relationship between the first part of the book and the poetical sections of Bar. 3:9—5:9. Moreover, there are a number of clear terminological differences between these main sections of the book. Of the poetical sections, the passage on wisdom appears to be an independent entity unrelated to the material that follows. Quite probably, therefore, Baruch is composed of three separate pieces of literature joined together by an editor who also presumably wrote or gave shape to the introductory material of the book. Thus the claim of the book (1:1—2) that it was written by Baruch in Babylon, five years after the fall of Jerusalem (= 581 B.C.), is not to be taken as true. (A few historical discrepancies confirm this conclusion.) Rather, the component parts of the book derive probably from much later times—usually the dates suggested range from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. of the Christian era, although there is little data available for making such determinations. The third section of the book includes material common to the PSALMS OF SOLOMON (a pseudepigraphic writing from the 1st cent. B.C.), but it cannot be established in which direction the dependence may lie or, indeed, whether both writings may be dependent on a common source.

The various sections have their own obvious purposes, which despite the claims of the introduction, find their origin and background in the late postexilic period. The message supposedly offered to the exiles has its applicability to the period of the composition and compilation of these writings. For example, Israel is in need of confession and repentance; true wisdom is found in the law (cf. the contemporary book of ECCLESIASTICUS); encouragement and hope are possible in the most trying of times because the Lord is merciful and good to those who cry to him. The book may possibly derive from a community of the DIASPORA during this same period. However, the suggestion that the book reflects a post-A.D. 70 milieu, and that BABYLON, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, and BELSHAZZAR stand respectively for ROME, VESPASIAN, and TITUS is looked upon as improbable by the majority of scholars. The original language of most of the book, if not all of it, seems to have been Hebrew. It has been conjectured that the Greek translator was also responsible for the LXX rendering of the second half of Jeremiah.

III. Canonicity and text. Baruch is one of the books of the Apocrypha finally accepted as (deutero)canonical by the Roman Catholic Church in the decisions of the Council of Trent. The book never held a place in the Hebrew Bible and thus was rejected as noncanonical by Jews and Protestants. In the LXX, Baruch is generally placed immediately after Jeremiah, preceding Lamentations, whereas in the VULGATE (the Latin Roman Catholic Bible) it follows Lamentations. The Greek text is well attested, although not extant in CODEX SINAITICUS, and is readily obtainable in the standard editions of the LXX. English translations are available in editions of the Apocrypha, where the book, with the so-called Letter of Jeremiah, follows Ecclesiasticus. (See E. Tov, *The Book of Baruch: Also Called I Baruch (Greek and Hebrew)* [1975]; id., *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch* [1976]; C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions,* AB 44 [1977]; A. Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité littéraire du livre de Baruch* [1998]; D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* [1999], ch. 7; D. A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* [2002], ch. 8.)

D. A. HAGNER

Baruch, Fourth. Also known as *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* ("the things left out of Jeremiah"), which is the title of the work in the Greek MSS. In the Ethiopic version, it is entitled "The Rest of the Words of Baruch," and so it is conveniently referred to as *4 Baruch.* The document has also been preserved in Armenian, Slavonic, and Romanian. Originally, it may have been composed in Hebrew or Aramaic (though some scholars argue for Greek). The work dates to the first half of the 2nd cent. of the Christian era, and some scholars believe it was written just before or just after the Second Jewish War against Rome (A.D. 132 – 35). The final redaction certainly came from Christian hands ("Glorify God and the Son of God who awakens us, Jesus Christ, the light of all the ages," *4 Bar.* 9.14), but the original composition must have been Jewish. (Parallel Gk. text and English trans. in R. A. Kraft and A.-E. Purintun, *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* [1972]; see also *OTP,* 1:413 – 25.)

The document begins with a warning from God to Jeremiah and Baruch that he is about to destroy the city. Jeremiah asks God to show mercy to "Abimelech the Ethiopian" because he has served the prophet faithfully. Abimelech is sent out of the city to collect figs, but after doing so he falls asleep and does not wake up for sixty-six years. When he returns to Jerusalem, he finds the city destroyed and its inhabitants deported to Babylon. An angel then takes Abimelech to Baruch, who praises God for preserving the figs and thus assuring him that his "fleshly dwelling" will be raised *(4 Bar.* 6.6 – 10). Baruch therefore sends a letter to Jeremiah by means of an eagle, asking him to tell the people that God will bring them back. Upon their return, Jeremiah predicts the coming of Christ, but the people respond by stoning him. The document, which places emphasis on the sin of the people and on the resurrection, may reflect the Jewish hope that God would yet restore the temple and the nation of Israel.

Barzillai bahr-zil'i (בַּרְזִלַּי *H1367,* "made of iron"). (1) An aged and wealthy Gileadite of ROGELIM who, with others, brought provisions to DAVID and his army at MAHANAIM while they were fleeing from ABSALOM (2 Sam. 17:27). After David defeated Absalom and was returning to Jerusalem, Barzillai escorted him over the Jordan but, because of his age, declined the king's invitation to come and live at the capital. In his place he sent his son, KIMHAM (19:31 – 39). When SOLOMON was about to become king, David urged him to show kindness to Barzillai's sons in recognition of their father's loyalty (1 Ki. 2:7).

(2) A Meholathite whose son, ADRIEL, married MERAB, SAUL'S daughter; Adriel's five sons

were given over to the Gibeonites (see GIBEON) to avenge Saul's blood guilt (2 Sam. 21:8 – 9; KJV, "Michal," following MT).

(3) Father or ancestor of a family of priests who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:61 – 63; Neh. 7:63 – 64; in 1 Esd. 5:38 his name appears as "Jaddus," and his wife's name is given as "Agia, one of the daughters of Barzillai [KJV, Berzelus]"). The family was deemed polluted, and thus forbidden to partake of holy food, because its members could not trace their genealogy to prove they belonged to the priesthood. Barzillai had taken his name from his wife's family when he married a descendant of Barzillai the Gileadite (see #1 above); it has been suggested that by adopting a nonpriestly family name he compromised the priestly status of his own family. Their unclean status was to remain until a priest could consult the URIM AND THUMMIM.

J. J. EDWARDS

Basaloth bas'uh-loth. KJV Apoc. form of BAZLUTH (1 Esd. 5:31).

Bascama bas'kuh-muh. KJV Apoc. form of BASKAMA (1 Macc. 13:23).

base. This English term is used variously in Bible versions as the translation of several Hebrew terms. For example, the KJV uses it to render Hebrew *mĕkônâ H4807,* more properly "stand." Each of the ten basins of Solomon's TEMPLE was to rest on a stand (1 Ki. 7:27 – 43). Each stand was four cubits long by four wide and three high. The frame had corner posts to which were attached upper and lower rails, with the spaces thus formed filled in with cast or embossed panels. The rails and posts also had floral or animal decoration (v. 29). Axles of bronze were attached to the posts and received bronze wheels one and a half cubits in diameter, made after the manner of chariot wheels (vv. 32 – 33).

At the top of the frame, shoulders supported a ring to receive the lavers. This ring was a cubit and a half in diameter and one cubit high above the frame (1 Ki. 7:31). Both the shoulders and the ring were decorated, the shoulders having attached, wreathlike decoration. The corners of the bases were fashioned to receive the axles. With the axles thus held rigidly, it would not be possible to turn them and thus easily wheel about the bases.

The description renders obscure the details of attachment of the various parts, but the wheeled bases of Cyprus shed some light on construction (H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* [1926 – 27], 2:42; also *BA 4 [1941]:* 29). Joining of parts was either by rivetting with bronze rivets or by a type of fusion welding with additional metal in the molten state run between edges (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955 – 64], 8:137). Sacrificial offerings were purified by water from the lavers on the stands (2 Chr. 4:6). Lavers are not mentioned in Ezekiel's description of the temple. See also SOCKET.

H. C. STIGERS

Basemath bas'uh-math (בָּשְׂמַת *H1412,* "fragrant"; cf. IBSAM, MIBSAM). KJV Bashemath (in 1 Ki. 4:15, Basmath). (1) A wife of ESAU and daughter of ELON the HITTITE (Gen. 26:34). Esau's marriage to Basemath (and one or two other women) ignored Yahweh's wishes that ABRAHAM'S descendants keep themselves separate from the Canaanites, especially in marriage. This matter brought great bitterness to ISAAC and REBEKAH. Another of Esau's wives, ADAH, is also identified as a daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen. 36:2). Some believe that Adah was Basemath's sister. Others argue that 26:34 is corrupt and should read Adah rather than Basemath. See also #2 below.

(2) A wife of Esau, identified as the daughter of ISHMAEL and the sister of NEBAIOTH (Gen. 36:3). She is apparently the same as MAHALATH, who is described in identical terms earlier (28:6 – 9). Esau sought a wife from among Ishmael's daughters when he saw that JACOB'S marriage to Abraham's kin brought pleasure to Isaac and a blessing to Jacob. Basemath was the mother of REUEL (36:4, 10), whose sons—Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah—are also designated as Basemath's sons (NIV, "grandsons," 36:13, 17). These men were prominent figures in EDOM.

(3) Daughter of SOLOMON and wife of AHIMAAZ; the latter was an officer in charge of providing food for the king's household one month of the year (1 Ki. 4:15). The only other daughter of Solomon mentioned in the Bible is TAPHATH, who was also married to a district governor (v. 11). Some believe that by including these daughters in the list the importance of their respective husbands is brought into prominence.

J. J. EDWARDS

Bashan bay'shuhn (בָּשָׁן *H1421* [always with the definite article], "smooth plain"). The fertile tract of country on the E side of the upper JORDAN, adjacent to the Sea of Galilee (see GALILEE, SEA OF). Although it is impossible to determine its exact boundaries, Bashan appears to have been bounded by Mount HERMON on the N, SALECAH on the E, GILEAD on the S, GESHUR and MAACAH on the W. The YARMUK River coursed through the southern area. Bashan included the regions of ARGOB (Deut. 3:4) and GOLAN (4:43, also a city), and the cities of EDREI (3:1), KARNAIM (1:4), ASHTAROTH (Josh. 9:10), and Salecah (Deut. 3:10). In the Greek period its cities included Hippos, Dion, Gamala, and Seleucia.

In the time of MOSES the land was inhabited by a people of large and strong build, known as the

As in antiquity, the region of Bashan is still a place for grazing cattle as well as a strategic military region between Israel and Syria.

REPHAITES (cf. Gen. 14:5). The last of its kings was OG, who slept on a bed 13.5 ft. long (Deut. 3:11). He was defeated by the armies of Moses at Edrei (Num. 21:33 – 35; Deut. 3:1 – 9), and all of Bashan's sixty cities were taken and destroyed (Deut. 3:4 – 6). Bashan was part of the land assigned to the half-tribe of MANASSEH (3:13), and Golan was set apart as one of the three cities of refuge E of the Jordan (4:41 – 43). Among the thirteen cities given to the Gershonites, a family of Levites, were two cities of Manasseh in Bashan (Josh. 21:6). Certain tribes of GAD also settled in this plain (1 Chr. 5:11 – 12). The land was invaded by TIGLATH-PILESER III (745 – 727 B.C.), king of Assyria, who carried many of the inhabitants away and resettled them in other cities of his empire (5:26).

Bashan was a broad, fertile plateau ranging from 1,600 to 2,300 ft. in height. It was well adapted for raising cattle (Ps. 22:12; Ezek. 39:18) and was celebrated for its sheep and goats (Deut. 32:14), and great groves of oak trees (Isa. 2:13; Ezek. 27:6; Zech. 11:2). AMOS compared the sleek, pleasure-loving women of SAMARIA to the cows of Bashan (Amos 4:1). JEREMIAH predicted that Israel would be restored after the Babylonian captivity and would feed again in Bashan (Jer. 50:19).

Archaeology has not unearthed any evidence of the Rephaites, although there is archaeological confirmation that the area was continually occupied

Bashan.

from the Early Bronze period (c. 3200 – 2300 B.C.). The Brussels texts (dating from the second part of the 19th cent.) mention Ashtaroth in Bashan (see ASHTORETH). During the period of the divided monarchy, it was seized by DAMASCUS. It became identified with HAURAN at a later period. The ancient name has survived in BATANEA of Greek and Roman times and in the Arabic name el-Bathaniyeh. The present area of Jolan, as well as GAULANITIS, the Greek term for this area, can be traced to the city of Golan, though the exact site has not been found. It is most likely that the famous oaks of Bashan were situated in the Jolan area, which is still wooded in places. (Cf. A. Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan* [1895]; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed. [1931], ch. 28; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 37 – 38 et passim.)

F. B. HUEY, JR.

Bashan-havoth-jair. See HAVVOTH JAIR.

Bashemath bash'uh-math. KJV form of BASEMATH.

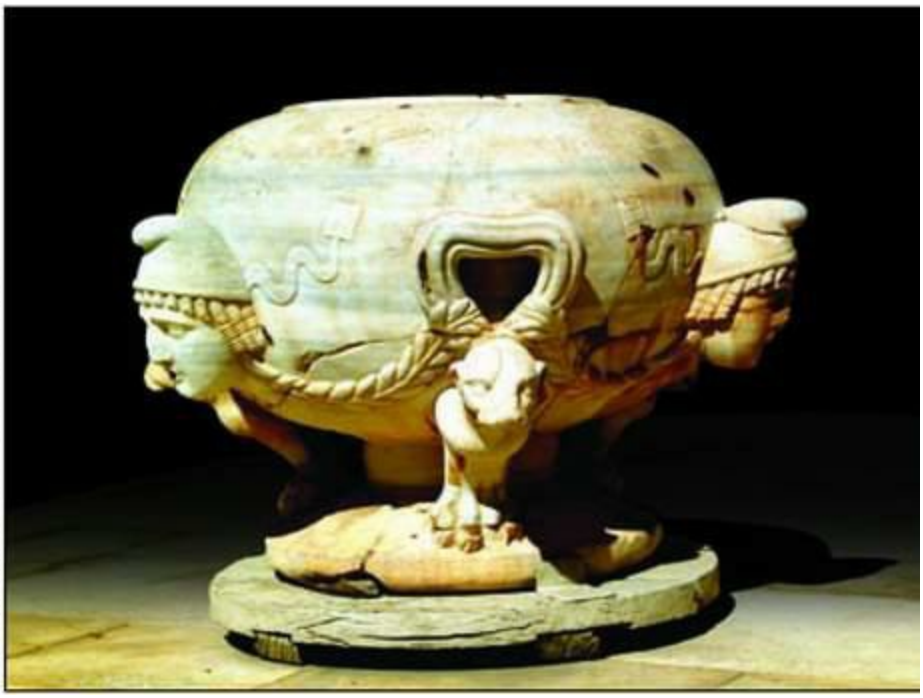
Bashmuric. An alternate way of referring to the Fayumic dialect of Coptic. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE I.B; VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT IV.C.

Basilides bas'i-li'deez. A Gnostic theologian (see GNOSTICISM) who taught in ALEXANDRIA c. A.D. 130. His views are unclear. According to IRENAEUS (*Haer.* 1.24), Basilides developed a very elaborate system: from the unborn father was born the Nous (Christ), from the Nous was born the LOGOS, and so on, so that numerous emanations of powers and angels resulted in the creation of 365 heavens; and Christ, being incorporeal, was not crucified but rather exchanged places with SIMON of Cyrene. Other Christian writers, however, give a quite different account of his teaching (e.g., Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.9 – 15).

Only fragments of his writings have survived (see B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* [1987], 417 – 44). In a work known as the *Exegetica* (cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.12), he is said to have "compiled twenty-four books on the Gospel" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 4.7.7). Whether this was a commentary on the canonical Gospels or on a gospel of his own is not clear; the extant fragments relate to Matthew and Luke. A *Gospel of Basilides* is mentioned by ORIGEN *(Hom. Luc.* 1), and by JEROME and others after him, but nothing has survived, and one is reduced to conjecture regarding its contents (assuming that it *was* an original and independent work). Theories advanced include: (a) that it was a document related to Luke, or a redaction of Luke (cf. MARCION'S Gospel); and (b) that it was a kind of gospel harmony in which passages from the canonical Gospels were arranged to suit the needs of his system. Basilides claimed to have received secret teachings from Matthias, but a connection of his gospel with one attributed to Matthias (see MATTHIAS, TRADITIONS OF) must remain highly speculative (cf. *NTAp,* 1:397 – 99).

R. McL. WILSON

basin. This term is used in the NIV normally as a translation of Hebrew *kiyyôr H3963,* traditionally



Imperial Roman basin made of marble (1st cent. A.D.).

rendered LAVER. Other English versions also use "basin" to translate *mizrāq H4670* (NIV, "sprinkling bowl"); this was a vessel for pouring or scattering a considerable amount of liquid in one motion, and one can picture a broad shallow basin from which the blood of the sacrifice cascades upon the sides or top of the altar (Exod. 29:16, 20; Lev. 1:5 – 6, 7:2; Num. 4:14; 1 Ki. 7:40; Jer. 52:18 – 19; Zech. 9:15). The same type of vessel was used for wine consumption (Amos 6:6) and for meal oil offerings by rulers (Num. 7:13 – 14). When Moses instituted the covenant and scattered the blood of the sacrifices before the people, he used a large basin called an *)"aggān H110* (Exod. 24:6 NRSV; NIV, "bowl"). In the NT the only reference to a basin is the occasion when Jesus washed the disciples' feet (Jn. 13:5); it has been suggested that the Greek word here *(niptēr G3781)* refers both to the pouring pitcher and to the basin for catching the water.

T. M. GREGORY

Baskama bas'kuh-muh (Βασκαμα). The town in GILEAD, NE of the Sea of Galilee, where the Seleucid commander TRYPHO murdered Jonathan MACCABEE in 143 – 142 B.C. (1 Macc. 13:23). Jonathan had surprised Trypho at BETH SHAN with such a strong force that Trypho decided to take him by subterfuge rather than by war. He therefore promised to give Jonathan the Mediterranean coastal city of Ptolemais (see Acco) if he would send his troops home. Innocently Jonathan did this and was trapped in the city of Ptolemais by Trypho's plan, in which the inhabitants cooperated. Jonathan was captured and marched S into southern JUDEA and then northward up the Jordan Valley only to be cruelly killed at Baskama. (See 1 Macc. 12:39 – 54; 13:1 – 30; Jos. *Ant.* 13 §§187 – 212.) The site is hardly to be identified with Tell Bazuq; more likely locations are Tell es-Samak (Strabo's "Sycaminos," *Geogr.* 13.6.1) and el-Jummeizeh ("Sycamore tree"). This last identification, at the NE corner of Sea of Galilee, is favored both toponymastically (Baskama may be derived from *bêtškmâ,* "house of the Sycamore tree") and geographically (it would be in Trypho's line of march). (Cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 418.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

basket. Vessels and containers made of intertwined and woven strips of flexible materials are called by the generic term *basket* in English versions of the Bible. The baskets of ancient times were made of many different sizes and shapes to satisfy a great variety of purposes. Specific names were used for many of these different baskets, four of which are found in OT usage. In the SEPTUAGINT at least seven terms are used to render these four Hebrew words. The NT, with fewer occasions for referring to the use of a basket, uses three terms.

Basketry and weaving, which were not separated in ancient times, were common household crafts, but the demand for containers was important enough to make basketry a widespread industry. In most parts of Palestine some kind of natural fiber was readily available. Commonly used were the fronds of palms, straw, reeds, rushes, sedges, and grasses. A popular style of basketry was somewhat imitative of pottery. Starting with a woven base, horizontal

Reed basket from the Fayum Neolithic culture in Egypt (5th millennium B.C.).

coils were placed upon each other and held in position by tying them to vertical strips. These shaped baskets could be strengthened by plaiting the materials. The powerful legs of the hippopotamus are said to be plaited like the coils in a strong basket (Job 40:17; NIV, "close-knit"). Another common type of basketry was wickerwork, in which strands of material were woven in and out of a stake frame. Such a basket would be more angular and allow for larger containers.

The Hebrew word *dûd H1857,* a generic word for "receptacle" (cf. 1 Sam. 2:14, "kettle"; 2 Chr. 35:13, "caldron"), can be translated "basket" with reference to a container for carrying bricks or figs (Ps. 81:6; Jer. 24:1 – 2). The ordinary word for basket, *sal H6130,* seems to refer to a vessel that can be carried on the head. Less frequent is *ṭene) H3244,* and in all its occurrences (Deut. 26:2, 4; 28:5, 17) it appears to be a large storage receptacle for products of the field. Two passages use the term *kĕlûb H3990:* in Jer. 5:27 it refers to a bird cage having a trap door, while in Amos 8:1 – 2 it means a basket with a similar kind of cover. The type of basketry seems to be the rectangular wickerware referred to above. Finally, the word *tēbâ H9310* ("chest," but used esp. of the ARK OF NOAH) may mean "basket" when used of the box in which the baby MOSES was placed (Exod. 2:3, 5; see BULRUSHES, ARK OF).

After Jesus' feeding of the 5,000 and again after the feeding of the 4,000, the leftover fragments were placed in baskets. The Gospels distinguish between the *kophinos G3186* used to gather the remains in the first miracle (Matt. 14:20; Mk. 6:43; Lk. 9:17; Jn. 6:13) and the *spyris G5083* used the second time (Matt. 15:37; Mk. 8:8). The distinction may be the one suggested earlier between smaller plaited baskets and larger woven baskets with a handle. PAUL was lowered from the wall of DAMASCUS in a basket (Acts 9:25) similar to the type used after the feeding of the 4,000. When Paul himself speaks of this incident (2 Cor. 11:33), he says he was lowered in a *sarganē G4914* ("braid" in classical Gk.), which probably is a synonym referring to a strong hamper type of basket.

T. M. GREGORY

Basmath bas'math. KJV form of BASEMATH.

bason. KJV form of BASIN.

Bassa bas'uh. KJV Apoc. form of BEZAI (1 Esd. 5:16).

Bastai bas'ti. KJV Apoc. form of BESAI (1 Esd. 5:31).

bastard. KJV rendering of Hebrew *mamzēr H4927* (Deut. 23:2 [NIV, "one born of a forbidden marriage"]; Zech. 9:6 [NIV, "foreigners"]) and Greek *nothos G3785* (Heb. 12:8 [NIV, "illegitimate children"], used figuratively of those who reject God's authority and discipline).

Basthai bas'thi. NRSV Apoc. form of BESAI (1 Esd. 5:31).

bat. The bat (Heb. *ʿăṭallēp H6491)* is first mentioned as forbidden food (Lev. 11:19; Deut. 14:18). Some twenty species of bat are recorded for Palestine; they live in all regions, being plentiful around the desert edge and in oases. Their powerful musky smell and their habit of building up large deposits of droppings at their roosts discourage their use as food, but they do much good by killing insects, and their guano is collected as manure. Though most eat insects, the Egyptian fruit bat feeds on fruits and can be a pest in orchards; this and other large bats are regularly eaten in some countries. Bats are active at night and sleep hanging upside down; their unusual habits and appearance make them the subject of strange legends, sometimes with evil association (cf. Isa. 2:20; Ep. Jer. 22). (See *FFB,* 7 – 8.)

G. S. CANSDALE

Batanea bat-tuh-nee'uh (Βαταναία or Βατανέα). The Greek name for BASHAN in Hellenistic times. JOSEPHUS calls it a toparchy bordering on TRACONITIS *(Ant.* 17.2.1 §25); the area had been given to HEROD the Great by AUGUSTUS (15.10.1 §343) and was later part of the tetrarchy of Philip, Herod's son (though this region is not included in Lk. 3:1).

bath. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES III.A.

Bath-. See BEN-.

bathing. The practice of bathing is mentioned in Scripture in two contexts: personal cleanliness (e.g., Exod. 2:5) and ritual ablution (e.g., Num. 19:7). The most frequent Hebrew verb is *rāḥaṣ H8175,* which may suggest scrubbing as well as flushing with water, possibly out of a pot or beaker (Lev. 15:13 et al.). As with most ancient peoples, the Jews did not transport water for bathing with the exception of the upper class (2 Sam. 11:2); however, in the course of time bathing pools were built in most villages. Although some measure of hygiene was involved, the main purpose of bathing was ritual (see also CLEAN; PURITY). Ancient peoples had no comprehension of the germ theory of disease; yet most cultic rituals involved some form of lavation or sprinkling. The ritual use of washing throughout the OT represented cleansing from the moral implications of an action. An elaborate custom and form grew up around the practice so that to wash another was a sign of humility (1 Sam. 25:41). To appear washed was a sign of joy and well-being (Gen. 43:31), while to appear unkempt was a sign of public mourning (2 Sam. 12:20 et al.). Water bathing was used frequently as a sign also of separation, so the infant was washed at birth (Ezek. 16:4), the body at death (Acts 9:37), and the

animal before shearing (Cant. 4:2). The Greeks, as reported by numerous classical authors, normally rubbed or lightly scraped the body after it had been wetted down with perspiration or covered with oil. Jewish antagonism to the ritual nudity involved with this practice led to serious conflicts during the Hellenistic Age (see GYMNASIUM).

The practice of washing or bathing as a sign of the COVENANT was of great importance in the OT.

Bronze bath with incised decoration; it was found reused as a coffin in Ur (late 8th cent. B.C.).

This aspect carries over into the NT practice. Various Greek terms are used to translate the Hebrew notion in the SEPTUAGINT, and some of these pass into NT usage and vocabulary. Bathing as such is not mentioned in the NT, but washing, both hygienic and ritual, plays an important place in the Lord's teaching. Jesus forbade the unkempt appearance commonly affected during religious fasts (Matt. 6:17) and encouraged a secret contrition in its place. The washing of hands or wrists before meals was widely practiced among the Jews as an observance of the OT law (Matt. 15:2), and this custom was governed by complex additions to the Levitical code.

The excavations of both Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) and MASADA have revealed the remains of what may have been ceremonial washing pools. Of special interest is the washing of the body as figurative of the cleansing from sin. Such seems to be involved in Jesus' statement regarding the new birth (Jn. 3:5; see REGENERATION). Spiritual cleansing is also one of several ideas conveyed by the Christian ritual of BAPTISM. This figure is moreover evoked by PETER in the narrative of Jesus' washing his disciples' feet at the Passover (13:9 – 10). The same notion has been carried over into the FOOTWASHING ceremonies of certain church groups that have continued the practice from antiquity.

W. WHITE, JR.

Bath Kol bath-kohl' (בַּת קוֹל lit., "the daughter of a voice," i.e., "a sound"). Also Bath Qol. This rabbinic term denotes an audible divine voice apart from any visible divine manifestation. It is distinguishable from such phenomena as God's speaking to Moses, where there was a divine manifestation in the earthquake, and from his speaking to the prophets, which was usually apart from an audible voice. It was noted for its remarkable quality of tone, and sometimes likened to whispering

or chirping. It proclaimed God's will or judgment to individuals, groups, rulers, localities, and whole nations. The usual formula in the rabbinic documents is, "a voice fell [or proceeded or was heard] from heaven" (cf. Dan. 4:31). This usage is reflected in the NT (Jn. 12:28; cf. Rev. 10:4 et al.).

According to JOSEPHUS, John Hyrcanus (134 – 104 B.C., see HASMONEAN) heard the voice of God in the temple as he offered a sacrifice *(Ant.* 13.10.3 §282; cf. *b. Ṣotah* 33a). In the Tannaitic period (100 B.C. TO A.D. 200) *bath kol was* thought to be an echo of God's voice, perhaps due to the strong movement against ANTHROPOMORPHISM in postexilic Judaism. Some rabbis of the period yearned for such a divine voice to resolve perplexities. Rabbi Joshua (c. A.D. 100) opposed this tendency, stressing the finality of written revelation (cf. Isa. 9:8; *T. Levi* 18.6; *2 Bar.* 13.1). The NT is thought to contain various references to *bath kol,* such as the voice heard at Jesus' baptism (Matt. 3:17; Mk. 1:11; Lk. 3:22; see JESUS CHRIST V.C), at the TRANSFIGURATION (Matt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:35), just before the PASSION (Jn. 12:28), on the DAMASCUS road (Acts 9:4; 22:7, 9; 26:14), and at JOPPA (Acts 10:13, 15).

A. K. HELMBOLD

Bath Rabbim bath-rab'im (בַּת־רַבִּים *H1442,* "daughter of a multitude"). A gate in the Transjordanian city of HESHBON; the beautiful eyes of a woman are compared to the pools near this gate (Cant. 7:4).

Bathsheba bath-shee'buh (בַּת־שֶׁבַע *H1444,* prob. "daughter of abundance," but possibly "daughter of an oath" or "daughter [born on] the Sabbath [seventh day]"; in 1 Chr. 3:5 she is called בַּת־שׁוּעַ [see BATH-SHUA], which can be interpreted as "daughter is salvation" or the like but more probably reflects scribal dissimilation [from שֶׁבַע to שׁוּעַ]). Daughter of ELIAM (Ammiel in 1 Chr. 3:5) and wife of URIAH the HITTITE, a soldier in DAVID'S army. Attracted by her beauty, David seduced her and had Uriah placed in the forefront of a battle so that he would be killed (2 Sam. 11). David then made Bathsheba his wife. The child of their adultery died, but four other sons sprang from this marriage, the last of whom was SOLOMON (2 Sam. 12:24; 1 Chr. 3:5).

Near the end of David's life, when ADONIJAH claimed succession to the throne, Bathsheba and the prophet NATHAN persuaded David to proclaim Solomon king (1 Ki. 1:5 – 40). Later, Adonijah asked Bathsheba to request of Solomon that he be given ABISHAG for his wife; the request (which indicated pretensions to the throne) was refused, and Adonijah was put to death (1 Ki. 2:13 – 25). Bathsheba plays an ambiguous role in the narrative; we are told nothing about her emotions or intentions through all of these crises. Some scholars have argued that she and David were coconspirators both in the adultery and in political intrigue (cf. R. C. Bailey, *David in Love and War: The Pursuit of Power in 2 Samuel 10 – 12* [1989]). Bathsheba is referred to in Matthew's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST as "Uriah's wife" (Matt. 1:6).

S. BARABAS

Bath-shua bath-shoo'uh (בַּת־שׁוּעַ perhaps "daughter of abundance" or "daughter is salvation"). (1) According to some scholars, Bath-shua was the Canaanite wife of JUDAH who bore him three sons, ER, ONAN, and SHELAH (1 Chr. 2:3; cf. NRSV, NJPS). Others, however, prefer to translate the phrase as "the daughter of Shua" (cf. KJV, NIV; see also Gen 38:2, 12), in which case we do not know her given name. See SHUA #1.

(2) Alternate form of BATHSHEBA (1 Chr. 3:5).

Bath-zacharias bath'zak-uh-ri'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BETH-ZECHARIAH (1 Macc. 6:32 – 33).

battering ram (כַּר *H4119).* An engine of WARFARE used in besieging a city to break down its walls. Essentially it was a stout pole with some kind of metal head. It was suspended in the middle from a framework that rested on four or six wheels. Large wooden towers protected the soldiers who operated it from the stones and arrows that the defenders hurled from the walls. The battering rams of the Egyptians had a metal point shaped like a spearhead. Both the Assyrians and the Romans made much use of the battering ram. Assyrian sculptures give many interesting representations of the various operations of ancient siege procedure.

This Assyrian relief of a battle depicts the use of a battering ram.

It is possible that the battering ram is alluded to in 2 Sam. 20:15, where JOAB and his soldiers are described as building up a mound against the city of ABEL BETH MAACAH and battering its walls to throw it down. The prophet EZEKIEL was instructed by God to make a model of Jerusalem besieged with battering rams (Ezek. 4:2), and the use of battering rams is described as part of the battle plans in the coming siege of Jerusalem (21:22). TYRE was warned that NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the king of BABYLON, would besiege it and break down its walls with battering rams (26:9). See ARMOR, ARMS III.C; WAR.

S. BARABAS

battle. See ARMY; WAR.

battlement. A term used by the KJV to render Hebrew *ma(ăqeh H5111,* which occurs only once (Deut. 22:8; NIV, "parapet"), and by the NRSV to render other words (Cant. 8:9; Zeph. 1:16; 3:6). In addition, the KJV uses it as a (mis)translation of *nĕṭicirc;šôt H5746,* "branches" (Jer. 5:10).

Bavvai bav'i (בַּוַּי *H1002* [not in NIV]). KJV Bavai. Son (or descendant) of Henadad; he was the ruler of one of the half-districts of KEILAH and helped repair the wall of Jerusalem under NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:18). The MT reading, however, is probably a scribal error for *binnûy H1218* (cf. v. 24); see

bay. (1) This term, in its meaning "inward extension of the sea," is used to translate Hebrew *lāšôn H4383* (lit., "tongue") with reference to the N and S ends of the DEAD SEA (Josh. 15:2, 5; 18:19). In the NT it is used once as a rendering of *kolpos G3146* (lit., "bosom") with reference to an inlet on the island of MALTA where PAUL'S ship foundered (Acts 27:39; KJV, "creek"); the site is identified as the traditional Bay of St. Paul, c. 8 mi. NW of the town of Valetta.

(2) In the meaning "reddish-brown," the term *bay* is used by the KJV to describe the fourth group of horses in Zechariah's vision (Zech. 6:3, 7). The Hebrew term here, according to the MT, is *)ămuṣîm,* from *)āmōṣ H600* ("strong"; in v. 3 the NIV has, "all of them powerful," taking the adjective as a description of all four groups). The KJV translators apparently emended the text to read *)ădummîm* (from *)ādōm H137,* "red"). The NRSV, following the lead of the SEPTUAGINT, says "gray" in v. 3; then in v. 7 it translates more generally "steeds."

Bayith. See BAJITH.

bay tree. The *Laurus nobilis,* sometimes called the "bay laurel" or "sweet-bay," is a dark evergreen tree that in Europe grows to a height of 30 ft., but in Palestine may reach 60 ft. The small flowers are greenish-white and the small berries are black. The fragrant leaves are dark green and glossy, and often are used in cooking with fish, like mackerel. The Greeks used the branches as crowns for their heroes. The only biblical reference to a bay tree is in the KJV of Ps. 37:35, where it renders Hebrew *)ezrāḥ H275;* however, this term really means "native" (cf. NIV); the NRSV, following the SEPTUAGINT, emends the whole clause and translates, "towering like a cedar of Lebanon." (See *FFB,* 133 – 34.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

bazaar. This term is used in some English Bibles as a rendering of Hebrew *ḥûṣ H2575* ("the outside") only in 1 Ki. 20:34. According to this passage, a defeated BEN-HADAD allowed King AHAB to set up "market areas" (NIV) in the streets of DAMASCUS.

Bazlith baz'lith. See BAZLUTH.

Bazluth baz'luhth (בַּצְלוּת *H1296* and בַּצְלִית *H1297* [not in NIV], possibly "onion"). Also Bazlith (in Neh. 7:54). Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:52; Neh. 7:54; 1 Esd. 5:31 [KJV, "Basaloth"]).

bdellium. An aromatic gum resin, with a pungent taste, derived from *Commiphora.* It is a mucilaginous exudation of a tree similar to MYRRH, and sometimes found as an adulterant of it, much sought after by the ancients for use in PERFUME. As a true GUM, it is related to sugars and carbohydrates, being soluble in water and insoluble in organic liquids; on heating it decomposes without fusion. The Hebrew term *bĕdōlaḥ H978* occurs twice in the OT (both times rendered "bdellium" by the KJV). According to Num. 11:7, the MANNA had an appearance or color similar to that of bdellium (NIV, "resin"; NRSV, "gum resin"). According to Gen. 2:12, the land of HAVILAH was known for its gold, bdellium (NIV, "aromatic resin"), and onyx; because of the context, however,

some prefer the rendering "pearls" in this verse (cf. NIV mg.; LXX has *anthrax G472,* "coal").

D. R. BOWES

beach. See SHORE.

beads. Term used in the RSV to render *kûmaz H3921* (Num. 31:50; NIV, "necklaces"). This ambiguous Hebrew term occurs in one other passage (Exod. 35:22; RSV, "armlets"; NIV, "ornaments"). The NRSV and NJPS translate "pendants" in both references.

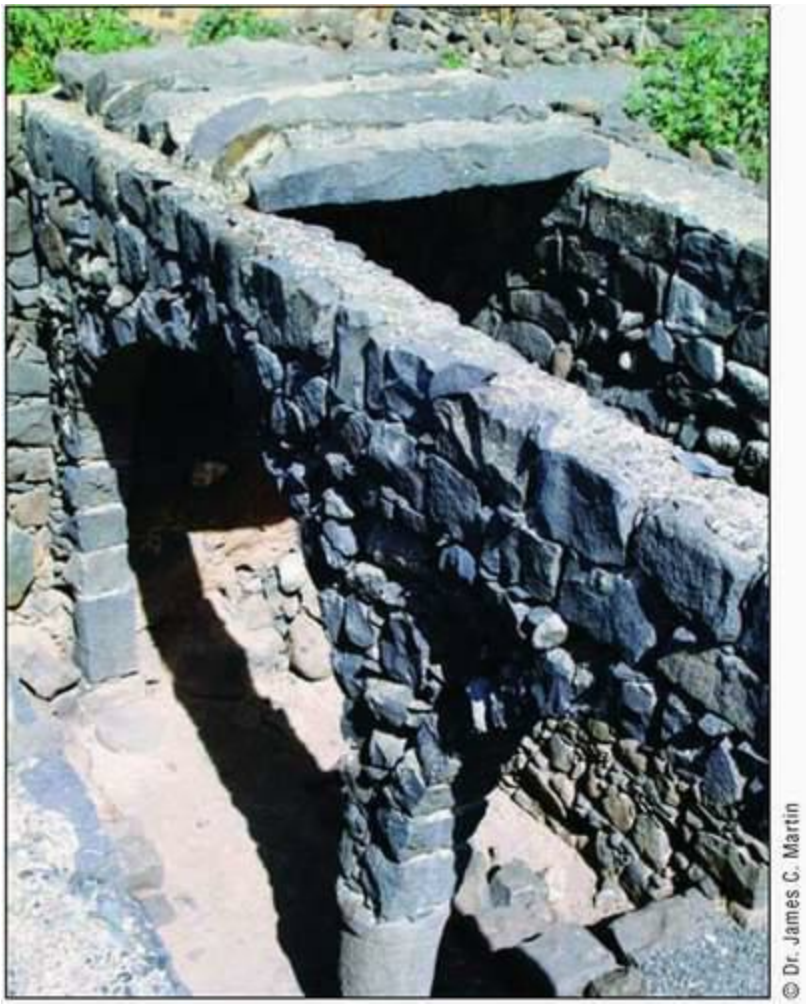
Bealiah bee'uh-li'uh (בְּעַלְיָה *H1270,* "Yahweh is Lord"). One of a score of ambidextrous warriors, kinsmen of SAUL from the tribe of BENJAMIN, who joined DAVID at ZIKLAG in opposition to Saul (1 Chr. 12:5; cf. vv. 1 – 2).

G. G. SWAIM

Bealoth bee'uh-loth (בְּעָלוֹת *H1268,* "ladies" [from בַּעַל *H1251,* "lord"]). (1) A city in the extreme S of the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:24). Its precise location is unknown, but it is sometimes identified with BAALAH and with BAALATH BEER.

(2) A city in the N of Israel, associated with the tribe of ASHER and included in the list of SOLOMON'S administrative districts (1 Ki. 4:16 NRSV). Many scholars understand the Hebrew to mean "in Aloth" (cf. NIV). In either case, however, the location is unknown.

beam. The rendering of several words used in architectural contexts. The principal crossbeams for roof and floor construction appear to be indicated by the term *qôrâ H7771,* translated variously (Gen. 19:8; 2 Ki. 6:2, 5; 2 Chr. 3:7; Cant. 1:17). The common word *ṣēlāʿ H7521* ("rib, side, plank") is used to denote, for example, the principal roof members of Solomon's HALL of Pillars (1 Ki. 7:3). The beams of the TEMPLE *(kĕrutôt H4164,* from *kārat H4162,* "to cut") were hewn timbers cut from the cedars of Lebanon (1 Ki. 6:36; 7:2, 12). Large beams were perhaps meant by *ʿāb H6264,* a term of uncertain meaning referring to the structure above the portal



Basalt crossbeams at Korazin.

of the porch of the temple (1 Ki. 7:6; NIV, "overhanging roof"). The two sources for such large timbers were Lebanon and the environs of Jerusalem (oaks) down to the time of HEROD. The armies of TITUS denuded the neighboring hills surrounding Jerusalem to secure timbers for siege works in A.D. 70. The "beam" mentioned in Matt. 7:3 (KJV) is the Greek word *dokos G1512,* a plank or bearing-beam used in roofs and floors.

H. G. STIGERS

Bean bee'uhn. KJV Apoc. form of BAEAN (1 Macc. 5:4 – 5).

beans. Beans are mentioned twice in the Bible (2 Sam. 17:28; Ezek. 4:9). Botanists agree that the Hebrew term (*pôl H7038)* refers to the broad bean, *Faba vulgaris* (also *Vicia faba).* It is an annual that produces scented, pea-like flowers, followed by long, thick pods. The plants are 3 ft. high and grow quite erect. The beans inside are large, nearly round, and when they ripen, are black or brown. The scent from a field of beans may be smelled by passers-by from about the middle of January to the middle of March. The fragrance travels quite long distances. In Palestine, dried beans are ground into a flour and made into bread. They also can be cooked as a vegetable. Broad beans have been found in the coffins of mummies in Egypt. (See *FFB,* 97.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

bear. The Syrian (brown) bear, *Ursus arctos syriacus,* is the only form that has inhabited Palestine in

recent times. Brown bears were found earlier over much of the temperate northern hemisphere, and some zoologists regard them all as a single species divided into many geographical forms. The Alaskan and Kodiak bears are the giants, weighing up to 1,500 pounds. The Old World forms are the smallest, weighing some 500 pounds. The Syrian bears are paler brown than any other except perhaps the Isabelline bear of the Himalayas. In biblical times they ranged over much of the hilly regions of Palestine, venturing down to the plains occasionally, but being absent from the true desert. The last Palestine bear was killed in Upper Galilee just before World War II, and in Lebanon and Hermon by the armies a few years later. It is still found in N Syria, S Turkey, and NW Persia.

Although carnivorous by classification, brown bears are actually omnivorous and for much of the year they feed on plant material, including roots, fruits, and grass, with ants, bees and their combs, any small animals they may happen upon, and even carrion. In suitable areas they catch fish. Left to themselves bears avoid contact with humans and seldom attack their livestock, but in late winter and spring, after emerging from their partial hibernation, other food may be scarce and it is at such times that bears in Palestine would venture down to lower ground and try to take a lamb from the flocks feeding on the early grass (1 Sam. 17:34; Heb. *dōb H1800)*. Bears have a single litter once a year, often while the mother is still in partial hibernation, and this consists of up to four small cubs. Bears have relatively smaller babies than any other ordinary mammals, and the cubs are never heavier than one pound. For some weeks they are fed while the mother lies up in her den; gradually they begin to follow her around, but they are dependent on her for many months and sometimes stay with her, or perhaps link up again, after the next litter is born.

While accompanied by cubs, the she-bear is much more aggressive than usual. Three different biblical passages, perhaps quoting a proverb, refer to the danger of a bear robbed of her cubs (2 Sam. 17:8; Prov. 17:12; Hos. 13:8). It is possible that the saying refers to taking the cubs alive in order to rear them as performing animals. This practice is ancient but no definite record has been found earlier than about the 4th cent. B.C. The expression "the paw of the bear" (1 Sam. 17:37) is interesting, for it is with the forepaw that the bear usually attacks, dealing a powerful blow that could smash most animals' heads (though in fact the Heb. *yād H3338* could have a wider meaning than "paw"). Even though a person might be killed in such an encounter, the bear would be unlikely to eat the body. Another interesting proverb occurs in Amos 5:19, "It will be as though a man fled from a lion / only to meet a bear," which is the equivalent of "out of the frying pan into the fire." The lone NT reference to a bear is Rev. 13:2 (Gk. *arkos G759),* in a description of the beast John saw: it "resembled a leopard, but had feet like those of a bear and a mouth like that of a lion" (cf. Dan. 7:5). (See FFB, 8 – 9.)

G. S. CANSDALE

Bear, the (constellation). See ASTRONOMY III.

beard. The possession of a beard (Heb. *zāqān H2417)* was a sign of maturity among all the Semitic peoples of the ANE. In most of their languages the word for "elder" (Heb. *zāqēn H2418)* or "grownup" is a cognate of the word meaning "beard" (cf. also the verb *zāqēn H2416,* "to be old"). A less frequent term, *śāpām H8559,* can be translated "upper lip" or "mustache" (e.g., 2 Sam. 19:24). The ancient monuments display many types of bearded figures,

Assyrian archers, all wearing beards. Relief of Sennacherib's capture of Lachish in 701 B.C.

certain styles being characteristic of specific peoples and cultures. So important was this symbol in the formal regalia of high officials that statues and paintings of certain royal women of Egypt show them wearing false beards on state occasions.

The beards of the Israelites were not to be altered along the edges (Lev. 19:27), and the rabbinical comments on this injunction point out that in the Jewish view the beard was the man's glory. The priests were prohibited from clipping the edges of their beards (21:5), while the anointing of the beard was a serious religious act. The SHAVING of the beard was an act of striking and severe contrition, symbolizing a radical alteration in the state of things (e.g., 2 Sam. 10:4 – 5; Isa. 7:20). Greek and Roman civilizations in general did not prefer the beard: men went clean shaven, which only reinforced the Jewish traditions in this regard. Many philosophers, however, took great pride in their beards (cf. Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.2.29; 1.16.9 – 14).

W. WHITE, JR.

beast. Although partially retained from the KJV in modern Bible translations, this word is almost obsolete when used in a general sense, and in this respect it can be compared with the word FOWL. The term is still found in several combinations, such as "beast wagon" (the truck used as living quarters for circus animals on the move) and "beast of burden." Otherwise it is virtually confined to literary and metaphorical usage: a cruel or uncouth man is a "beast" and his behavior "beastly." *Beast* is the older word, derived from Old French, while the newer *animal* was not generally known before the end of the 16th cent. Two frequent words are mostly rendered "beast" in the KJV and other versions: *bĕhēmâ H989* (often also translated CATTLE) and *ḥayyâ H2651* ("living [being]"). In OT usage it is hard to differentiate clearly between these two nouns. The latter has the wider meaning in many contexts (but see Lev. 11:2, "These are the *ḥayyâ* that you shall eat from among all the *bĕhēmâ")*. In the book of Revelation, the Greek term *zōon G2442* is properly rendered "living creature" by most versions (Rev. 4:8 et al.), but "animal" is used elsewhere (e.g., Heb. 13:11). By contrast, the term *thērion G2563* is typically rendered "beast" in Revelation (e.g., Rev. 13:1 – 18). See ANIMAL; FAUNA; LIVING CREATURE.

G. S. CANSDALE

beaten gold. This phrase is a common translation of Hebrew *zāhāb šāḥûṭ (H2298* + pass. ptc. of *šāḥaṭ; H8822,* "to slaughter, beat"), which appears in descriptions of ornamental and military hardware, referring to GOLD inlay and overlay (1 Ki. 10:16 – 17; 2 Chr. 9:15 – 16; NIV, "hammered gold"). Some believe that the participial form comes from a different root and indicates "to be alloyed, mixed" (see discussion in *HALOT,* 4:1459 – 60). Native gold as mined in the ancient world contained many impurities, thus forming natural alloys of gold with silver, copper, iron, tellurium, bismuth, antimony, mercury, and even platinum. The phrase is semantically equivalent to similar ones in Akkadian and Ugaritic. All ancient languages distinguish many types and qualities of gold. See also METALS.

beaten oil. A common translation of the Hebrew phrase *šemen kātît (H9043* + *H4184),* which is rendered "oil from pressed olives" by the NIV (Exod. 29:40 et al.). The term probably refers to OIL obtained from the first pressing of the OLIVES, that is, the best quality, before the addition of water needed to extract the lower grades.

beaten silver. This phrase in some English versions renders Hebrew *kesep měruqqāʿ (H4084* + pual ptc. of *rāqaʿ H8392,* "stamp, hammer out"), which occurs only in Jer. 10:9 (NIV, "hammered silver"). Since ancient times men have known of the unusual malleability of SILVER. Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean area exported thin plates of hammered silver. An important use of these thin leaves of silver was the incrustation of idols. Hebrew writers spoke contemptuously of these idols covered with beaten silver (Isa. 30:22; Hab. 2:19). Some parts of the TABERNACLE court were overlaid with silver (Exod. 38:17), and Prov. 26:23 speaks of earthenware being covered with an impure silver. See also METALS.

T. M. GREGORY

beating. See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

Beatitudes, the bee-at'uh-ty*oo*ds (from the Lat. *beatus,* used in the Vulg. to render μακάριος *G3421,* "blessed, happy," a term that expresses congratulations or praise; cf. Heb. אַשְׁרֵי *H897* [Ps. 1:1 et al.]). At the outset of his public ministry, as Matthew

The so-called Mount of Beatitudes (looking N). On top of the hill, the Church of Beatitudes overlooks an area known as Heptapegon.

records it, the Lord issued that manifesto known as the SERMON ON THE MOUNT. In it he announced the principles that were to govern the citizens of the new spiritual order he had come to inaugurate. To be sure, the KINGDOM OF GOD is a concept that covers a vast ambit, but PAUL'S summary discloses its innermost nature, "For the kingdom of God is not a matter of eating and drinking, but of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom. 14:17). Whatever its eschatological and cosmic dimensions, therefore, that kingdom is the quality of life experienced when by faith in the gospel one submits to the rule of redemptive love.

The opening passage of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3 – 12; cf. Lk. 6:20 – 24) is a series of epigrammatic statements that are at once delineation and demand, the so-called Beatitudes. Positioned at the threshold of Matthew's unique biography, this passage immediately makes clear that a distinctive personality-pattern together with an equally distinctive life-style ought to characterize the DISCIPLES of the MESSIAH, who is also Master, since the indicative here is implicitly an imperative. Several things about these epigrammatic statements require brief comment.

For one thing, though they are expressed in a striking diction that is pithy and poetic, it is no doubt true that parallels to them can be adduced from the OT and the TALMUD (cf. H. Betz, *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount* [1985], 17 – 36). This fact, however, does not detract from the originality of Jesus, even if we view him on a purely human plane. To abstract these insights and cast them into an integrated ideal is evidence of a creativity nothing short of genius.

Second, the much-disputed structure of the passage deserves at least a passing glance. Some scholars have argued that, on the analogy of the Decalogue (see TEN COMMANDMENTS), there are ten beatitudes; others count nine; still others have tried to reduce them to seven. Taken naturally, though, they appear to number eight, with the last one repeated for emphasis and shifting from the third to the second person. Ingenious attempts have been made to show a progressive development of thought, but such attempts smack of artificiality and contrivance. Little may be legitimately asserted, it would seem, except that these beatitudes view Christlike character from varying perspectives, emphasizing the loving RIGHTEOUSNESS that grace produces.

Centering in that theme—the loving righteousness that grace produces—these behavioral principles reveal the attitudes that ideally stamp the disciples as disturbing nonconformists. The passage italicizes the need for grace by highlighting the disciples' own unrighteousness, their insufficiency and failure, their need for ardently pursuing God's righteousness, and their need for actively implementing that righteousness even though they may suffer at the hands of an unrighteous world. To find any tightly articulated structure in the passage, one suspects, is to engage in eisegesis.

Third, one is impressed by the Savior's extraordinary skill in the use of mind-stretching paradox. Taking the beatitudes *ad seriatim,* we note that he talks about wealthy paupers (Matt. 5:3), happy mourners (v. 4), unaggressive conquerors (v. 5), hungry saints (v. 6), self-enriching benefactors (v. 7), realistic visionaries (v. 8), militant pacifists (v. 9), and winning losers (vv. 10 – 12). Thus Christ compels the merely indolent and curious to react with either serious reflection or offended withdrawal. Of course, the paradox is inherent in the nature of God's kingdom, which as Paul Bretcher has pointed out *(The World Upside Down or Right Side Up?* [1964]) inverts the whole scale of secular ambitions and virtues, precisely as Nietzsche perceived when he protested against Christianity's transvaluation of values. In a sinful world, true righteousness stands on its head, despised as weakness, cowardice, and stupidity. In God's kingdom worldly standards are turned topsy-turvy and the divine norms of righteousness are luminously seen in all their Tightness. So, as Bretcher epitomizes the beatitudes, they teach dignity, joy, security, ambition, justice, wisdom, peace, and conformity, all upside down from the perspective of the unrighteous world; and, conversely, right

side up from God's perspective.

Fourth, the Lord offers a radical solution to the age-old problem of the *summum bonum,* the question that since Plato has intrigued philosophers. What is life's supreme good and how does one attain it?

The Church of Beatitudes in Galilee.

How does one become a *beatus possidetis* of whatever may be the highest value? Jesus affirms that the *summum bonum* is a right relationship with God and with others. This right relationship, he declares, brings an experience of beatitude, an abiding happiness independent of circumstances, a deep soul-joy that is a foretaste of the heaven faith foresees. The Lord assures us that, when we are rightly related to God, we share something of God's character and of God's felicity mentioned in Paul's phrase, "the blessed God" (1 Tim. 1:11). With divine authority Christ holds out what is elsewhere never found, the secret of the *summum bonum,* that philosopher's stone which transmutes the dross of simple existence into the gold of beatitude, now and eternally. His obedient disciples are promised in superlative degree that happy life sketched in the first Psalm.

To turn, then, to these remarkable paradoxes, notice first the beatitude attached to and inseparable from POVERTY of spirit (Matt. 5:3). Penury, in and of itself, is plainly no cause for congratulation, though Jesus often identifies himself with the POOR people of his time as over against the rich. Neither is blessing annexed to that spiritlessness indistinguishable from a lack of energy and enthusiasm, a dragging, hangdog depression and dearth of vitality. The poverty of which the Savior speaks is rather a consciousness of spiritual bankruptcy, an overwhelming sense that one is destitute of any claim to righteousness. It is the confession that, apart from God's sheer munificence, one is worthless, without a penny to his credit. The poverty is that of Isa. 66:2b, "This is the one I esteem: / he who is humble and contrite in spirit, / and trembles at my word." It is the exact opposite of that illusory superiority claimed by the Laodicean church, "I am rich; I have acquired wealth and do not need a thing" (Rev. 3:17). Motivated, therefore, to beseech God for the sovereign exercise of his inexhaustible philanthropy (Tit. 3:5), the beggar who admits his spiritual destitution enters here and now into that all-enriching fellowship with the Father that is the deepest happiness of the kingdom.

The second beatitude (Matt. 5:4) likewise has a specifically spiritual rather than an inclusively generalized significance. The MOURNING Jesus mentions is neither the grief of bereavement nor the

sadness of nostalgic memories and forfeited opportunities. It is not the painful regret of the lawbreaker facing condign punishment for his transgression. It is not, in Paul's language, "worldly sorrow"; it is rather a "godly sorrow," which produces "repentance that leads to salvation and leaves no regret" (2 Cor. 7:10). It is the mourning of the guilt-confessing sinner, cognizant of his disobedience and evil, the heinousness of his rebellion against God, and the sheer malignancy of his motives (Lk. 18:13). It is that mourning which unintentionally yet inevitably brings the heartsease of forgiveness, the comfort of RECONCILIATION, as God welcomes the prodigal back to the joy of the Father's home (Lk. 4:18; 15:1 – 24).

The third beatitude (Matt. 5:5) is open to misunderstanding because, a startling paradox, it fuses a commendation of nonaggression with the guarantee that the unassertive individual gains, nevertheless, what the pushy person finally forfeits. On the surface, the Lord may appear to be advocating a spineless cowardice. Actually, however, he is urging that his own courageous example be followed (11:29). MEEKNESS is not a sign of craven weakness. Consider the strength required by the last beatitude: hounded nonconformists, hated even to the point of martyrdom, must possess unwavering conviction, dauntless bravery, and remarkable self-control. Consider, too, the powerful figure of MOSES, that paragon of meekness (Num. 12:3). This trait, therefore, is really that disciplined gentleness central to the concept of the gentleman whose manliness integrates virility and courtesy, harnessed energy and self-secure HUMILITY. Renouncing force, domination, anger, violence, and revenge (Eph. 5:21), the disciple in meekness does not press his own claim nor battle for his own interests. Related to God in submission and dependence, security, and contentment (Matt. 6:25 – 34), he in the end gets the most out of life. While anticipating heaven, he enjoys earth to the full (1 Tim. 6:17; cf. Ps. 37:11).

The fourth beatitude (Matt. 5:6) brings front and center the insatiable longing, the passionate discontent of the Christian who yearns to see God's RIGHTEOUSNESS ruling both in his own life and everywhere around the world as well. His allconsuming ambition is voiced in the prayer, "your kingdom come" (Matt. 6:10). The gnawing desire that human life be marked by conformity to the divine will, a holy love that reflects infinite pity and purity—this is the delectable hunger and delicious thirst which the disciple experiences. At the same time, he experiences the indescribable satisfaction that comes from the sensed reality of God's righteousness, which he already possesses by FAITH. He is satisfied, moreover, by the biblical promise that some day the earth will be filled with God's righteousness as the waters fill the sea. Unsatisfied, yet satisfied, the disciple keeps on longing for the total and triumphant reign of righteousness personally and globally .

The fifth beatitude (Matt. 5:7) assures the Christian that the merciful will obtain MERCY. This principle of reciprocity, "Give, and it will be given to you" (Lk. 6:38)—only with an immeasurably multiplied return when God is the Donor!—emerges again in the petition, "Forgive us our debts, / as we also have forgiven our debtors" (Matt. 6:12). Our Lord, therefore, is reminding his followers that, just as God's FORGIVENESS enables them to practice forgiveness, so God's mercy enables sinners, who are often stony-hearted avengers, to exercise mercy. They trust in a love that self-sacrificially meets the demands of justice and then moves infinitely beyond the confines of courtroom equity. As experiments of mercy, they become agents of mercy. Forgetting their own rights, they do not sternly insist on an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. They do not condescendingly reach down from a superior level to their moral inferiors. The cross prohibits any proud self-righteousness. Liberated from legalism (Matt. 23:23), compassionately and generously, with no expectation of return, NT disciples carry out the OT norm, "To act justly and to love mercy / and to walk humbly with your God" (Mic. 6:8). In exercising mercy, they remain the amazed and grateful recipients of mercy.

The vision of God promised in the sixth beatitude (Matt. 5:8) is conditioned upon PURITY of heart. Since the Lord alludes explicitly to an internal condition, mere physical or liturgical cleanliness does not qualify a person for that face-to-face fellowship with the Father which will be the purest rapture of eternity (1 Cor. 13:12; Rev. 22:4). Evidently with Ps. 24:4 in mind, Jesus is teaching the necessity of an undivided and uncompromising devotion, a singleness and simplicity of purpose, or, as S. Kierkegaard has memorably phrased it, "Purity of heart is to will one thing"—and that one thing, of course, is God's will. (Cf. Gen. 20:5 – 6; Ps. 73:1; 1 Tim. 1:5.) While this uncontaminated motivation, this unwavering fixity of purpose (forgiving and enabling grace always being presupposed) is the *sine qua non* of the beatific vision in the future, it is likewise the source of insight in the present life. Dismissed by the realistic world as an unrealistic daydreamer who hopes for "pie in the sky by and by," the Christian actually has a penetrating perception of reality that the unbelieving realist with all his science and philosophy cannot achieve. He glimpses the workings and purposes of love in nature and history. He beholds God where unbelief detects nothing but impersonal process and human interaction (Heb. 11:27).

The seventh beatitude (Matt. 5:9), even more sharply than the fifth, shows that discipleship is not simply a matter of passive piety, an ascetic cultivation of one's own soul in a sort of monastic isolation from the evil world. The seventh beatitude discloses the social repercussions of discipleship as the citizens of the kingdom energetically battle for PEACE. Blessed with the peace of God, they function as catalysts of forgiveness and agents of reconciliation (Jas. 3:17). In a world of moneymakers, policy-makers, and war-makers, their role is that of peacemakers on every level of life, not excluding the international scene (Heb. 12:14). In playing that role, they encounter misunderstanding

Proposals as to the location of the Beautiful Gate include the eastern golden door entering the Court of Women or perhaps the dark bronzed gate directly behind at the top of the convexed stairs (Nicanor Gate). The back gold arched gate was the only entrance into the temple itself and used exclusively by the priesthood. (Modern reconstruction of 1 st-cent. Jerusalem; view to the W.)

and frustration (Rom. 12:18), but, disowned by a violent world, they are owned as his children by the God of peace (Lk. 10:6; Heb. 13:20).

The concluding beatitude (Matt. 5:10 – 12) is apparently repeated for the sake of emphasis. In repeating it, our Lord rephrases it, shifting from the third to the second person, and thus indicating that

all these beatitudes must be applied to themselves by his disciples. Knowing the world's reaction to the ideal he has been projecting, Jesus now seeks to shatter any illusion that his followers may entertain as to the success which awaits them. By nature, human beings crave acceptance and approval, security and status. The attitudes and actions the Savior has been inculcating might seem to assure, if not hearty commendation, at least shoulder-shrugging toleration. When lived out, this ideal contradicts and challenges the world's cherished ideals, hence the disciples need not expect bouquets and plaudits. On the contrary, they need to be braced for hatred, every imaginable calumny, relentless opposition, and sometimes the fate of those martyred prophets who championed righteousness (1 Cor. 4:13); yet paradox once more looms up. Undeserved affliction is to be a source of rejoicing, exuberant rejoicing. Undeserved affliction will mean that the suffering disciples belong to the spiritual peerage of all past ages (Heb. 11:32, 40). In eternity they can expect a reward commensurate with their sacrifice (2 Cor. 4:8, 18).

"The secret of the Lord," then, precisely as DAVID affirms, is with those believers who accept his kingship and obey his rule (Ps. 25:14 KJV; cf. the entire passage). The secret of beatitude is no esoteric mystery. It is openly proclaimed by Jesus at the outset of this regal manifesto. There is a quality of experience, a kind of life that can be had by trustfully bearing his yoke and humbly becoming a disciple of the Master-Teacher (Matt. 11:29). (For bibliography, see SERMON ON THE MOUNT.)

V. C. GROUNDS

Beatty Papyri. See CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI.

Beautiful Gate (ἡ ὡραία πύλη [θύρα]). A gate of the TEMPLE built by HEROD the Great and renowned for its splendor. This name occurs only in the NT, which mentions it as the place where PETER and JOHN THE APOSTLE healed a lame man (Acts 3:2, 10). Some uncertainty exists concerning the identification of the gate, but the evidence seems to favor the Nicanor Gate, which according to the MISHNAH was made of bronze that "shone like gold" *(m. Middot* 2:3). Judging by an ossuary inscription discovered on the MOUNT OF OLIVES, the gate owed its existence to a Jew from Alexandria named Nicanor. JOSEPHUS apparently refers to it as the Corinthian Gate, which led from the Court of the Gentiles to the Court of the Women; it was made of "Corinthian bronze, and far more valuable than those overlaid with silver plates and set in gold" (*War* 5.5.3 §201). However, the Mishnah places the Nicanor Gate between the Court of the Women and the Court of the Israelites *(m. Middot* 3:6), suggesting that it should be identified with what Josephus (§204) calls "the one beyond the Corinthian Gate," which "faced the gate of the sanctuary" and was larger (reaching a height of about 75 ft.) and "more magnificent, the gold and silver plates being extremely thick."

H. G. ANDERSEN

beauty. A quality that gives pleasure or exalts the spirit.

I. Nature. The Bible does not have an aesthetic doctrine as such. The appreciation of beauty is everywhere in the Scriptures, but beauty for beauty's sake is of no consequence to its writers. One area in which the biblical appreciation of beauty is obvious is the natural realm. Genesis passes judgment on the created universe by declaring that God saw that it was good. The PSALMS especially reveal an appreciation of the beauty of God's handiwork in nature (Pss. 8; 19:1 – 6; 29; 65:9 – 13; 104; 147:8 – 18). It was God who made the springs gush forth in the valleys, the grass to grow for the

cattle, and the moon to make the seasons, who covers the heavens with clouds, determines the numbers of the stars, and so forth.

The Hebrew mind appreciated the beauty of the earth and all of nature. By way of contrast it can be observed that pagan minds, even influenced by Jewish thought, had some reservation about the beauty of nature. The HERMETIC WRITINGS (originating in Egypt about the beginning of the Christian era) were notably influenced by Judaism, but could not fully appreciate the beauty of the natural creation. In the cosmogony of Poimandres (a part of the Hermetic Corpus), there is clearly an echo of Gen. 1, which declares repeatedly that when God looked upon his CREATION he saw that it was good. The Bible spoke of the visible, material creation as good, but Poimandres makes a deliberate correction: it was not the natural universe that was beautiful, but the archetypal universe of which the visible world was only a faint copy. Some of the Hermetists went so far as to declare that the world was a totality of evil, as God was a totality of good.

II. Nation. The homeland of the Jew was especially beautiful. God declared, "How gladly would I treat you like sons / and give you a desirable land, / the most beautiful inheritance of any nation" (Jer. 3:19). The city of God, Jerusalem, was likewise regarded as particularly beautiful: "Is this the city that was called / the perfection of beauty, / the joy of the whole earth?" (Lam. 2:15). The nation was described as the "beautiful flock" (Jer. 13:20 NRSV). The temple was God's beautiful house (Ezra 7:27 RSV).

III. Foreign lands and rulers. The PHARAOH of Egypt was to be likened to the fair branches of the cedar of Lebanon, beautiful in its greatness (Ezek. 31:3, 7, 9). The king of TYRE could be described as "the model of perfection, / full of wisdom and perfect in beauty" (28:12). SAMARIA is described in terms of a fading flower of "glorious beauty" (Isa. 28:1, 4), and EGYPT as "a beautiful heifer" (Jer. 46:20).

IV. Human beauty. People are spoken of in the Bible as being beautiful, and Isaiah and Ezekiel both refer to the use of cosmetics to enhance a person's appearance (Isa. 3:18 – 24; Ezek. 10:9 – 14). Various women are described as beautiful: SARAH, REBEKAH, RACHEL, ABIGAIL, ABISHAG, BATH-SHEBA, and ESTHER. The bride of the Song of Solomon is addressed as the writer's beautiful love (Cant. 4:1). Certain men likewise are referred to as exceedingly fair and handsome: ABSALOM, DANIEL, DAVID, JOSEPH, and JONATHAN.

V. Divine beauty. God is everywhere in the Bible not only the creator of beauty, clothing the lilies of the field with a beauty beyond Solomon's, but he is in his own person the God of GLORY. The manifestation of the glory of God was a frequent description for the presence of God with his people (Exod. 16:7, 10; 24:16 – 17; 40:34; Lev. 9:6, 23; Num. 14:10, 21 – 22; 16:19; 20:6; Deut. 5:24; Josh. 7:19; et al.). Isaiah described God as becoming a beautiful diadem for his people (Isa. 28:5) and the MESSIAH as a beautiful king (33:17). At the same time Isaiah spoke of the coming SERVANT OF THE LORD as having "no beauty or majesty to attract us to him" (53:2). The book of Revelation avoids anthropomorphic representations of God, but there is an undeniable splendor about the description of all that pertains to God. He who sits upon the throne of the universe has "the appearance of jasper and carnelian," and he is encircled by a rainbow that resembles an emerald" (Rev. 4:3). The final estate that God has prepared for his people is likewise glorious. John wrote, "I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride beautifully dressed for her

husband" (Rev. 21:2).

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

Bebai bee'bi (בֵּבַי *H950,* possibly "child"). (1) The ancestor of an Israelite family that returned from the EXILE with EZRA (Ezra 2:11; 8:11; 10:28; Neh. 7:16; 1 Esd. 5:13; 8:37 [KJV, "Babi"]; 9:29).

(2) A leader of the people who affixed his seal to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:15).

(3) A city in the N of Palestine whose inhabitants pursued the fleeing Assyrian forces after the death of HOLOFERNES (Jdt. 15:4 KJV and RSV, but omitted in NRSV, following Codex B). The site, which may be fictitious, has not been identified.

Becher bee'kuhr. See BEKER.

Becorath bi-kor'ath (בְּכוֹרָת *H1138,* "firstborn"). KJV Bechorath; TNIV Bekorath. Son of Aphiah, descendant of BENJAMIN, and ancestor of King SAUL (1 Sam. 9:1). Because the form of the name is feminine, some believe Becorath was the daughter of Aphiah. It is also possible that the name indicated a clan associated with BEKER and BICRI.

Bectileth bek'tuh-leth (Βεκτιλεθ). A plain somewhere between NINEVEH and N CILICIA, but possibly fictitious (Jdt. 2:21). HOLOFERNES is said to have reached it after a march of three days from Nineveh. It is described as being "near the mountain that is to the north of Upper Cilicia." From there Holofernes plundered and ravaged people who lived in the area. The location of Bectileth, if historical, is unknown, though some have identified it with Bactiali (in the PEUTINGER MAP), 21 mi. from ANTIOCH OF SYRIA.

S. BARABAS

bed. Anything used for sleeping, for resting, or in sickness, most often of a movable character. The simplest and most common form of bed in biblical times was a mat of some sort, of cloth or other woven fabric, in the poorer homes laid out at night in a portion of the principal room where the whole family slept (Lk. 11:7, Gk. *koitē G3130).* It was customary for most to sleep in their ordinary garments (Exod. 22:27), with only a coverlet over them if they had more than a cloak. This was often the only cover the poorer class had. The bed was thus easily transported (Prov. 22:27; Heb. *miškāb H5435),* but keeping the cloak overnight as security for debt was forbidden (Exod. 22:27). Sleeping places, as today, were often ranged along the wall (cf. 2 Ki. 20:2). Other places were in the second story of houses (cf. 2 Ki. 1:4; Ps. 132:3), and others had single rooms known as upper chambers (1 Ki. 17:19). ELISHA was provided an upper chamber with a bed *(miṭṭâ H4753),* a table, a stool, and a lamp (2 Ki. 4:10). The furniture indicates a better-than-average standard of living in this household. The houses of the well-to-do were provided with bedrooms (2 Ki. 11:2; cf. 2 Sam. 4:7; Eccl. 10:20).

There is indication that the place of the bed was sometimes a raised portion of the floor on which the sleeping mats were laid. In the daytime these would serve as resting places or as rooms where persons would sit and chat. Later forms of the bed are revealed as wood frames to which was attached a webbing of rope or fabric to support the pallet and covering (cf. 1 Sam. 19:15; 2 Ki. 4:10, 21; Ezek. 23:41; see *ANEP,* 658, 660, 740). The bed of the lame man was this same type, a light wood frame with legs and webbing, easily carried from place to place (Jn. 5:8 – 9; Gk. *krabattos G3187).* It was easily used as a stretcher in the case of the palsied man (Lk. 5:18 – 25; Gk. *klinēine*

G3109).

For the desert-dwelling BEDOUIN or the city dweller in the house, the method of embellishment for the bed spread on the floor or on the raised platform was the profuse addition of layers of carpets: "I have covered my bed / with colored linens from Egypt" (Prov. 7:16). To enhance the wood frames of bedsteads, ivory inlay was utilized (cf. Amos 6:4; this in the days of UZZIAH, 1:1). They were current in the days of HEZEKIAH, for SEN-NACHERIB lists them in the tribute he received from this king *(ANET,* 288). In the days of ESTHER they were ornamented with gold and silver, both plating and inlay (Esth. 1:6).

PTOLEMY of Egypt is reported by JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 12.12.15) to have sent to the high priest Eliezer in Jerusalem ten bedsteads having silver feet. The bed of HOLOFERNES is referred to as having a canopy woven of purple and gold threads and having precious stones worked upon it (Jdt. 10:21). The bed of SOLOMON (Cant. 3:10) was made of the CEDAR of Lebanon, with silver corner posts and with a gold frame. Adjuncts to the bed included the pillow (cf. 1 Sam. 19:12), cushions, some made of silk (Amos 3:12), and covers fashioned of costly materials having embroidered work; and JACOB'S bed had a headpiece (Gen. 47:31). The bedstead of IRON made for OG, king of BASHAN (Deut. 3:1), is remarkable because of size and may actually have been a sarcophagus.

The bed is a place of meditation about God (Ps. 63:6) but is to be forsaken when the business of the Lord presses on a person (132:3). It served also as the place of the revelation of the will of God to DANIEL (e.g., Dan. 2:28) and to SAMUEL (1 Sam. 3:3 – 4). It is also the place where the wicked howl out their vexation against God (Hos. 7:14), rather than pleading for God's grace and mercy. It is seen as the place where the wicked plot against the righteous and against God (Ps. 36:4). The people of God are said to have departed from him when they seek the beds of others in forbidden alliances with foreign powers (Isa. 57:7 – 8). To be cast into a bed in the midst of the slain is to share their fate (Ezek. 32:25). To make one's bed in SHEOL (Job 17:13 – 14) is to describe one's death, and a short bed is an intolerable situation (Isa. 28:20). But in the bed of sickness God is found to be the comforter of the sick (Ps. 41:3).

H. G. STIGERS

Bedad bee'dad (בֶּדַד *H971,* "alone"). Father of King HADAD of EDOM (Gen. 36:35; 1 Chr. 1:46).

Bedan bee'dan (בְּדָן *H979,* derivation uncertain). (1) Son of Ulam and descendant of MANASSEH through MAKIR (1 Chr. 7:17).

(2) A judge in Israel, according to the KJV and Hebrew text of 1 Sam. 12:11, where Bedan is listed along with three prominent judges (JERUB-BAAL, JEPHTHAH, and SAMSON). Since such a leader is nowhere else mentioned, most modern versions of the Bible emend the text to BARAK, following the reading of the SEPTUAGINT and the Peshitta. Some scholars, however, interpret Bedan here as a shortened form of ABDON (Jdg. 12:13). Another suggestion is that Bedan is an alternate name for JEPHTHAH (cf. Y. Zakovitch in *VT* 22 [1972]: 123 – 25).

G. G. SWAIM

Bedeiah bi-dee'yah (בְּדֵיָה *H973,* possibly "branch of Yahweh" or "by the hand of Yahweh"). One of the descendants of Bani who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:35; 1 Esd. 9:34 [KJV, "Pelias"]).

bedouin (from Arab. *badāwī* [pl. *badāwīn],* "dessert dweller"). An Arab belonging to a nomadic tribe. In ANE studies, the term is applied specifically to nonsedentary societies that specialized in camel breeding. Some of these societies acquired considerable power and may accurately be described as "bedouin states," though they usually lasted for only a few generations. One group that evolved into a more permanent statehood was that of the NABATEANS. See NOMAD.

bee. Some five families of hymenopterous insects are called *bees.* All are winged and feed almost entirely on plant nectar and pollen, in return doing much flower fertilization. Most bees are solitary, but the honey bees *(Apis mellifera)* form a highly organized society. The Hebrew term (*dĕbôrâ H1805),* which occurs four times in the OT, probably covered all true bees and also perhaps other similar insects (as is common in English). Two of the four occurrences clearly refer to the honey bee with its swarming habit (Deut. 1:44; Ps. 118:12). Some authorities take the bees in SAMSON'S incident (Jdg.

This figure of a bee, from the Karnak temple in Egypt, was used as a symbol by the pharaohs of the mid-18th dynasty (15th cent. B.C.), such as Thutmose III.

14:8) to be honey bees, but F. E. Zeuner considers them to be another species *(A History of Domesticated Animals* [1963], ch. 27). Another passage (Isa. 7:18) may reflect a Palestinian tradition of calling honey bees by whistling. It is possible that some or all these passages refer to *Aspis mellifera fasciata,* a particularly vicious species (see *FFB,* 10 – 11).

The honey bee was the source of the world's basic sweetening material until the 18th cent. In nonindustrialized countries today, HONEY is still collected in quantity from wild bees, but domestication began early in ancient Egypt and continued throughout biblical times. Some, perhaps much, of the honey used in Palestine was obtained from bees under some control.

G. S. CANSDALE

Beeliada bee'uh-li'uh-duh (בְּעַלְיָדָע *H1269,* "the lord [Baal] knows"). A son of DAVID, born at Jerusalem (1 Chr. 14:7). The name was apparently changed to ELIADA ("God knows," 2 Sam. 5:16; 1 Chr. 3:8) when the term BAAL became distasteful because of its associations with idolatry.

Beelsarus bee-el'suh-ruhs (Βεελσαρος). An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:8; the name apparently corresponds to BILSHAN in the parallels, Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7).

Beeltethmus bee'uhl-teth'muhs. KJV Apoc. form of BELTETHMUS (1 Esd. 2:16, 25).

Beelzebub bee-el'zi-buhb (Βεελζεβούλ *G1015,* derivation uncertain). Also Beelzebul. The traditional spelling *Beelzebub,* which comes from the VULGATE (also attested in the Syriac tradition), links this name with BAAL-ZEBUB, "lord of the flies." Most Greek MSS of the NT, however, spell it *Beelzebul,* and few have *Beezebul.*

In the Gospel of Matthew, the term is used first by Jesus (Matt. 10:25), but evidently because the name had been applied to him by the Jewish leaders. In this passage, the Greek *oikodespotēn G3867,* "lord of the house," would be in Hebrew *baʿal habbayit,* so possibly a play on words was intended by Jesus, who contrasts his true identity with this degrading epithet hurled at him by his enemies. In another context, Jesus is accused of casting out DEMONS by the power of Beelzebub (12:24; according to the parallel, Mk. 3:22, he is accused of being "possessed" by Beelzebub). Here Beelzebub is further defined as the prince of demons, indicating that Jesus himself is regarded as a demon. Jesus answers his accusers by showing the inconsistency of what they say (Matt. 12:25 – 27; Lk. 11:18 – 19). In their minds is the confused picture of SATAN empowering Jesus to cast out Satan's subjects. Jesus asks, "If this is so, then cannot the same accusation be leveled at any of you who cast out demons?" It was a question that undoubtedly caused these accusers of Jesus considerable pause. Then Jesus showed them the seriousness of the charge that they had made against him. To credit to the devil what God has done is BLASPHEMY and gives evidence of a reprobate mind (Matt. 12:28 – 32).

Two problems remain unanswered in respect to the use of the name Beelzebub by the accusers of Jesus. First, is it to be derived from the similar Hebrew name in the OT, Baal-Zebub? If so, Jesus' accusers perhaps simply identified him as under the control of the ancient pagan god who was known by Israel as "the Lord of flies." Or is the name to be derived from the rabbinic verb *zbl,* meaning "to apply manure"? If so, it may be that Jesus' accusers were degrading him by this vile accusation rather than actually identifying him with some personal demon (but see L. Gaston in *TZ* 18 [1962]: 247 – 55). Or, as many think, was the name derived from Hebrew *zĕbul H2292,* meaning "lofty dwelling, heaven"? In this case, the wordplay between "lord of the house" and "lord of the [heavenly] dwelling" is especially apt. Other solutions have been proposed.

The second problem is more briefly stated but equally elusive. Did the term refer to *the* prince of demons and become synonymous with Satan (as would appear from Matt. 12:26 – 27), or did it apply only to a lesser prince in the hierarchy of Satan and the demonic world? Probably the answer to the second lies in the answer to the first. If the term was occasioned only by a play on words, then the identity of the personality is unimportant. If it was a term used in reference to a specific demon or prince of demons, his identity could be significant.

J. B. SCOTT

Beer bee'uhr (בְּאֵר *H932,* "well, cistern"). (1) A stopping place for the wandering Israelites probably N of the River ARNON in MOAB (Num. 21:16). Yahweh provided water there for the people and they brought forth a jubilant song. It was situated in a desert area seemingly not too far from MATTANAH. The BEER ELIM of Isa. 15:8 may be the same place. The site has not been identified.

(2) The place to which JOTHAM fled after declaring the parable in which he denounced his brother ABIMELECH'S violent seizure of power (Jdg. 9:21). The site has not been identified, though one possibility is modern el-Bireh, c. 7 mi. NW of BETH SHAN.

H. G. ANDERSEN

beer (drink). See WINE AND STRONG DRINK.

Beera bee'uh-ruh (בְּאֵרָא *H938,* "well, cistern"). Son of Zophah and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:37). He is listed among the "heads of families, choice men, brave warriors and outstanding leaders" (v. 40).

Beerah bee'uh-ruh (בְּאֵרָה *H939,* "well, cistern"). Son of Baal; he was a leader of the tribe of REUBEN who was taken into exile by TIGLATH-PILESER, king of Assyria (1 Chr. 5:6).

Beer Elim bee'uh-ee'lim (בְּאֵר אֵלִים *H935,* "well of Elim [mighty trees]"). A city of MOAB (Isa. 15:8); perhaps the same as BEER (Num. 21:16).

Beeri bee'uhr-i (בְּאֵרִי *H941,* apparently a gentilic of בְּאֵר *H932,* "well, cistern"). (1) The HITTITE father of JUDITH, one of ESAU'S wives (Gen. 26:34).

(2) The father of the prophet HOSEA (HOS. 1:1).

Beer Lahai Roi bee'uhr-luh-hi'roi (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי *H936,* possibly "the well of the Living One who sees me"). A spring in the desert, by the road to SHUR, between KADESH and BERED (Gen. 16:14, cf. v. 7), where the angel of the Lord appeared to the fleeing Egyptian slave girl HAGAR. Later this NEGEV site was visited by ISAAC (Gen. 24:62; 25:11). According to George Adam Smith *(Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed. [1931], 192 n. 10), Rowlands located the well at ʿAin el-Muweileh, 12 mi. NW of ʿAin Kadis and 50 mi. SW of BEERSHEBA.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beeroth bee'uh-roth (בְּאֵרוֹת *H940,* "wells, cisterns"; gentilic בְּאֵרֹתִי *H943,* "Beerothite"). One of the four cities involved in the Gibeonite treaty (Josh. 9:17; see GIBEON), which this HIVITE confederation deceitfully obtained from JOSHUA (9:7). The city was then incorporated into the tribe of BENJAMIN (18:25; 2 Sam. 4:2). After the EXILE it was repopulated (Ezra 2:25; Neh. 7:29; 1 Esd. 5:19 [KJV, "Beroth"]). BAANAH and RECAB, the two brothers who murdered ISH-BOSHETH while he was sleeping, were sons of a Beerothite named Rimmon (2 Sam. 4:2 – 12; v. 3 comments that the Beerothites had fled to GITTAIM, perhaps because of a Philistine threat or because of SAUL'S persecution of the Gibeonites [cf. 2 Sam. 21:1 – 6]). One of DAVID'S Thirty, the military elite of Israel, came from Beeroth: he was Nahari, JOAB'S armor-bearer (2 Sam. 23:37; 1 Chr. 11:39).

The location of this site is disputed. EUSEBIUS apparently places it about 6.5 mi. (7 Roman mi.) NW of Jerusalem and "under Gibeon" *(Onom.* 48.9 – 10, but Jerome's translation places it N of Jerusalem). The two most likely sites are el-Bireh (8 mi. N of Jerusalem) and Khirbet el-Burj (4.5 mi. NW of Jerusalem). (Cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 175 – 76; S. Yeivin in *IEJ* 21 [1971]: 142 – 44. Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography*

of the Bible [1986], 403, suggests Nabi Samwil, but see GIBEAH #3 and MIZPAH.) See also BEEROTH BENE-JAAKAN.

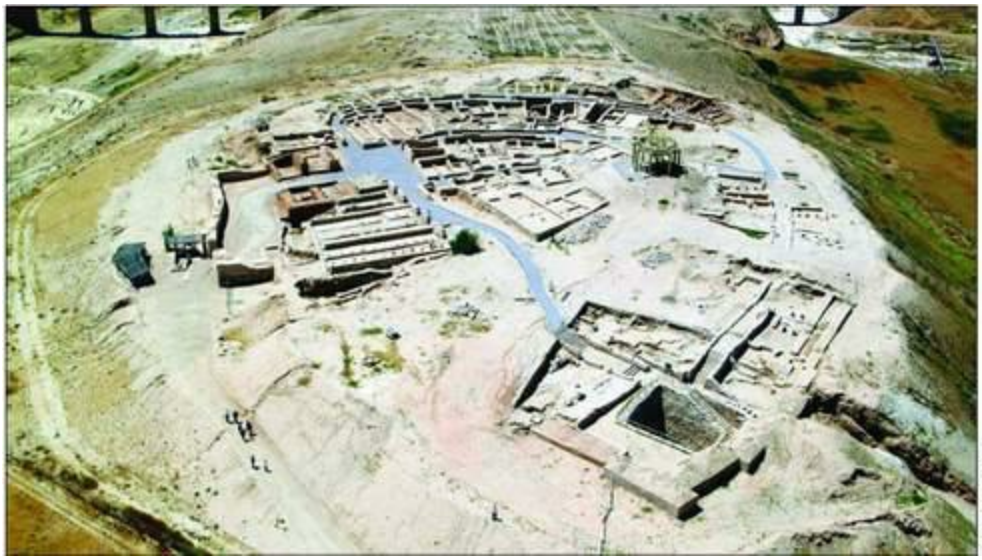
W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beeroth Bene-Jaakan bee'uh-roth-ben'i-jay'uh-kuhn (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי־יַעֲקָן, "the wells of the sons of Jaakan"). One of the stations during the wilderness wanderings of the Israelites, on the way to MOSERAH (where AARON died) and near the border of EDOM (Deut. 10:6 NRSV, NJPS; the KJV renders it "Beeroth of the children of Jaakan," while the NIV has "the wells of the Jaakanites," and the TNIV, "the wells of Bene Jaakan"). The name could apparently be shortened to BENE JAAKAN (Num. 33:31). The site must have been near Mount HOR, but the precise location is unknown; some have suggested modern Birein. See also JAAKAN.

Beerothite bee'uh-ruh-thit. See BEEROTH.

Beersheba bee'uhr-shee'buh (בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע *H937,* "the well of seven" or "the well of swearing"). A town in the Judean NEGEV district. The site of biblical Beersheba has been identified with Tell es-Saba(, located at the juncture of the Wadi Saba(and the Wadi Khelil. Chalcolithic remains have been discovered in numerous small mounds in the immediate vicinity of Beersheba.

While ABRAHAM was residing on the highway connecting SHUR (the famous Egyptian defense line on the E) and KADESH, he enjoyed the status of a sojourner at GERAR (Gen. 20:1). The area of HAGAR'S wanderings is called "the desert of Beersheba" (21:14). ABRAHAM enjoyed water rights in



The ancient site of Beersheba during the period of the kings of Israel. (View to the NW.)

the Beersheba area by agreement with ABIMELECH, the ruler at Gerar (21:22 – 27). We are informed that the treaty involved setting apart seven (*šeba(H8679)* lambs as a witness, and that the "place was called Beersheba, because the two men swore an oath [from *šāba H8678]* there" (21:28 – 31). Soon after his covenant with Abimelech, Abraham planted a tamarisk tree at Beersheba; the religious nature of this act is stressed by the added statement that "there he called upon the name of the LORD, the Eternal God" (21:33). He evidently continued to reside in that region for some time (cf. 22:19).

A similar incident took place in the life of his son, ISAAC. The latter dwelt for a time in Gerar itself (Gen. 26:1 – 16), but the envy of the local inhabitants forced him to move, first to the Valley of Gerar (26:17) and eventually to Beersheba (26:23). Here he also made an agreement with Abimelech (26:23 – 30). That very day the servants of Isaac told him they had dug a well and found water. "He called it Shibah *[šibâ H8683],* and to this day the name of the town has been Beersheba" (vv. 32 – 33). Isaac must have remained in the Beersheba region for a long time; the disputes between his grown sons, JACOB and ESAU, apparently took place there (28:10); but Jacob returned to Canaan only to find his father at HEBRON (35:27).

Beersheba.

Beersheba was allotted to the tribe of SIMEON (Josh. 19:2; 1 Chr. 4:28); but since that tribe had become so closely affiliated with JUDAH (Jdg. 1:3), the towns of Simeon including Beersheba also appear among the towns in the NEGEV district of Judah (Josh. 15:28; cf. vv. 21, 32). In the premonarchial period SAMUEL had stationed his sons there to act as judges (1 Sam. 8:2). From early in the Israelite period Beersheba was reckoned as the southernmost extremity of Israels' territory; cf. the familiar phrase "from Dan to Beersheba" (Jdg. 20:1; 1 Sam. 3:20). These limits also applied to SAUL'S kingdom (2 Sam. 3:10).

The position of Beersheba as capital of the southernmost district in DAVID'S kingdom (2 Sam. 24:2, 15; 1 Chr. 21:2) is evident from the fact that JOAB'S census officials went "to Beersheba in the Negev of Judah" (2 Sam. 24:7). The same was apparently true under SOLOMON (1 Ki. 4:25). When the prophet ELIJAH fled S, his first stop was at "Beersheba in Judah" (19:3). ZIBIAH, wife of AHAZIAH and mother of JOASH, kings of Judah, came from Beersheba (2 Ki. 12:1). Under King JEHOSHAPHAT, Beersheba was apparently still the administrative center of southern Judah (2 Chr. 19:4). The prophet

Amos seems to indicate that a shrine was located there (Amos 5:5; 8:14).

Beersheba was still singled out as the southern extremity of Judean territory during the reigns of HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 30:5) and JOSIAH (2 Ki. 23:8). There was a Judean population at Beersheba in the postexilic period (Neh. 11:27), and Judean occupation extended from "Beersheba to the Valley of Hinnom" (11:30). (See *Beersheba I,* ed. Y. Aharoni [1973], and *Beer-sheba II,* ed. Z. Herzog [1984]; also Y. Aharoni, *Beer-sheba: The Excavation of a Biblical City* [1973]; *NEAEHL,* 1:161 – 73. On the horned altar found in Beersheba, see Y. Aharoni in *BA* 37 [1974]: 2 – 6. On the location of its temple, see Z. Herzog, A. F. Rainey, and S. Moshkovitz in *BASOR* 225 [1977]: 49 – 58.)

A. F. RAINEY

Be Eshtarah bee-esh'tuh-ruh (בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה *H1285,* possibly "house of ASHTORETH"). Also Beeshterah. One of the cities given to the Levite clans descended from GERSHON within the territoty of the half-tribe of MANASSEH on the E side of the Jordan (Josh. 21:27). However, this form may be a scribal mistake or an alternate name for ASHTAROTH (see the parallel passage, 1 Chr. 6:71).

beetle. KJV rendering of ḥ*argōl H3005* (Lev. 11:22). The context of the passage, however, suggests that the word refers to a kind of grasshopper, and modern versions usually render it "cricket." See LOCUST. No identifiable biblical reference can thus be found to the beetle (order *Coleoptera),* which includes nearly half the known kinds of insects, characterized by having the forewings thick and leathery. Palestine does have a wide variety, including the scarab dung beetle sacred to the ancient Egyptians and many species capable of becoming farm pests. No kinds are known to be eaten there, though many are relished, especially in grub form, in parts of Africa and Australia.

G. S. CANSDALE

beg, beggar. Biblical references to begging are scanty. The piel participle of the common Hebrew verb *baqaš H1335* (piel, "to seek") is rendered "begging" in a familiar passage: "I was young and now I am old, / yet I have never seen the righteous forsaken / or their children begging bread" (Ps. 37:25; cf. also Prov. 20:4 KJV); that is, God will certainly supply their needs. Another frequent verb, *šāal H8626* ("to ask"), is clearly used elsewhere of begging: "May his children be wandering beggars" (Ps. 109:10, lit., "his children wandering will wander and ask"). The reducing of the children of the wicked to begging is considered a fitting judgment.

In Lk. 16:3 the unjust steward laments that he may be reduced to the shame of begging *(epaiteō G2050,* lit., "to ask besides," "to ask for more"). The same verb is used in Lk. 18:35 of blind BARTIMAEUS, who "was sitting by the roadside begging." In the parallel passage, Mk. 10:46, most Greek MSS have a different but similar verb, *prosaiteō H4644,* which in nonbiblical Greek is the term more frequently used for "to importune, to ask for alms." Some important early MSS, however, have a different construction, using the cognate noun *prosaitēs G4645,* which specifically means "beggar." Both the verb and the noun are used in Jn. 9:8. The common term *ptōchos G4777* ("poor") may also be rendered "beggar" in the parable of LAZARUS AND DIVES (Lk. 16:20, 22; cf. KJV and NIV). Finally, the noun *eleēmosynē G1797* ("kind deed, alms") occurs in phrases that can be translated "to beg" (Acts 3:2 – 3, 10).

Israel was never without her POOR and afflicted. The POVERTY that seemed to require begging for the sustaining of life was at times occasioned by natural disasters, such as blindness, and also by marauding enemies who stripped the land of its crop. Because widows, orphans, and aliens without land rights were especially apt to suffer under such circumstances, special laws were designed to

protect them (Deut. 10:17 – 19; 24:19 – 22; 28:29; Ps. 68:5 – 6). In some instances the presence of begging testifies to ineffective public relief and limited medical knowledge. The heavy taxation on the land by Rome was also a factor in encouraging poverty and its attendant ills. It must be remembered that plain indolence was sometimes the cause (Prov. 20:4). In later times the concept of giving ALMS as an efficacious act developed, and from a legalistic point of view seemed to vindicate begging as a practice, since it provided opportunity for works of righteousness. Jesus warned against externalism in deeds of charity (Matt. 6:1 – 4). Without question the development of urban centers tended to encourage begging as a profession.

No provision is found in the Mosaic legislation to legalize begging. There is no term in biblical Hebrew to describe the professional beggar. Begging is a part of a curse (Ps. 109:10). Professional beggars were despised by the Jews, and support for them from the general charity fund was prohibited. The Bible does encourage concern and compassion for the poor (Deut. 15:4 – 8). Material prosperity was the blessing of God, and these mercies should be shared with those in need. In spiritual decadence, almsgiving was equated with righteousness. This was a legalistic turn that testifies to the human tendency to pervert the ways of God.

B. C. STARK

beggarly elements. See ELEMENTS.

beginning. See CREATION; ETERNITY.

begotten. The Hebrew and Greek verbs for "beget" (*yālad H3528; gennaō G1164) are* frequent in both the literal sense (Deut. 23:8) and the metaphorical (Job 38:28, referring to the deposit of dew). Modern versions often use phrases such as "become father" to render these verbs. The Hebrew word is used in Ps. 2:7 (quoted in Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5) of God's relationship to the messianic king. Perhaps, in its application to a Davidic king, this was originally divine "adoption" to sonship (if so, cf. Gal. 4:5). When understood prophetically of Christ, the word passes far beyond the adoptionist sense.

In the NT, the literal sense is still common (e.g., Matt. 1:1 – 16), but the metaphorical use is greatly extended. For instance, in 1 Cor. 4:15 an evangelist may be said to have "begotten" his converts to new spiritual life. Corresponding to this use, "begotten" ("born") is the usual word to describe the relation of the believers to God (Jn. 1:13; 1 Pet. 1:3; et al.), so that Christians are regarded as "children" of God (e.g., Jn. 1:12). Christ is the "son" of God in a special sense, but the verb *gennaō* is not used in the NT to describe God's relationship to him. The traditional phrase ONLY BEGOTTEN (Jn. 1:14 et al.) renders the adjective *monogenēs G3666,* which more properly means, "one of a kind, unique, only one" (from *monos G3668,* "only," and *genos G1169* "kind, class"). It probably corresponds to Hebrew *yāḥîd H3495,* which is usually translated *agapetos G28* ("beloved") by the SEPTUAGINT. See also SON OF GOD.

R. A. COLE

beguile. A verb used several times by the KJV where other versions have "deceive" or similar terms. To beguile is to persuade a person that something false or wrong is true or right. The method of enlisting the allegiance of the beguiled person may be so artful in its cunning and charm that he is unaware of the fraud perpetrated upon him until a third party exposes it. EVE knew something was wrong when she disobeyed God, but the beguilement was so successful that not until God's question

and subsequent judgment were voiced did she discern the deceitful intention of SATAN and her sinful compliance (Gen. 3:13). Similar situations are found elsewhere, as when the Midianites beguiled the Israelites into false worship and immorality (Num. 25:18), and when JOSHUA was taken in by the Gibeonites posing as distant travelers (Josh. 9:22). The writers of the NT warn against false teachers who may beguile with fair and flattering words (Rom. 16:18; Col. 2:18; 2 Pet. 2:14; Rev. 2:20), false reports (2 Thess. 2:3), or specious reasoning (Col. 2:4). Twice this warning is reinforced by reference to Eve's enticement (2 Cor. 11:3; 1 Tim. 2:14). See also DECEIT; LIE.

T. M. GREGORY

behavior. See ETHICS.

beheading. The OT records several instances of a man's head being cut off after his death (1 Sam. 17:51; 2 Sam. 4:7, 12; 20:22; in the latter case it is not clear whether the victim was already dead before he was beheaded). The Greek verb for "behead" (*apokephalizō G642)* is used with reference to HEROD Antipas's execution of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Matt. 14:10; Mk. 6:16, 27; Lk. 9:9). A different term *(pekkizō G4284,* lit., "to cut off with an ax") is used in the description of "the souls of those who had been beheaded because of their testimony for Jesus and because of the word of God" (Rev. 20:4).

Behemoth bi-hee'muhth (בְּהֵמוֹת *H990,* pl. of בְּהֵמָה *H989,* "animal, beast"). Often capitalized. This plural form used to designate a single animal occurs only in Job 40:15. Some scholars consider that the plural is used here for intensive effect and that the word refers specifically to the hippopotamus. The hippo was certainly known in biblical times, and there are ancient records of hunting hippopotamuses with harpoons and barbed hooks

Glazed figurine of a hippopotamus from Egypt (c. 1800 B.C.).

Some scholars believe that the term behemoth refers to this fearsome animal.

(Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 1.35.8 – 11). In Egypt its numbers were greatly reduced by the Romans because of the damage done to crops, but it finally disappeared only in the 12th cent. A.D. It had lived

in eastern Mediterranean rivers in the Palaeolithic age, then largely disappeared as the climate became drier and rather cooler, but there is evidence of it in the ORONTES River (Syria) around 1500 B.C. Though called hippopotamus ("river horse"), it is most closely related to the pig, in the even-toed hoofed animals. Technically, therefore, it divides the hoof, but it does not actually chew the cud; however, it has a complex three-chambered stomach to deal with the masses of poorly digestible plant material which it eats. (See *FFB,* 11 – 12.)

Some of the details in the biblical passage, however (particularly the reference to the animal's tail, Job 40:17), make it unlikely that the reference is to the hippopotamus. Alternate suggestions are the CROCODILE and the ELEPHANT, but these are also problematic. The passage is largely figurative, and the only points that seem clear are that it is a powerful aquatic animal (v. 23) and that it eats grass (v. 15). Many believe that both Behemoth and LEVIA-THAN (41:1 et al.) are the names of mythological monsters (see MYTH II; see also *ABD,* 2:228 – 31, s.v. "Dragon and Sea, God's Conflict with"; *DDD,* 165 – 69).

G. S. CANSDALE

Behistun inscription bay'his-t*oo*n'. A trilingual text (Old Persian, Assyrian, and Elamite) in which DARIUS I recounts his genealogy and victories. The modern discovery of this inscription, which was carved on the limestone rock of a precipice above the town of Behistun (modern Bisitun) in Persia, became the key to deciphering the CUNEIFORM script and thus the Akkadian language. The text was edited by L. W. King and R. C. Thompson *(The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great and the Rock of Behistun in Persia* [1907]; cf. the summary in A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* [1948], 116 – 18; *CANE,* 2:1036 – 39.) See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.A; WRITING.

Beirut. See BERYTUS.

Beitin. See BETHEL.

beka, bekah. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IV. E.

Bekaa. See BEQAʿ.

Beker bee'kuhr (בֶּכֶר *H1146,* "young camel"; gentilic בִּכְרִי *H1151,* "Bekerite"). Also Becher. (1) Son of BENJAMIN and grandson of JACOB (Gen. 46:21; 1 Chr. 7:6). This name and also Gera and Rosh are missing in the parallel list (Num. 26:38 – 40), possibly because "they either died childless, or did not leave a sufficient number of children to form independent families" (KD, *Pentateuch,* 1:372). According to some scholars, the "sons of Beker" listed in 1 Chr. 7:8 are really part of the genealogy of ZEBU-LUN, which otherwise is missing in this passage (see discussion in G. N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1 – 9,* AB 12 [2004], 459). See also #2 below.

(2) Son of EPHRAIM and founder of a family called Bekerites (KJV, "Bachrites," Num. 26:35; the LXX omits the reference to Beker and the Bekerites in this verse). Since he is called BERED in the parallel passage (1 Chr. 7:20), some scholars argue that the name Beker here is a scribal error and that it belongs a few verses later in the Benjamite genealogy (Num. 26:38 – 40). If so, this Beker would be the same as #1 above.

Bekorath. TNIV form of BECORATH.

Bel bel' (בֵּל *H1155,* "lord" [cognate of בַּעַל *H1251;* see BAAL]). The Sumerian equivalent of Bel was *En,* a title of ENLIL, the god of wind and storm and one of the original triad of Sumerian deities (see SUMER). With the rise to supremacy of BABYLON, its chief god MARDUK (in OT Merodach) took over the attributes of Enlil, and so was given Bel as an honorific title, which gradually superseded Marduk in ordinary use. In the OT, aside from forming part of proper names, Merodach is found once (Jer. 50:2), but Bel is used elsewhere (Isa. 46:1; Jer. 50:2; 51:44; Ep. Jer. 40) and is a constituent of the name BELSHAZZAR. See also BEL AND THE DRAGON.

H. L. ELLISON

Bela (person) bee'luh (בֶּלַע *H1185,* perhaps "devourer" or "eloquent"; gentilic בֶּלָעִי *H1188).* (1) Son of BEOR and an early king of EDOM; his capital city was Dinhabah, otherwise unknown (Gen. 36:32 – 33; 1 Chr. 1:4 – 44). *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* calls him BALAAM, who was also the son of a certain Beor (Num. 22:5). Rahlfs's *Septuaginta,* following most Greek MSS, has *Balak,* but that is probably a corruption for an original *Bala* (see J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* [1993], 604). Cf. also BELA (PLACE).

(2) Son of BENJAMIN (prob. his firstborn), grandson of JACOB, and eponymous ancestor of the Belaite clan (Gen. 46:21 [KJV, "Belah"]; Num. 26:38 – 40; 1 Chr. 7:6 – 7; 8:1 – 3). The lists of Benjamin's sons display some striking differences; Bela's name is the only one that occurs in all four passages.

(3) Son of Azaz and descendant of REUBEN through JOEL (1 Chr. 5:8).

R. L. ALDEN

Bela (place) bee'luh (בֶּלַע *H1186,* possibly from a root meaning "devour"). Alternate name for ZOAR, one of the five cities that joined forces against KEDORLAOMER (Gen. 14:2, 8); most Greek MSS have the misspelling *Balak,* as in BELA (PERSON) #1.

R. L. ALDEN

Bel and the Dragon. An apocryphal addition to the book of DANIEL, consisting of two distinct but closely related stories that ridicule Babylonian IDOLATRY. It is one of three additions that appear in the Greek and Latin versions of Daniel, though they are not found in the Hebrew canon. The other two are the Song of the Three Young Men (see AZARIAH, PRAYER OF) and SUSANNA. All of these were recognized as canonical by the Council of Trent and were considered by the Roman Catholic Church to be an integral part of the text of Daniel. ORIGEN defended these additions as Scripture and maintained that the Jews had deliberately removed them from their own texts. See APOCRYPHA. (Cf. also M. J. Steussy, *Gardens in Babylon: Narrative and Faith in the Greek Legends of Daniel* [1993]; D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* [1999]; ch. 9; D. A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* [2002], ch. 10.)

Name. In most Greek MSS, which give Theodotion's version (see below), Bel and the Dragon has no distinct title; it comes immediately after the end of the canonical book of Daniel. However, in CODEX ALEXANDRINUS it bears the title "Vision 12," and in Codex 88 (Chigi), where it follows Susanna, it begins with the statement, "From the prophecy of Habakkuk the son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi." In the Vulgate it appears as ch. 14 (Susanna is ch. 13). Protestant versions use the title Bel and

the Dragon, but they separate this material from their canonical books.

Text and versions. The Greek text has been preserved in two basic forms. The SEPTUAGINT text, better referred to as the Old Greek (OG), has survived in only one Greek MS, an 11th-cent. cursive that bears the number 88, better known as Codex Chisianus or Chigi (after the family that owned it). This form has also been preserved in the Syro-Hexaplar, a Syriac version made by Paul of Tella in 617 from Origen's Hexapla. The second form, a translation attributed to Theodotion, is found in the rest of the Greek MSS. The Christian church discarded the OG of Daniel in favor of Theodotion, and because of the former's lack of popularity, it disappeared almost completely. The reason behind the rejection of the OG is not definite, but it is thought that Christians objected to mistranslations and what they considered to be an erroneous understanding of the Hebrew text in such passages as Dan. 9:24 – 27. Theodotion's work is also preserved in the standard Syriac version (Peshitta), as well as in Latin and Aramaic.

Original language. It was the general consensus until about the beginning of the 20th cent. that Bel and the Dragon was written originally in Greek. Scholars argued that no Semitic original of any real authority had been discovered, and Origen, EUSE-BIUS, and JEROME assert that no Hebrew form of this material was known in their time. In spite of these arguments, many scholars believe that the original was composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic. Some argue that Theodotion made use of a Semitic original when he revised the SEPTUAGINT. The large number of Semitisms in the work point to a Hebrew original (see T. W. Davies in *APOT,* 1:652 – 64). J. T. Marshall (in *HDB,* 1:267 – 68) calls attention to the possible confusion of z(p) ("storm wind") and *zp(* ("pitch"), which could occur only with Aramaic. He cites several other similar illustrations, but Davies suggests that Marshall has been led astray by his desire to assimilate the dragon story to the Babylonian creation-myth of MARDUK (Bel) and TIAMAT. M. Gaster made what he considered to be an important discovery of the dragon story in an Aramaic work called the *Chronicles of Yerahmeel,* a work dating to the 10th cent. Gaster believed that it was a part of the original Bel and the Dragon. Davies, however, rejects this view on the basis of insufficient support, and argues in opposition that if there had been an Aramaic original, then we should have learned about this from early Jewish and Christian writers (*APOT,* 1:655 – 56).

Author, place, and date. Nothing is known about the author of Bel and the Dragon. If the original was in Hebrew or Aramaic, then Palestine would be the probable place of origin. If the Greek is original, then the author could have lived anywhere in the E Mediterranean. It is almost certain, in any case, that the work was composed sometime in the 2nd cent. B.C.

Purpose. A casual reading of Bel and the Dragon should convince anyone that the author is casting ridicule on idols and the worship of any heathen god. A second purpose may be to point up Daniel's genius in detective work and chemistry. The chief value of these accounts seems to be to amuse and entertain the reader.

Content: Bel. According to the OG, this material is from the prophecy of Habakkuk, and Daniel is made a priest and companion of the king of Babylon. The text of Theodotion begins with the death of Astyages and the reign of CYRUS the Persian. Daniel is said to be living with the king. There was an idol in Babylon called BEL. A great quantity of food was given each day to this idol, consisting of flour, sheep, and liquid (OG, oil; Theod., wine). The king worshiped this idol and asked Daniel why he did not do likewise. Daniel replied that he worshiped only the Creator God. The king reminded Daniel of the food consumed by Bel. But Daniel countered with the claim that an idol of clay and bronze cannot eat anything. This angered the king, and he called the priests to demand of them, on penalty of death, who ate all the food. They claimed Bel ate it (but they and their families ate it after

entering through a secret door under the table). Daniel offered to prove to the king that Bel did not eat the food. When all had gone out of the temple, the king set the food before the idol, but Daniel had his servants sprinkle ashes over the floor. Then the doors were shut and sealed. In the morning the doors were inspected, then opened. The food was gone. The king rejoiced, but Daniel pointed to the footprints in the ashes. The priests confessed, and they were delivered to Daniel. Bel was destroyed, and according to Theodotion the temple also was destroyed.

Content: the Dragon. A great dragon was worshiped in Babylon. The king asked Daniel about the dragon, whether he considered it also of bronze, since this beast both ate and drank. Daniel asked permission to kill the dragon without the use of sword or staff. Permission received, Daniel made a concoction of pitch, fat, and hair, boiled them together and made cakes. These he fed to the dragon who then burst asunder. The people threatened the king and had Daniel thrown into a den of seven lions. Usually two carcasses (the OG specifies bodies of persons condemned to death) and two sheep (Theod.) were provided for the lions each day. On the sixth day, Habakkuk was brought from Palestine by an angel with food for Daniel. When Daniel had eaten, Habakkuk was returned to his home. The king released Daniel and threw the opposition into the den, where they were immediately devoured.

R. E. HAYDEN

Belemus bel'uh-muhs. KJV Apoc. form of BISHLAM (1 Esd. 2:16).

Belial bee'lee-uhl (בְּלִיַּעַל *H1175,* "worthlessness, wickedness"; Βελιάρ *G1016).* KJV transliteration of a term generally understood to come from two common Hebrew words meaning "without" and "to profit." From the general concept of unprofitableness the thought moved into the realm of moral force, thus the resultant rendering of "wickedness." In the OT uses of the word, there is no indication of a proper name. The TALMUD considers it a compound word meaning "without a yoke," but this view has received little or no acceptance. Others equate it with one who has thrown off the yoke of heaven, hence lawless. Some modern scholars suggest it is a reference to SHEOL ("the place from which none comes up" or "the place that swallows").

Almost always in OT usage this term is joined with others, such as "daughter" (1 Sam. 1:16), "thing" (Deut. 17:4), "man" (1 Sam. 25:25; 2 Sam. 16:7), "witness" (Prov. 19:28), "sons" (Deut. 13:14). The sense is of an extremely ungodly individual (Jdg. 19:22; 1 Sam. 10:27). In modern versions it is usually translated as an adjective, "worthless." Sinners of the worst type are in view when the term is used. In four instances the meaning appears to be that of destruction (Pss. 18:4; 41:8; Nah. 1:11, 15).

In later Jewish writings Belial is employed as a proper name for SATAN or even the Pseudo-Messiah, as in the Jewish apocalyptic books of JUBILEES, ASCENSION OF ISAIAH, and the SIBYLLINE ORACLES. It also occurs frequently in Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), where he is called an "angel of malevolence" (1QM XIII, 11). Some commentators find in Nah. 1:15 a specific use of Belial as an evil power, human or demonic. The SEPTUAGINT renders it as "lawless, lawlessness," but the VULGATE transliterates it in several passages (Deut. 13:14; Jdg. 19:22; 1 Sam. 1:16; 2:12; 10:27; 25:17; 2 Sam. 16:7; Nah. 1:15; in 1 Ki. 21:13 it renders the word with *diabolus).* For some, the word suggests a remnant of mythology relating to the subterranean watery abyss; there is no proof for this beyond the claim itself (see MYTH).

The APOCALYPTIC concept of Belial as a person is carried over into a question by PAUL in 2 Cor. 6:15 (spelled Beliar, a not uncommon substitution of a liquid consonant for another). The apostle is

arguing the incompatibility of the Christian faith with the heathenism experienced by the new Corinthian believers. The new truth does not allow the mingling of disparate concepts or ways of life. In v. 14 the two contrasts are between abstracts, but in v. 15 the argument and questioning move into the realm of the concrete: Christ over against Beliar and a believer contrasted with an unbeliever. Here the conclusion is compelling that Beliar is used of Satan. It has been suggested that "the man of lawlessness" (2 Thess. 2:3) is the equivalent of Belial, but one need not conclude that the person intended is Satan rather than the personal antichrist. (See further *DDD,* 169 – 71.)

C. L. FEINBERG

belief, believer. See FAITH.

bell. See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.A.

bellows. This term renders a Hebrew word that appears only once (Jer. 6:29). It is *mappuaḥ H5135,* a participial substantive from the verb *pûaḥ,* the common Semitic verb "to blow, breathe." A cognate term occurs in the Ugaritic text II AB (No. 4) lines 24 – 25: "Hyn goes up to the bellows, in the hands of Hss [are] the tongs." In the earliest smelting installations of the ANE the furnaces were aligned to take advantage of the prevailing winds to fan the flame and increase the temperature. Small hand bellows of skins with wooden frames were apparently used for making BRONZE and the much harder IRON. The art of metallurgy was passed from the peoples of Anatolia to the Semites of the FERTILE CRESCENT (see METALS AND METALLURGY). The word for "bellows," however, indicates that the tools of the trade were known to the peoples of Syria-Palestine from at least 2000 B.C. The text of Jeremiah contains many such rare words found only in Ugaritic texts outside the Bible.

W. WHITE, JR.

These bellows made of ostrich feathers were used in Egyptian copper smelting furnaces (c. 1300 B.C.).

belly. This term renders several Hebrew words that occur with a variety of meanings. The rare term *gāḥôn H1623* was used of the lower abdomen of serpents and reptiles (Gen. 3:14; Lev. 11:42). In human beings the abdominal region was described as *beṭen H1061* (Jdg. 3:21, 22; Ps. 17:14; Prov.

13:25; et al.), a word that also was used of the womb (e.g., Ps. 22:9; 139:13) or the abdomen (distended in a woman undergoing the "jealousy ordeal," Num. 5:21 – 27). The term *mēʿeh H5055* (only in the plural) had a broad usage and could refer to the intestines (e.g., 2 Sam. 20:10). The last two terms were used figuratively of the locale of the emotions (e.g., Isa. 16:11; Jer. 4:19; Hab. 3:16). In NT Greek the word *koilia G3120* was used of the stomach or intestines (Matt. 12:40; 15:17) or, following the SEPTUAGINT, of the womb (Lk. 1:41 – 44; Jn. 3:4; Gal. 1:15). Metaphorically, it could be used of the HEART (Jn. 7:38). See also BODY.

R. K. HARRISON

Belmaim bel-may'im (Βελμαιμ). KJV Apoc. variant of BALBAIM (Jdt. 7:3).

Belmain bel'mayn (Βελμαιν). A town mentioned in the book of JUDITH (Jdt. 4:4; KJV, "Belmen"). Its location is unknown, unless it should be identified with BALBAIM.

Belmen bel'muhn. KJV Apoc. form of BELMAIN (Jdt. 4:4).

Belnuus bel'n*oo*-uhs. NRSV Apoc. form of BIN-NUI (1 Esd. 9:31; KJV, "Balnuus").

beloved. A term of endearing affection common to both Testaments. The primary Hebrew words are *ʾāhûb* (pass. ptc. of *ʾāhab H170,* "to love") and *yāădîd H3351.* The latter is especially common in the SONG OF SOLOMON, where it is used exclusively by the maiden as a term of respectful endearment to "my beloved" (Cant. 1:13 et al.; NIV, "my lover"). The term occurs in the song of the vineyard (Isa. 5:1), but its most exalted use is that of God's love for his chosen (Deut. 33:12; Ps. 60:5; Jer. 11:15; et al.)

In the NT, "beloved" (*agapētos G28)* is used exclusively in the divine and Christian context of spiritual LOVE. This love is uniquely Christian in its beauty, unity, and endearment. The Greek term appears almost fifty times in the NT, the first few in the Synoptic Gospels, where God identifies his "beloved Son" (e.g., Matt. 3:17; NIV, "my Son, whom I love"). The meaning implies "chosen," an act of will rather than of feeling. PAUL makes use of the term more than thirty times (in all his letters except Galatians and Titus), with reference to believers generally (e.g., Rom. 1:7; NIV, "To all in Rome who are loved by God") and to many individuals specifically named (e.g., Rom. 16:5; NIV, "Greet my dear friend Epenetus"). It appears twelve times in the epistles of John.

G. B. FUNDERBURK

Beloved Disciple. The "disciple whom Jesus loved" is referred to only in the Gospel of John, but never identified by name. He is mentioned in the following passages: Jn. 13:23; 19:26 – 27; 20:2; 21:7, 20, 24. In addition, 18:15 and 19:35 are also usually taken to refer to the Beloved Disciple. The first relates that when Jesus was arrested, there followed him to the courtyard of the palace of ANNAS the apostle PETER and "another disciple," who was known to the high priest and admitted to the inner court (Peter had to stay outside until permission was received for him to enter). The second passage refers to the statement that blood and water came out of Jesus' side: "The man who saw it has given testimony, and his testimony is true. He knows that he tells the truth, and he testifies so that you also may believe." Since the Beloved Disciple is represented as the one "who testifies to these things and who wrote them down" (21:24; cf. vv. 20 – 23), suggesting that he is the (primary) author of this

gospel, and since the Beloved Disciple is shown to have been present at the crucifixion of Jesus (19:26 – 27), it is believed that the references in 18:15 and 19:35 are also to the Beloved Disciple. See JOHN, GOSPEL OF.

Who was the Beloved Disciple? Several views are held: (1) He was not a particular disciple of Jesus, a man of flesh and blood like Peter, but an ideal figure representing any true disciple of Christ. It is, however, difficult to dismiss the vivid references of the Beloved Disciple in this way. Nothing in the narrative suggests that he is not real.

(2) He was LAZARUS, of whom it is said three times in the Gospel of John that Jesus loved him (11:3, 5, 36). In support of this view it is argued that the home of Lazarus was in BETHANY, a suburb of Jerusalem, to which he could easily have taken the mother of Jesus at the request of Jesus. Against the view is the fact that nowhere outside this gospel are Peter and Lazarus as closely associated as Peter and the Beloved Disciple are in John's Gospel.

(3) He was a Jerusalem disciple of Jesus connected with the high priest. The chief reason given for this view is that he appears only in Jerusalem and after the resurrection, and since the Gospel of John centers chiefly on that city and its environs, it is thought unlikely that a Galilean fisherman like John could have been the writer.

(4) Some modern writers speculate that the Beloved Disciple was an otherwise unidentified Christian leader who may or may not have been a true disciple of Jesus, but who became the head of the so-called Johannine Community. After his death, the unknown author of the Gospel of John inserted this figure into the narrative so as to persuade other Christian groups about the validity of this particular movement (cf. *ABD,* 1:658 – 61).

(5) He was JOHN THE APOSTLE. Both internal and external support is given for this view. He must have been one of three apostles who are described in the Gospels as having been particularly close to Jesus—Peter, James, and John. He cannot have been Peter, with whom he is contrasted (Jn. 21:20 – 21), or James, who was martyred early in the apostolic period, long before the Gospel of John was written (Acts 12:2). In the Lukan writings, moreover, Peter and John appear together (Lk. 22:8; Acts 3:1; 8:14), as Peter and the Beloved Disciple do in the fourth gospel.

Most important, if the Beloved Disciple is not John, then John is not mentioned at all in this gospel, which would be very strange indeed. It seems most likely that John is identifying himself indirectly through this figure. According to the constant tradition of the early church, the name of the Beloved Disciple was John. IRENAEUS *(Haer.* 3.1.1), Polycrates (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.31; 5.24), the 2nd-cent. *Acts of John,* and ORIGEN (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 6.25.9) are explicit about it. (For a variety of modern approaches see R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* [1979]; K. Quast, *Peter and the Beloved Disciple: Figures for a Community in Crisis* [1989]; J. H. Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple: Whose Witness Validates the Gospel of John?* [1995]. For a recent defense of the traditional view, see A. J. Köstenberger, *The Gospel of John,* BECNT [2004].)

S. BARABAS

Belshazzar bel-shaz'uhr (בֵּלְאֲשַׁצַּר *H1157* and Aram. בֵּלְשַׁאצַר *H10109,* probably from Babylonian *Bēl-šar-uṣur,* "[the god] BEL has protected the king"). King of BABYLON, known for the writing on the wall that appeared during a great banquet and that predicted his fall (Dan. 5; 7:1; 8:1). Belshazzar was the son of, and coregent with, NABONIDUS (556 – 539 B.C.), who was the Chaldean ruler at the time of the capture of Babylon by DARIUS THE MEDE in 539 B.C.

In the Bible, NEBUCHADNEZZAR is named as the father of Belshazzar (Dan. 5:11, 18); this statement does not contradict the Babylonian texts, since Nabonidus was a descendant in the line of

Nebuchadnezzar and may well have been related to him through his wife. Nabonidus made Belshazzar, "his oldest (son), the firstborn," coregent and commander of the Babylonian army about 550 B.C. while he himself was absent in Teima) (TEMA) in central ARABIA *(ANET,* 313b). If the regnal years of Belshazzar, not otherwise attested, were calculated from this event, then his third year (Dan. 8:1) would fall c. 547 B.C. (cf. G. F. Hasel in *AUSS* 15 [1977]: 153 – 68). Belshazzar ruled in Babylon for at least ten years (cf. *ANET,* 562b) until his father's return there in 542 B.C.

According to one interpretation of the Nabonidus Chronicle *(ANET,* 306b, reads differently), a nameless king died when the city fell to Ugbaru, governor of Gutium and leader of the Persian army, and this king may well be Belshazzar (Dan. 5:30). When DANIEL correctly interpreted the writing on the wall of the palace during a royal feast, Belshazzar proclaimed him third ruler of the kingdom. (See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, PARSIN.) This position can be explained by Belshazzar's own status as second to his father, now returned from Arabia, though such an explanation would imply that Daniel took precedence at the time over the crown prince. (Cf. R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* [1929]; C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *Anatolian Studies* 9 [1958]: 35 – 92; P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556 – 539 B.C.* [1989].)

D. J. WISEMAN

belt. This term is used in modern English versions where the KJV uses "girdle" as a translation of various words in Hebrew (e.g., *ḥăgôr H2512)* and one in Greek *(zōnē G2438)*. Although the term "belt" was common at the time the KJV was produced, the translators may have preferred "girdle" because the article in question was in most cases a strip of cloth or leather intended to confine clothes rather than support them. In some passages "belt" is clearly superior (e.g., 2 Sam. 18:11, where the support for Joab's sword is meant). Moreover, the common modern use of "girdle" to refer specifically to a woman's undergarment makes this term less preferable.

H. L. ELLISON

Belteshazzar bel'ti-shaz'uhr (בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר *H1171,* Aram. also בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר *H10108,* possibly from Babylonian *[Bēl-]balāṭsu-uṣur,* "[may Bel] protect his life"). The Babylonian name given to DANIEL (Dan. 1:7; 10:11; used mostly in the ARAMAIC section of the book, as follows: 2:26; 4:8 – 9, 18 – 19; 5:12). According to 4:8, the name was derived from NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S god (presumably BEL; see also BELSHAZZAR), but many scholars believe that the god's name (prob. MARDUK) was omitted and that this verse reflects folk etymology based on an imprecise vocalization of the Babylonian form.

W. H. MARE

Beltethmus bel-teth'muhs (Βεελτέεμος is the preferred critical reading, but there are several variants, including Βεέλτεθμος). KJV Beeltethmus. An officer of ARTAXERXES in Palestine (1 Esd. 2:16, 25; in Rahlfs, vv. 12, 19; in R. Hanhart, *Esdrae Liber I,* Septuaginta 8/1 [1974], vv. 15, 21). However, in view of the parallel passage (Ezra 4:8 – 9), this name appears to be a transliteration of Rehum's title, which in Aramaic is *bĕʿēl ṭĕʿēm H10116 + H10302* ("lord of the decree," i.e., "commanding officer" [NIV] or "royal deputy" [NRSV]).

bema. See JUDGMENT SEAT.

Ben ben (בֵּן *H1202* [not in NIV] "son"). According to the MT, a Levite musician (1 Chr. 15:18; cf.

KJV). Most modern versions, following the SEPTUAGINT (cf. also the MT, v. 20), omit this name.

Ben- ben (בֵּן *H1201,* "son of"; also in the pl. construct, בְּנֵי in Aram. בַּר *H10120;* cf. בַּת *H1426,* "daughter"). A Hebrew term prefixed to many names or otherwise used to indicate a wide variety of states and relationships: (1) Actual sonship—by far the most frequent usage. (2) The more general relationship of children, both male and female, to parents (Gen. 3:16). (3) The relationship of descendants, however far removed (e.g., "the children of Israel"). (4) The state of youthfulness (Prov. 7:7; NIV, "young men"). (5) Membership in a profession or group, such as "son of a prophet" probably meaning "belonging to a prophetic guild" (Amos 7:14), or "daughter of a foreign god" meaning "an idolatrous woman" (Mal. 2:11). (6) Animal offspring (Job 39:4). (7) The young of plants or plant shoots (Gen. 49:22; lit., "son of fruit," i.e., "fruitful vine"). (8) Nonliving objects, such as "sons of flame" meaning "sparks" (Job 5:7), or "daughter of the eye" as equivalent to the English "apple of the eye" (Ps. 17:8). (9) An outstanding feature or characteristic of a person, animal, or thing, as in "sons of wickedness" meaning "wicked men" (2 Sam. 3:34), or "son of scourgings" meaning "deserving to be beaten" (Deut. 25:2), or "son of fat" meaning "fertile" (Isa. 5:1). (10) Indicating age, as in "a son of five hundred years" meaning "five hundred years old" (Gen. 5:32).

H. G. ANDERSEN

Ben-Abinadab ben'uh-bin'uh-dab' (בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב *H1203,* "son of ABINADAB"). A son-in-law of SOLOMON and one of the twelve district governors who supplied provisions for the king and his household; he was in charge of the territory around the port city of DOR (1 Ki. 4:11; KJV, "The son of Abinadab").

Benaiah bi-nay'yuh (בְּנָיָהוּ *H1226,* "Yahweh has built" or "Yahweh has made [a child]"). A popular name, particularly among the Levites. (1) Son of Jehoiada and commander over the KERETHITES and Pelethites, a special unit from DAVID'S earlier days (2 Sam. 8:18; 20:23). He is described as "a valiant fighter," a native of KABZEEL, who through a number of daring exploits distinguished himself as one of David's mighty warriors and was put in charge of the king's bodyguard (2 Sam. 23:20 – 23; 1 Chr. 11:22 – 25). Benaiah became army commander for the third month and had 24,000 men in his division; he was also placed at the head of the Thirty, which, in rank, followed David's first three of special valor (1 Chr. 27:5 – 6). Benaiah remained loyal to David until the end and did not take part in the usurpation of ADONIJAH (1 Ki. 1:8). Therefore he was chosen, with others, to make arrangements for the proclamation of SOLOMON as king (1:32 – 40). Under the new king, Benaiah replaced JOAB as head of the army (2:35; 4:4) and executed Adonijah (2:25), Joab (2:29), and SHIMEI (2:46).

(2) An Ephraimite warrior from the town of PIRATHON and one of David's Thirty (2 Sam. 23:30; 1 Chr. 11:31). He became army commander for the eleventh month and had 24,000 men in his division (1 Chr. 27:14).

(3) A clan leader in the tribe of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:36). He is listed among those whose families increased greatly during the days of King HEZEKIAH and who dispossessed the Hamites (see HAM) and MEUNITES near GEDOR (vv. 38 – 41).

(4) A Levite appointed to the second order of singers and assigned to play the lyre with others "according to *alamoth"* (1 Chr. 15:18, 20; 16:5). These appointments were made under the most extensive reorganization of the Levitical service ever attempted in the history of the priesthood. By it David accomplished a magnificent service of song coupled with a beautiful liturgy.

(5) One of the priests assigned to blow the trumpets regularly before the ARK OF THE COVENANT (1 Chr. 15:24; 16:6).

(6) Father of Jehoiada; the latter succeeded AHITHOPHEL as royal counselor (1 Chr. 27:34).

(7) Grandfather of Jahaziel and descendant of ASAPH (2 Chr. 20:14); possibly the same as #4 above.

(8) A supervisor under CONANIAH and SHIMEI, who were ordered by King Hezekiah to prepare storerooms in the temple (2 Chr. 31:13).

(9) Father of Pelatiah; the latter was one of the evil leaders of the people in EZEKIEL'S time (Ezek. 11:1, 13).

(10 – 13) Four different Israelites listed among those who had taken foreign wives in the days of EZRA (Ezra 10:25 [= 1 Esd. 9:26; KJV, "Baanias"]; Ezra 10:30, 35, 43 [= 1 Esd. 9:35; KJV, "Banaias"]).

J. J. EDWARDS

Ben-Ammi ben-am'i (בֶּן־עַמִּי *H1214,* possibly "son of my people" or "son of my near kinsman"). Son of LOT by his younger daughter and progenitor of the Ammonites (Gen. 19:38). See AMMON. After the flight from SODOM and the death of Lot's wife, his daughters were panic-stricken over the consequences of recent events for the future of their father and his descendants. In an act of desperation they succeeded, on successive nights, in getting their father drunk, and through incestuous union with him each bore a son. The child born to the older daughter was named MOAB and became the father of the Moabites.

Both the Moabites and the Ammonites remained close to the nation of EDOM in their continuous strife with Israel. It has been therefore suggested that the account appears in the biblical record to show the hatred and contempt Israel had for the two powers. However, the animosity between the rival powers did not arise out of Moab and Ammon's immoral origin, but out of the land disputes stemming from divine grants and international relationships produced by them. Even Yahweh's blessings and judgments have these as their basis (Deut. 2:19; 23:3; 2 Chr. 20:10).

J. J. EDWARDS

Ben-Deker ben-dee'kuhr (בֶּן־דֵּקֶר *H1206,* "son of Deker [piercing]"). One of the twelve district governors who supplied provisions for SOLOMON and the royal household; he was in charge of the second administrative district in the northern part of the SHEPHELAH, roughly the area of southern DAN (1 Ki. 4:9; KJV, "The son of Dekar").

Bene Berak bin'ee-bihr'ak (בְּנֵי־בְרַק *H1222,* "sons of Barak [lightning]"). One of the towns originally allotted to the tribe of DAN (Josh. 19:45; the Danites were unable to occupy the territory, v. 47). It is identified with the modern el-Kheiriyeh, 4.5 mi. E of JOPPA (see *NEAEHL,* 186 – 87). It was one of the Palestinian cities later conquered by SENNACHERIB (*ANET,* 287, "Banai-Barqa").

benediction. A prayer in which divine blessings are invoked or in which there is recognition that such blessings are present. See BLESS. It may involve a personal expression of one's own thankfulness for God's blessings in heart and life (cf. Ps. 103). Sometimes it consists of pronouncing divine blessings on one's children (Gen. 9:26; 27:27 – 29; 48:15 – 16). In the nation of Israel, MOSES calls down God's blessings on the people if they will obey the Lord (Deut. 28:1 – 14). The classic OT benediction is the

This silver amulet from the 7th cent. b.c., one of the earliest biblical inscriptions discovered to date, contains the Priestly Benediction of Num. 6:24 – 26.

Aaronic prayer (Num. 6:24 – 26). The practice of using a benediction in OT public worship is seen elsewhere (Lev. 9:22; Deut. 10:8; 2 Chr. 30:27), from which it is observed that such benedictions were to be given by the Levitical priests in a service of worship and prayer. The physical posture could include a lifting up of hands toward the people (Lev. 9:22). The NT includes some rather full benedictions, with emphasis on the persons of the TRINITY (Rom. 15:13; 2 Cor. 13:14; Heb. 13:20 – 21; Jude 24). Also there are short closing blessings (e.g., 1 Pet. 5:14; 3 Jn. 15).

W. H. MARE

Benedictus ben'uh-dik'toohs (Latin term [from *bene dicere,* "to speak well, kindly"], used to translate Greek εὐλογητός *G2329,* "blessed, praised"). The name given to ZECHARIAH'S thanksgiving hymn at the birth of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Lk. 1:68 – 79), because the first line in the Latin VULGATE reads, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel,* "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel." (Traditionally Matt. 21:9 has been given the Latin title *Benedictus qui venit,* "Blessed is he who comes [in the name of the Lord]."') OT antecedents can be seen in Ps. 105; Mic. 4:4; Mal. 3:10. The *Benedictus* has become part of the Roman mass as a hymn sung immediately after the consecration of the EUCHARIST. In a modified form it also appears in the liturgy of the Church of England. See also MAGNIFICAT. (Cf. S. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning and Significance* [1985], 127 – 42; L. J. Maluf, *The Prophecy of Zechariah: A Study of the Benedictus in the Context of Luke-Acts* [2000].)

D. LAKE

benefactor. This term represents Greek *euergetēs G2309,* "well-doer," which could function as a title sometimes assumed by kings (e.g., PTOLEMY III, 247 – 242 B.C.) and sometimes conferred by them upon outstanding citizens as a reward for some unusual service. The concept was of cultural importance and provides the background for various words in the NT that describe people who qualify for special recognition. (Cf. F. W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* [1982].) However, the specific Greek term occurs only once in the NT. When a dispute arose among the apostles as to which of them was to be regarded as the greatest, Jesus rebuked them, saying that those in authority over the Gentiles were called benefactors, but that the apostles should humbly serve others (Lk. 22:25).

S. BARABAS

Bene Jaakan ben'ee-jay'uh-juhn (בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן *H1223,* "sons of Jaakan"). Also Bene-jaakan. One of the stations during the wilderness wanderings of the Israelites, near the border of EDOM (Num. 33:31 – 32; cf. Deut. 10:6). See also BEEROTH BENE-JAAKAN; JAAKAN.

benevolence. This word occurs once in the KJV as a translation of the Greek term *eunoia G2334* ("goodwill, affection"): "Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence" (1 Cor. 7:3). All early MSS, however, omit this term as well as the accompanying participle *(opheilomenēn,* "owed, due"); instead, they have the noun *opheilē G4051,* which in context is better rendered "marital duty" (NIV) or "conjugal rights" (NRSV).

Ben-Geber ben-gee'buhr (בֶּן־גֵּבֶר *H1205,* "son of Geber [strength]"). One of the twelve district governors who supplied provisions for SOLOMON and the royal household; he was in charge of the sixth district in central TRANSJORDAN, with RAMOTH GILEAD as its capital (1 Ki. 4:13; KJV, "The son of Geber"). This territory, initially part of MANASSEH, was later what remained of David's Aramean conquests. Some scholars hold that GEBER son of Uri (v. 19; LXX v. 18) is a variant of Ben Geber, since both are described as prefects in GILEAD. However, it is possible that Transjordan was divided into two territories; moreover, the SEPTUAGINT (Codex B and the Lucianic recension) may be correct in giving Geber's territory as GAD rather than Gilead. Since five of the twelve named are known only by their patronymic, "son of X," W. F. Albright (in *JPOS* 5 [1925]: 17 – 54) suggested that the redactor had in front of him an old document whose edge was damaged, thus accounting for the absence of the five personal names. R. de Vaux *(Ancient Israel* [1961], 133 – 35), however, points to the administration lists from UGARIT, where the patronymic designation is used alone for certain families.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Ben-Hadad ben-hay'dad (בֶּן־הֲדַד *H1207,* "son of HADAD [thunderer]"). The name of three (according to some scholars, two) kings of ARAM (Syria). A dedicatory stela discovered in 1930 has a relief of the god Melqart and an inscription with the name of a certain Bir-Hadad of Aram; although many have thought that the name is the Aramaic Bar-Hadad, possibly referring to one of the Ben-Hadads mentioned in the Bible, later investigations have raised doubts about this identification (cf. W. T. Pitard in *BASOR* 272 [Nov. 1988]: 3 – 21).

I. Ben-Hadad I. This king is identified as the son of TABRIMMON and grandson of HEZION who ruled in DAMASCUS (1 Ki. 15:18). The kings of Aram had built up a tradition of hostility toward Israel, but Ben-Hadad formed a league (perhaps little more than a friendship pact) with BAASHA king of Israel (909 – 886 B.C.), who had set out to build a fortification against Judah at RAMAH. ASA king of Judah (910 – 869 B.C.), in a move against Baasha, sent all the silver and gold in the treasury of the temple to Ben-Hadad to form an alliance with him and to break his league with Baasha (15:18 – 19; 2 Chr. 16:2 – 3).

Ben-Hadad, seemingly in need of wealth and the enlargement of his kingdom, quickly took advantage of the opportunity and accepted Asa's proposal. The Aramean king sent his commanders against Israel and took from Baasha the cities of IJON, DAN (PLACE), ABEL BETH MAACAH, and all KINNERETH, as well as parts of the tribal territory of NAPHTALI (1 Ki. 15:20; 2 Chr. 16:4). Baasha was forced to stop building Ramah and move his residence to TIRZAH, with Asa removing a large quantity of building material from Ramah. Asa had succeeded in repulsing Baasha, but at a price that brought upon him a rebuke by the prophet Hanani (2 Chr. 16:7 – 10). Ben-Hadad made serious inroads into the territory of the northern kingdom.

II. Ben-Hadad II

A. Identification. The Aramean king mentioned in 1 Ki. 20 and 22, and then in 2 Ki. 6 – 8, is identified by some scholars with the son of Tabrimmon, that is, Ben-Hadad I (cf. W. F. Albright in *BASOR* 87 [Oct. 1942]: 23 – 29; F. F. Bruce, *Israel and the Nations* [1963], 46). However, the activity of the king mentioned in these chapters took place primarily in the days of AHAB king of Israel (874 – 853 B.C.) and JEHOSHAPHAT king of Judah (869 – 848), whereas the reign of Ben-Hadad I must be placed some forty years earlier, around 900. Several scholars (e.g., W. T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* [1987], 114 – 25) argue that the biblical narrative reflects a chronological confusion and that the king in question is the son of HAZAEL (see below, Ben-Hadad III). While the Bible does not give any family relationship for the Ben-Hadad who came against Ahab, it seems better on the evidence of historical backgrounds to treat him as a son of Ben-Hadad I. The annals of SHALMANESER III refer to this king not as Ben-Hadad but as Adad-ʿidri (Hadadezer) of Damascus, who was defeated by the Assyrians on several occasions (cf. *ANET*, 278 – 81).

B. The siege of Samaria. With the aid of thirty-two tributary kings and with horses and chariots, Ben-Hadad II laid siege to SAMARIA (1 Ki. 20:1). During the attack he sent messengers to Ahab demanding the surrender of his gold, silver, wives, and children. When Ahab agreed to meet the demands, Ben-Hadad sent his messengers again demanding the right to search Ahab's dwellings and to take anything he wished. This time the Israelite king refused. Enraged, Ben-Hadad attacked the city (20:2 – 12), whereupon Yahweh sent a prophet to Ahab with instruction to put the battle into the hands of the governors of the districts. He did so and succeeded in routing the Aramean army with heavy losses.

The following year Ben-Hadad attempted to avenge his earlier defeat. At this time he met Israel in the plain, claiming that Israel's gods were gods of the hills. Yahweh, however, offended by the remark, gave the victory to the Israelites (1 Ki. 20:23 – 30). Ben-Hadad fled to his city, from which he sent messengers to Ahab to plead for his life. With the promise that Ben-Hadad would return the

cities his father had taken from Israel and that Ahab would be permitted to erect bazaars in Damascus (as Ben-Hadad had done in Samaria), Ben-Hadad's messengers succeeded in obtaining a covenant from Ahab. This agreement, however, met with divine displeasure. Yahweh's prophet then engaged in a bit of symbolic action in which he bandaged his wounds and took his position beside the road until Ahab came along. He feigned irresponsible action in allowing a prisoner to escape. When Ahab confirmed his guilt, the prophet revealed himself and declared that the real guilt rested upon the king, who had let one escape whom God had devoted to destruction (20:35 – 42).

C. The battle for Ramoth Gilead. As a result of the covenant Ahab made with Ben-Hadad, hostilities ceased for three years. This period of peace, however, was interrupted by Ahab, who, with the aid of Jehoshaphat of Judah, sought to take RAMOTH GILEAD back from the Arameans (1 Ki. 22:1 – 4). The cautious Jehoshaphat insisted upon consulting the prophets concerning the venture, and MICAIAH warned that Ahab would die in the conflict. Despite a disguise to conceal his identity, Ahab was slain in the battle (22:29 – 36).

D. Ben-Hadad and Elisha. The Aramean strife continued even after Ahab's death, but ELISHA seems to have been the chief thorn in Ben-Hadad's flesh. Elisha predicted the moves of the Aramean king, producing such a frustration that he was determined to capture the Hebrew prophet (2 Ki. 6:11 – 14). When Ben-Hadad's army came to take the prophet, the Lord smote the soldiers with blindness and led them to Samaria, where Elisha made them a feast and released them. His action produced a temporary release from the raids Ben-Hadad was conducting against Israel (6:18 – 23). When next Ben-Hadad besieged Samaria, the famine was so great the women were eating their own children. In great anger Israel's king sought to slay Elisha, whom he blamed for the famine (6:32 – 33). The Lord, however, gave Israel victory over Ben-Hadad and relief from the famine.

E. The death of Ben-Hadad. For Syria's conflict with Assyria one must turn to SHALMA-NESER'S annals, since the Bible does not record it. The Assyrian inflicted a series of defeats upon Ben-Hadad, pushing his troops into the ORONES River on the occasion of Ben-Hadad's death. Shalmaneser records that HAZAEL seized the throne and rose against him, but was defeated. The Bible adds that Ben-Hadad dispatched his commander-in-chief to Elisha to inquire if he would recover from his illness. Informed by Elisha that he would be the successor of Ben-Hadad, Hazael took a wet bed-cover and suffocated his king, placing himself upon the throne (2 Ki. 8:7 – 15).

III. Ben-Hadad III. This king was the son of Hazael, the usurper. Although unrelated to Ben-Hadad II, he appropriated the dynastic name.

A. Continued conflict with Israel. Because JEHOAHAZ (819 – 798 B.C.) continued in the evil ways of JEROBOAM I, God permitted Israel to fall into the hand of Ben-Hadad (2 Ki. 13:2 – 3), who reduced Israel to fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and 10,000 footmen. Although relaxed at times, Ben-Hadad's mastery of Israel continued until the days of JOASH, son of Jehoahaz, who defeated Syria three times and recovered the lost cities of Israel (13:24 – 25).

B. Defeat at the hands of the Assyrians. In the days of Jehoahaz, Yahweh gave Israel a savior so that they could escape from the hand of Ben-Hadad (2 Ki. 13:5). This appears to be a reference to the defeats inflicted upon Syria by Adad-nirari III, who came against Damascus with costly attacks

(ANET, 281 – 82). The prophets also treated Ben-Hadad's defeat as a judgment from the Lord (see Amos 1:4 and Jer. 49:27). (See further E. Puech in *RB* 88 [1981]: 544 – 62.)

J. J. EDWARDS

Ben-Hail ben-hay'uhl (בֶּן־חַיִל *H1211,* "son of strength"). One of the princes sent by King JEHOSHAPHAT to teach the law of the Lord in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. 17:7).

Ben-Hanan ben-hay'nuhn (בֶּן־חָנָן *H1212,* "son of grace"). Son of Shimon and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:20).

Ben-Hesed ben-hee'sed (בֶּן־חֶסֶד *H1213,* "son of mercy"). One of the twelve district governors who supplied provisions for SOLOMON and the royal household; he was in charge of the third district, NW of SHECHEM in the western territory of MANASSEH (1 Ki. 4:10; KJV, "The son of Hesed").

Ben Hinnom, Valley of. See HINNOM, VALLEY OF (BEN).

Ben-Hurben-huhr' (בֶּן־חוּר *H1210,* "son of Hur"). One of the twelve district governors who supplied provisions for SOLOMON and the royal household; he was in charge of the first district, the hill country of EPHRAIM (1 Ki. 4:8; KJV, "The son of Hur").

Beninu bi-ni'ny*oo* (בְּנִינוּ *H1231,* possibly "our son"). One of the Levites who affixed their seals to the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:13).

Benjamin ben'juh-muhn (בִּנְיָמִין [also בִּנְיָמִן] *H1228,* "son of the right hand"; gentilic בֶּן־יְמִינִי *H1229,* "Benjamite" or "Benjaminite"). (1) Youngest son of JACOB. After Jacob's meeting with ESAU on the way back to the land of his father, RACHEL gave birth to a son, but she died in childbirth. As she was dying, she named the child Ben-Oni ("son of my sorrow"), but Jacob named him Benjamin (Gen. 35:18). He was a full brother of JOSEPH and half-brother of the other ten sons of Jacob. Because Joseph and Benjamin were sons of the woman for whom Jacob had served fourteen years, they were his favorite sons. During the seven-year famine in Egypt and Palestine, Jacob sent ten of his sons to Egypt to buy grain. Joseph, whom his brothers had sold into Egypt, was in charge of all the Egyptian storehouses and recognized his brothers when they appeared. He sold them grain, but demanded to see their youngest brother before another purchase. Jacob was deeply distressed at this turn of events, but with no other choice he permitted Benjamin to make the journey into Egypt. After a bit of intrigue, Joseph revealed himself to his brethren and was reunited with Benjamin, whereupon Joseph sent for Jacob (45:4—46:7). At the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt, Benjamin is reported to have had ten sons (46:21; puzzling differences appear in the other lists, Num. 26:38 – 40; 1 Chr. 7:6; 8:1 – 2; see comments under AHIRAM, BEKER, and NOHAH). Jacob's blessing suggests that Benjamin was to have a fruitful life (Gen. 49:27). See also BENJAMIN, TRIBE OF.

(2) Son of Bilhan and great-grandson of Benjamin son of Jacob (1 Chr. 7:10).

(3) One of the descendants of Harim who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (Ezra 10:32).

(4) An Israelite who helped repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:23); probably the same

Benjamin as the leader who took part in the dedication of the wall (12:34). He may be the same as (3) above.

J. J. EDWARDS

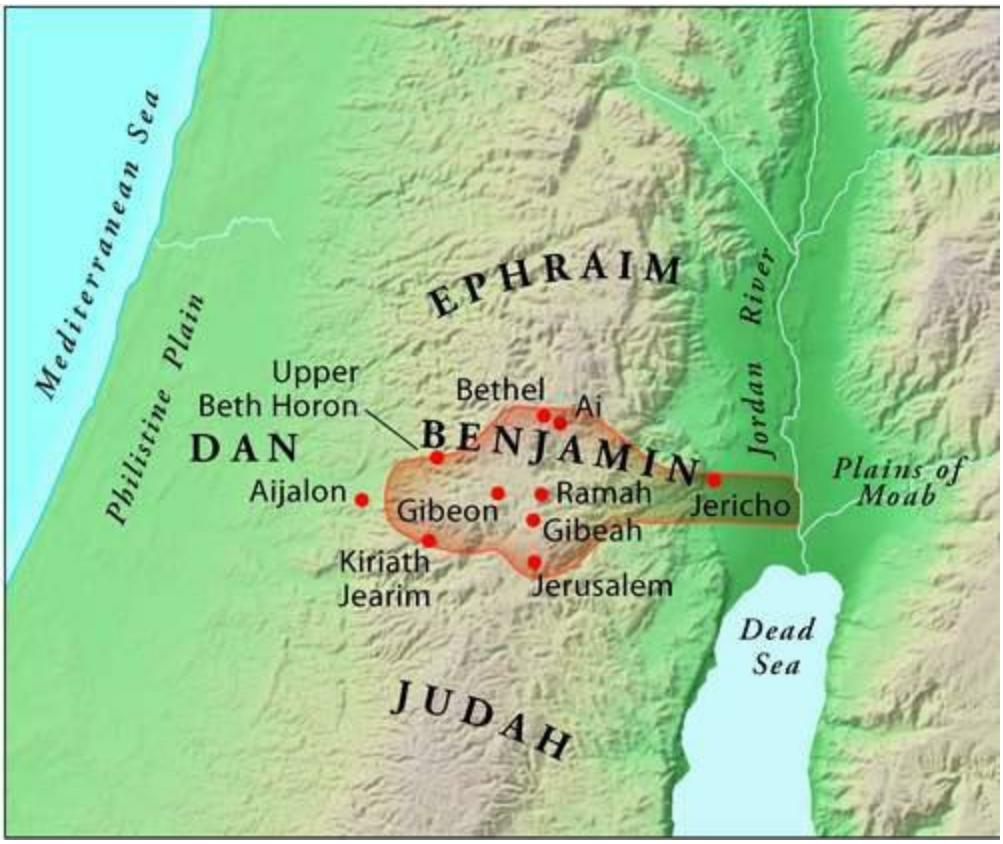
Benjamin, tribe of. The tribe descended from BENJAMIN, the youngest son of Jacob. Some have thought that the origin of the tribe is to be found in the *Binu* (or *Maru) yamina* of the MARI texts (18th cent. B.C.), but that seems, on the whole, to be unlikely. At the time of the first census under MOSES, the able-bodied men available for war from the tribe of Benjamin was given as 35,400 (Num. 1:37); and at the second census, 45,600 (26:41). Benjamin's position was on the W side of the TABERNACLE along with EPHRAIM and MANASSEH, the leader of the tribe at this time being ABIDAN the son of Gideoni (2:22). PALTI son of Raphu served as Benjamin's representative in the team of spies sent into Canaan (13:9). By the time of the division of the Promised Land, leadership of the tribe of Benjamin had fallen to ELIDAD son of Kislon (34:21).

I. Geography. The exact boundary lines of Benjamin's territory are impossible to determine with certainty. The relevant passages are Josh. 15:5 – 11; 16:1 – 3, 5; 18:11 – 13. Generally, it lay between the territory of JUDAH (on the S) and that of the house of JOSEPH. Y. Aharoni *(The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 256, and map on p. 249) describes the southern border as turning NW from the shores of the DEAD SEA, passing S of JERICHO, skirting below JERUSALEM (thus leaving it in Benjamite territory), continuing past KIRIATH JEARIM, descending to BETH SHEMESH, and following the SOREK Valley to the Mediterranean. On the N the border passed from the Jordan to a spring E of Jericho and continued in a northwesterly direction to the region of Upper and Lower BETH HORON.

While the description of Benjamite territory stops there, the description of the area assigned to the house of Joseph gives one more reference point to the W, namely GEZER. The E border was the JORDAN River. However, it must be noticed that other authorities interpret the data in such a way that the W boundary runs more or less due N of Kiriath Jearim, sharing that border with the tribe of DAN. There seems to be no truly satisfactory resolution of the problem of the W boundary Benjamin. of Benjamin. For a list of the many towns contained within Benjamin's territory, including JEBUS (= Jerusalem) and Jericho, see Josh. 18:21 – 27. See also TRIBES, LOCATION OF.

However the question of the W border is settled, Benjamite territory was strategically located for warfare, the main highway from N to S passing through it. The tribe seems to have met the challenge of this position, becoming known for its skillful archers and slingers. A special feature of the Benjamite warriors was that they were completely ambidextrous, being able to handle the sling equally well with either hand (Jdg. 20:16; 1 Chr. 8:40; 12:2). Thus EHUD the Benjamite, Israel's second deliverer in the period of the judges, was remembered for being left-handed (Jdg. 3:15). See JUDGES, PERIOD OF THE.

II. History. Under the judges, the Benjamites participated in various battles, such as that under DEBORAH and BARAK against SISERA (Jdg. 5:14) and the calamitous fight with Israel recorded in Jdg. 20. Israel's first king, SAUL, was a Benjamite, and his appointment enhanced the prestige of the tribe. After the death of Saul, the tribe of Benjamin



Benjamin.

remained faithful to his house. The army commanded by ABNER for ISH-BOSHETH, Saul's son, consisted mainly of Benjamites and was successful in mounting considerable opposition to the appointment of DAVID as king (2 Sam. 2:15 – 17). Benjamin is given special mention as an entity separate from Israel when Abner is negotiating the kingship with David (3:17 – 21).

Benjamites continued their opposition to David even after he had secured the throne for himself. Thus SHIMEI son of Gera, who was of the house of Saul, upon seeing David and his men fleeing from ABSALOM, cursed him, raining dust and stones on his head (2 Sam. 16:5 – 8). The king then understood that if his own son was seeking his life, it was no surprise if the Benjamites should behave in similar fashion (16:11). When David returned to Jerusalem, one SHEBA, a Benjamite, raised a revolt. All except the Judahites followed him, and JOAB pursued him on behalf of David. He was betrayed by a woman of ABEL BETH MAACAH and was slain (20:1 – 22).

At the division of the kingdom, we might have expected Benjamin to join in the revolt against REHOBOAM and secede with the other tribes, leaving Judah alone. Some passages seem to support this possibility (1 Ki. 12:20), while others state explicitly that Benjamin remained with Judah (12:21, 23; 2 Chr. 11:10, 12, 23; 14:8; 15:2, 9; et al.). The prophecy of AHIJAH, who divided his new garment into twelve pieces and gave ten to JEROBOAM with the explanation that he would rule over ten tribes, allows the possibility that Benjamin remained with Judah. Benjamite sympathies might well have been divided, but it seems impossible that Rehoboam could have allowed the tribe to secede with the N. After all, Jerusalem, the royal city, lay within the borders of Benjamin, and to let Benjamin go would render the position of Jerusalem as the capital city untenable. Rehoboam evidently managed to unite Benjamin, or at least a portion of it, together with Judah, so the capital could be held. From this point on, the fortunes of Benjamin are tied up with those of Judah.

Aerial view of the tribal region of Benjamin, including Jerusalem, looking NE toward Jericho.

In the genealogies of the restoration in the OT, in the APOCRYPHA, and in the NT, Benjamin generally is used to indicate personal descent rather than tribal territory (e.g. Neh. 11:4, 7, 31; 2 Macc. 3:4). In ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, Paul reminded the Jews of the Benjamite origin of their first king (Acts 13:21). He also supported his own Jewish credentials by reference to his descent from the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5). In the book of Revelation, the tribe of Benjamin has its place among the tribes from each of which 12,000 servants of God were to be sealed (Rev. 7:8).

H. G. ANDERSEN

Benjamin Gate. One of the city gates of preexilic Jerusalem (Jer. 37:13; 38:7). Since it led to JEREMIAH'S home in ANATHOTH (37:12) but lay opposite the CORNER GATE on the W (Zech. 14:10), it seems to approximate the postexilic MUSTER GATE (Neh. 3:31; KJV, "Miphkad"), at the N end of the city's E wall, now called St. Stephen's Gate. Others suggest the SHEEP GATE (Neh. 3:32), at the E end of the N wall (cf. Ezek. 9:2). It probably corresponds to the Upper Benjamin Gate into the temple (Jer. 20:2), built by King JOTHAM (2 Ki. 15:35; cf. Ezek. 9:2). See JERUSALEM III.A.

J. B. PAYNE

Benjamite ben'juh-mit. See BENJAMIN.

Beno bee'noh (בְּנוֹ *H1217,* "his son"). Son of Jaaziah and descendant of LEVI through MERARI (1 Chr. 24:26 – 27). The text is difficult, and some scholars emend it; others believe it is not a proper name and should rather be translated "his son" (cf. BDB, 122a; NRSV mg.).

G. GIACUMAKIS, JR.

Ben-Oni ben-oh'ni (בֶּן־אוֹנִי *H1204,* "son of my sorrow"). The name RACHEL gave to her son at birth; later JACOB changed it to BENJAMIN (Gen. 35:18).

Ben-Sira ben-si'ruh. See ECCLESIASTICUS.

Ben-Zoheth ben-zoh'heth (בֶּן־זוֹחֵת *H1209,* "son of Zoheth"). Son (or descendant) of Ishi, included in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:20).

Beon bee'on (בְּעֹן *H1274).* A town in TRANSJORDAN within the tribal territory of REUBEN (Num. 32:1), probably to be identified with BAAL MEON.

Beor bee'or (בְּעוֹר *H1242,* possibly "burning"; Βεώρ *G1027).* (1) Father of BELA; the latter was an Edomite king before Israel became a monarchy (Gen. 36:32; 1 Chr. 1:43).

(2) Father of the seer BALAAM, who was summoned by BALAK to curse Israel (Num. 22:5; 24:3, 15; 31:8; Deut. 23:4; Josh. 13:22; 24:9; Mic. 6:5; 2 Pet. 2:15 [variant BOSOR]).

Beqa(bi-kah'. Also Baqaa, Bekaa. A fertile plain that divides the LEBANON and ANTILEBANON ranges N of the Jordan Valley (see *NEAEHL,* 1:144 – 47). The name does not occur in the Bible, but the region is referred to as the Valley of Lebanon (Josh. 11:17; 12:7).

Bera (בֶּרַע *H1396,* derivation uncertain). The king of SODOM who, with four allies, rebelled against KEDORLAOMER (Gen. 14:2; cf. vv. 8, 10 – 11, 17, 22). The *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan* interprets the name as composed of the preposition *bĕ- H928,* "in," and the noun *ra(H8273,* "evil."

Beracah ber'uh-kuh (בְּרָכָה *H1389,* "blessing"). KJV Berachah; TNIV Berakah. One of the ambidextrous Benjamite warriors, kinsmen of SAUL, who joined DAVID at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:3; cf. v. 2).

Beracah, Valley of (עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה *H6677* + *H1389,* "valley of blessing"). KJV Berachah; TNIV Berakah. An area in the Judean wilderness near TEKOA where King JEHOSHAPHAT and the men of Judah celebrated their victory against a Transjordanian coalition (2 Chr. 20:26). The precise identification is uncertain, but most scholars locate it between BETHLEHEM and HEBRON, possibly at Wadi el-Arrub.

Berachiah ber'uh-ki'uh. See BEREKIAH.

Beraiah bi-ray'yuh (בְּרִאיָה *H1349,* "Yahweh has created"). Son of Shimei and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:21).

Berakah. See BERACAH.

Berea bi-ree'uh (Βέροια *G1023).* Also Beroea. (1) A small city in SW MACEDONIA, dating probably from the 5th cent. B.C. It was situated in the foothills to the S of the Macedonian plain, and its scenic view made it a desirable town. Though of no particular political or historical consequence, Berea became in NT times one of the most populous centers of Macedonia. The great Egnatian Way (see VIA EGNATIA), bearing the E-W traffic between ITALY and ASIA MINOR, passed it by some miles to the N.

Here PAUL and his party found refuge after the stormy events in THESSALONICA (Acts 17:10 – 15; 20:4). They left the hostile city at night. The main road led to Edessa. Paul branched S and came to Berea on the eastern slope of the Olympus range (a few ancient remains mark the place where a

pleasant little city stood). It was a long night's journey to this place of refuge, but it was safe for the time being. The Jewish community was open-minded and prepared to listen and study, uncorrupted by the influences that had stirred the Jews of Thessalonica. Certainly the hostility of the latter city only overtook Paul after he had made good progress in Berea (Acts 17:11 – 13), gaining adherents in particular among the socially eminent Greek women.

Oddly enough, Cicero, in a fervent speech, describes how the Roman governor Piso was so unpopular that he found it wise to slink into Thessalonica by night and then to withdraw from the storm of complaints to this very town of Berea. It was "off the beaten track" (*oppidum devium),* says Cicero *(Pis.* 36). As seclusion hid the Roman magistrate, so, briefly, it protected Paul and SILAS more than a century later. There they met the benediction of understanding, of sincerity, and desire to hear, until the foe again picked up the trail, as indeed they also picked up the trail of the Roman magistrate. It is curious to find the saint and the sinner in circumstances so parallel.

(2) The Hellenistic city in northern Syria where ANTIOCHUS V ordered MENELAUS to be killed (2 Macc. 13:4). This city is now known as ALEPPO, derived from its original Semitic name.

(3) A site near Jerusalem where a very large Syrian force encamped just before the battle in which Judas MACCABEE died (1 Macc. 9:4; *Berea).* This town is possibly to be identified with BEEROTH.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Berechiah ber'uh-ki'uh. See BEREKIAH.

Bered (person) bihr'ed (בֶּרֶד *H1355,* possibly "coolness"). Apparently son of SHUTHELAH and grandson of EPHRAIM (1 Chr. 7:20), but the text is difficult, especially when compared with the alternate Ephraimite genealogy (Num. 26:35). Some believe the name should be emended to *Beker* (cf. Syriac), that is, Ephraim's son; however, see BEKER #2.

Bered (place) bihr'ed (בֶּרֶד *H1354,* possibly "cool [well]"). A place in the NEGEV near KADESH (Gen. 16:14). HAGAR stopped in this area with her son ISHMAEL when they were met by the angel of the Lord at the well called BEER LAHAI ROI. George Adam Smith *(HGHL,* 192 n. 10) notes that the *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan* refers to Bered as Ḥaluṣa, which is probably Khirbet Khalasah, more than 30 mi. NE of Kadesh and about 13 mi. SW of BEERSHEBA. Others, however, identify it with Jebel umm el-Bared, which is SE of Kadesh (cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 217).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Berekiah ber'uh-ki'uh (בְּרַכְיָה *H1392* and בְּרַכְיָהוּ *H1393* [1 Chr. 6:39; 15:17; 28:12; Zech. 1:7], "Yahweh has blessed"; Βαραχίας *G974).* Also Berechiah (OT), Berachiah (KJV 1 Chr. 6:39), Barachiah (NT), Barachias (KJV NT). (1) Son of ZERUBBABEL and descendant of DAVID through SOLOMON (1 Chr. 3:20), possibly born in Palestine (see HASHUBAH).

(2) Father of ASAPH the musician (1 Chr. 6:39; 15:17). Some scholars claim that there are anachronisms in these passages and that this Berekiah should be identified with #3 and #4 below.

(3) Son of a certain Asa; he was a Levite who returned to Judah from Babylon and settled among the Netophathites (1 Chr. 9:16; see NETOPHAH).

(4) A doorkeeper for the ARK OF THE COVENANT at the time of David's restructuring of the

Levitical service (1 Chr. 15:23). Possibly the same as #2 above.

(5) Son of Meshillemoth; he was one of the leaders in Ephraim who opposed the bringing of captives from their countrymen in Judah into Samaria in the days of AHAZ (2 Chr. 28:12). Berekiah and several others argued that such an action would bring guilt upon Israel and intensify Yahweh's fierce anger against them.

(6) Son of Meshezabel and father of MESHUL-LAM; the latter was one of the priests that helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem under NEHEMIAH, and whose daughter married TOBIAH'S son, Jehohanan (Neh. 3:4, 30; 6:18).

(7) Son of IDDO and father of the prophet ZECHARIAH (Zech. 1:1, 7; Matt. 23:35).

J. J. EDWARDS

Berenice buhr-uh-nees'. See BERNICE.

Beri bihr'i (בֵּרִי *H1373,* perhaps a gentilic of בְּאֵר *H932,* "well, cistern"; cf. BEERI). Son of Zophah and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:36). The name is not mentioned in the parallel genealogies (Gen. 46:17 – 18; Num. 26:44 – 47), and some scholars emend the text. Beri has no connection with the BERIITE clan (Num. 26:44) or with the BERITES (2 Sam. 20:14).

Beriah bi-ri'uh (בְּרִיעָה *H1380,* possibly "prominent" [but see #2 below]). (1) Son of ASHER and father of Heber and Malkiel; ancestral head of the BERIITE clan (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:44; 1 Chr. 7:30 – 31).

(2) Son of EPHRAIM, who gave him the name Beriah "because there had been misfortune in his family" (1 Chr. 7:23; apparently a play on Heb. *rāʿâ H8288,* "evil"). Other sons of Ephraim had been put to death by the people of GATH (vv. 21 – 22).

(3) Son of ELPAAL and descendant of BENJAMIN; he and his brother SHEMA, heads of families in AIJALON, put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr. 8:13, 16).

(4) Son of SHIMEI and descendant of LEVI through GERSHON; both he and his brother Jeush had few sons, "so they were counted as one family with one assignment" among the Levites (1 Chr. 23:10 – 11).

S. BARABAS

Beriite bi-ri*'i*t (בְּרִיעִי *H1381,* gentilic of בְּרִיעָה *H1380).* An Asherite clan (Num. 26:44). See BERIAH #1.

Berites bihr'its (בֵּרִים *H1379,* derivation uncertain). Apparently an Israelite clan that joined SHEBA in his rebellion against DAVID (2 Sam. 20:14). Many scholars, however, believe the name is a scribal error and read "Bichrites" (cf. NRSV). See BICRI.

Berith bi-rith'. See EL-BERITH; see also COVENANT.

Bernice buhr-nees' (Βερνίκη *G1022,* "bringer of victory"). Also Berenice. Daughter of Herod Agrippa I (see HEROD VII). This Herodian princess, born in A.D. 28, makes a brief appearance in the NT in the story of PAUL'S examination before FESTUS at CAESAREA (Acts 25:13 – 27). She was

visiting the Roman garrison town with her able brother, Agrippa II (see HEROD VIII). Bernice was married as a child of thirteen years to Marcus, son of Tiberius Julius Alexander, the Arabarch. Upon his death, she was given in marriage to her uncle Herod, a brother of Agrippa I who was king of Calchis; there were two sons of this marriage, Berniceanus and Hyrcanus (Jos. Ant. 19.5.1 §277; *War* 2.11.6 §221). After her husband's death in A.D. 48, Bernice returned home to share the household of her brother Agrippa II, with whom she appears to have shared warm friendship and mental fellowship. Rumor, inevitably, constructed from this situation a story of incestuous union (cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.155 – 60), for which there is no real evidence. To meet the scandal, however, Bernice married another petty monarch, Polemon II of Olba in Cilicia (about A.D. 65), but the union did not last long.

Where Bernice most notably appears in the pages of history is in the account of the heroic and self-sacrificing endeavor, which she shared with her brother, to prevent the outbreak of the great rebellion of A.D. 66. She confronted the mad procurator, Gessius Florus, at peril of her life. TACITUS *(Hist.* 2.81) mentions her canny cultivation of the favor and goodwill of VESPASIAN during the war. She was then, says the historian, "in the bloom of her youth and beauty," in spite of her forty-one years. TITUS became Bernice's lover during the same years of war, when Agrippa and Bernice sought asylum in Caesarea, and he appears to have taken her to Rome, sending her away, no doubt for political reasons, in A.D. 70 (Suetonius, *Titus* 7.2). The historian laconically reports that this action was "invitus, invitam" ("against his wish, against her wish"); it took place two years before Titus's death, at a time when he was seeking to rebuild the image of Vespasian. With this the princess disappears from history.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Berodach-baladan buh-roh'dak-bal'uh-duhn. See MERODACH-BALADAN.

Beroea. See BEREA.

Beroth bihr'oth. KJV Apoc. form of BEEROTH (1 Esd. 5:19).

Berothah bi-roh'thuh (בְּרוֹתָה *H1363,* perhaps "well"; cf. BEEROTH). In Ezekiel's vision, Berothah is one of the places marking the N boundary of Israel, near the border between DAMASCUS and HAMATH (Ezek. 47:16). This city was once thought to be the site of modern Beirut (which lies on the coast), but the more likely identification is with Bereitan, about 30 mi. NW of Damascus. It is probably the same as BEROTHAI.

Berothai bi-roh'thi (בְּרֹתַי *H1408,* possibly "my well"). A city belonging to the Aramean king HADADEZER and from which DAVID took a great quantity of bronze (2 Sam. 8:8). The parallel passage reads CUN (1 Chr. 18:8), but that is probably a different place. Most scholars identify Berothai with BEROTHAH.

Berothite bihr'uh-thit. KJV form of Beerothite; see BEEROTH.

berries. Term used in some English versions to translate Hebrew *gargar H1737,* referring to the fruit of the OLIVE tree (Isa. 17:6). The KJV also uses the phrase "olive berries" to render Greek *elaia G1777* (Jas. 3:12). In both of these passages, the NIV translates simply, "olives."

beryl. A mineral that is commonly pale green, but may be deep green, blue yellow, brown pink, or white. Certain varieties have long been used as gem stones. EMERALD is emerald-green to deep green, aquamarine, pale blue-green, heliodor yellow, and morganite pink. The oriental emerald of jewelry is emerald-colored SAPPHIRE. The term *beryl* is applied to the coarse kinds, which on account of their opacity are unfit for jewelry. It is a beryllium aluminum silicate. Crystals are common, often of large size (up to 5 mm. in length and 1 mm. in diameter) and are of prismatic habit, being made up of the hexagonal prism, terminated by the basal plane, sometimes with hexagonal pyramid forms and often striated vertically.

In antiquity the term CHRYSOLITE, a transparent yellow or green gem stone, was applied to various gems, including beryl, while CHRYSOPRASE, another ancient name for a golden-green precious stone, is now generally believed to have been a variety of beryl. Beryl is most commonly found in granitic rocks (either in lining cavities or in pegmatite veins). The gem varieties come mainly from Colombia, where the beryl occurs in a bituminous limestone, but common beryl is widely distributed in India, Australia, U.S., and other places.

The English term is derived from Greek *bēryllos G1039,* which occurs once in the NT (Rev. 21:20). In the OT, the translation of the relevant Hebrew terms is uncertain. The NIV uses "beryl" to render *bāreqet H1403* (Exod. 28:17; Ezek. 28:13). The NRSV and NJPS translate with "emerald" in the Exodus passage but with "beryl" in Ezekiel; these two versions also use "beryl" as the rendering of *taršîš H9577* (e.g., Exod. 28:20, where the NIV has "chrysolite"). See also JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

D. R. BOWES

Berytus (Βηρυτός). Known in modern times as Beirut (Lebanon), Berytus was in antiquity one of the great ports of PHOENICIA, rivaling Byblos (see GEBAL) to the N and TYRE and SIDON to the S. Berytus finds no mention in the OT (it is not to be identified with BEROTHAH or BEROTHAI), but it is cited in Egyptian records as early as a 15th-cent. list of THUTMOSE III, where it is called Beeroth (see *ANET,* 242). It is also mentioned in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters of about 1400 B.C., when Berytus, important to Egypt as a cedar port and maritime outpost against the HITTITES, was firmly in the hands of an Egyptian vassal named ʿAmmuniri. This local chief, at any rate, gave asylum to one Rib-Addi of Byblos, a pro-Egyptian leader who was driven out of the northern town (cf. *ANET,* 483 n. 1). Berytus functioned as a trading port through the imperial centuries of Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and the Seleucid period. It played no notable part in history comparable to that of the royal Phoenician ports of Tyre and Sidon, except that the city was taken and destroyed by TRYPHO in his struggle for the Seleucid throne in 140 B.C. AUGUSTUS'S lieutenant, Marcus Agrippa, occupied the port in 15 B.C. and made it a military colony, and Berytus from this point made a few appearances in history.

HEROD the Great adorned Berytus and here held the dramatic assize before which he arraigned and sentenced his two sons (Jos. *Ant.* 16.11.2 §361). Agrippa I and Agrippa II (see HEROD VII and VIII) presented theaters to the city, and in Berytus, according to JOSEPHUS (*War* 7.3.1 §39), TITUS celebrated the fall of Jerusalem and VESPASIAN'S birthday with games. This was appropriate, for the forces of the eastern armies that raised Vespasian to the principate in A.D. 69 had gathered and conferred at Berytus (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.81). The city became famous in imperial times as a center of learning, especially in the field of legal studies. Its ancient history was virtually ended by the disastrous earthquake of A.D. 521.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Berzelus buhr-zee'luhs. KJV Apoc. form of BAR-ZILLAI (1 Esd. 5:38).

Besai bee'si (בֵּסַי *H1234,* derivation uncertain). Head of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:49; Neh. 7:52; in 1 Esd. 5:31, "Basthai" [KJV, "Bastai"]).

Bescaspasmys bes'kuhs-paz'muhs (Βεσκασ-πασμυς). One of the descendants of Addi who had married foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:31; Codex A reads *Matthanias);* some think the name might correspond to MATTANIAH in the parallel passage (Ezra 10:30).

Besodeiah bes'uh-dee'yah (בְּסוֹדְיָה *H1233,* "in the council of Yahweh"). Father of Meshullam; the latter helped to repair the OLD GATE (Jeshanah) in the wall of Jerusalem under NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:6).

besom. This English term, which refers to a broom made with twigs, is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *maṭ)ăṭē) H4748,* which occurs only once (Isa. 14:23; NIV, "broom"). Here the prophet is portraying a figurative sweeper with which God will sweep away Babylon. This sweeper or mop used in everyday life probably came from the BROOM plant found in the area of Palestine.

G. GIACUMAKIS, JR.

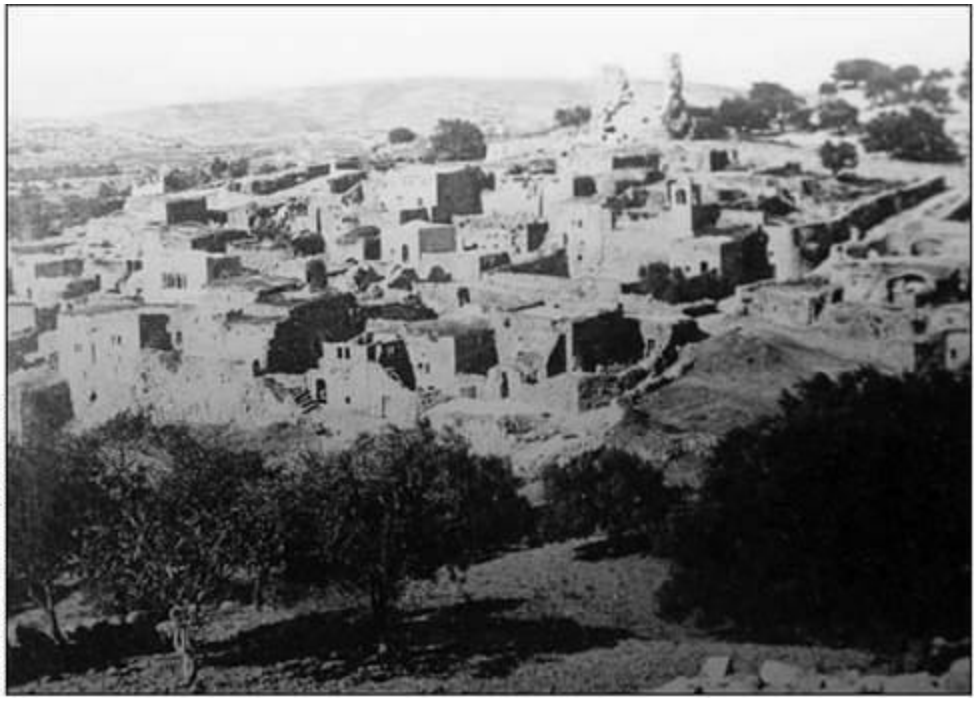
Besor bee'sor (בְּשׂוֹר *H1410,* derivation uncertain). A wadi or ravine DAVID crossed in pursuit of the Amalekites (see AMALEK), who had just raided ZIKLAG (1 Sam. 30:9 – 10, 21; KJV, "the brook Besor"). Here David left 200 of his men who were too exhausted to pursue the Amalekites further. It is identified with Wadi Ghazzeh, one of the largest wadis in the NEGEV. It flows NW from the highlands to the coast, below GAZA.

Betah bee'tuh (בֶּטַח *H1056* [not in NIV], "security"). A city belonging to the Aramean king HADADEZER and from which DAVID took a great quantity of bronze (2 Sam. 8:8 KJV and other versions). The NIV emends the text to *ṭebaḥ H3183* (on the basis of the Lucianic MSS of the LXX, which have *Matebak).* See TEBAH.

Betane bet'uh-nee. KJV Apoc. form of BETHANY (Jdt. 1:9).

Beten bee'tuhn (בֶּטֶן *H1062,* "womb"). A town in the territory of the tribe of ASHER (Josh. 19:25). EUSEBIUS *(Onom.* 52.19 – 20) apparently refers to it as Beth-beten, which he located about 7 mi. (8 Roman mi.) E of Ptolemais (Acco). Some scholars identify the city with Khirbet Ibtin, about 11 mi. SSE of Acco.

beth (letter) beth (from בַּיִת *H1074,* "house"). The second letter of the Hebrew ALPHABET (ב), with a numerical value of two. It is named for the shape of the letter, which in its older form resembled the outline of a house. Its sound corresponds to that of English *b* (following a vowel, it later became spirantized, with a sound similar to that of English *v).*



The village of Bethany in 1905. (View to the SE.)

Beth- (name element) beth. This form (construct of the noun *bayit H1074)* is used as the initial element of numerous place names. Although its literal meaning is "house," usually the sense is more general, "place." For example, the name BETH EMEK probably means simply "valley-place."

Bethabara beth-ab'uh-ruh (Βηθαβαρά). According to the KJV (following the TR), the place across the JORDAN where JOHN THE BAPTIST ministered (Jn. 1:28). However, the majority of MSS, including the earliest witnesses, read BETHANY. Because ORIGEN (*Commentary on John* 6.204 – 7; see *Fathers of the Church* 80 [1989]: 224 – 25) could not find a Bethany across the Jordan, he preferred the reading Bethabara (presumably *bêt ʿăbārâ,* "house of crossing"), which must have been a real, but now unknown, location. It is probably not the same as BETH BARAH. (A corrector of CODEX SINAITICUS mistakenly reads *Bētharaba,* that is, BETH ARABAH, which is on the W side of the Jordan.)

R. L. ALDEN

Beth Anath beth-ay'nath (בֵּית־עֲנָת *H1117,* "house of [the goddess] ANATH"). A fortified city in the territory assigned to the tribe of NAPHTALI (Josh. 19:38). The Naphtalites failed to dislodge its inhabitants, but they enslaved the Canaanites living in this pagan town (Jdg. 1:33). Beth Anath is mentioned in some Egyptian texts (see *ANET,* 242, 256). Its precise location is uncertain, but some scholars identify it with Safed el-Battikh (Lebanon), some 15 mi. SE of TYRE.

G. G. SWAIM

Beth Anoth beth-ay'noth (בֵּית־עֲנוֹת *H1116,* "house of [the goddess] ANATH [pl. form]" or "place of listening"). A town in the hill country of the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:59). It was probably an archaic Canaanite altar and shrine (see ANATH). It is identified with modern Khirbet Beit ʿAnun, some 3 mi. NE of HEBRON.

W. WHITE, JR.

Bethany bet'uh-nee (Βηθανία *G1029,* possibly from בֵּית עֲנִיָּה "house of the poor," or בֵּית עֲנָנְיָה "house of Ananiah"). (1) A village less than 2 mi. SE of JERUSALEM on the road to JERICHO (Jn. 11:18). It was on the E side of the MOUNT OF OLIVES, and from its vicinity Jesus sent for the colt (Mk. 11:1; Lk. 19:29). MARY, MARTHA, and LAZARUS lived in Bethany, and it was there that Lazarus was raised from the dead (Jn. 11). It seems generally to have served as Jesus' abode when in JUDEA (Matt. 21:17; Mk. 11:11). Bethany also was the home of Simon the leper, in whose house our Lord was anointed with the alabaster jar of ointment at the hands of a woman (Mk. 14:3 – 9; Lk. 7:36 – 50; cf. Jn. 12:1 – 8). According to Luke, the ASCENSION OF CHRIST took place near Bethany (Lk. 24:50 – 51). Bethany still exists as a settled town today and is known as el-ʿAziriyeh, "the place of Lazarus." The traditional tomb of Lazarus is marked. Cf. also ANANIAH (PLACE).

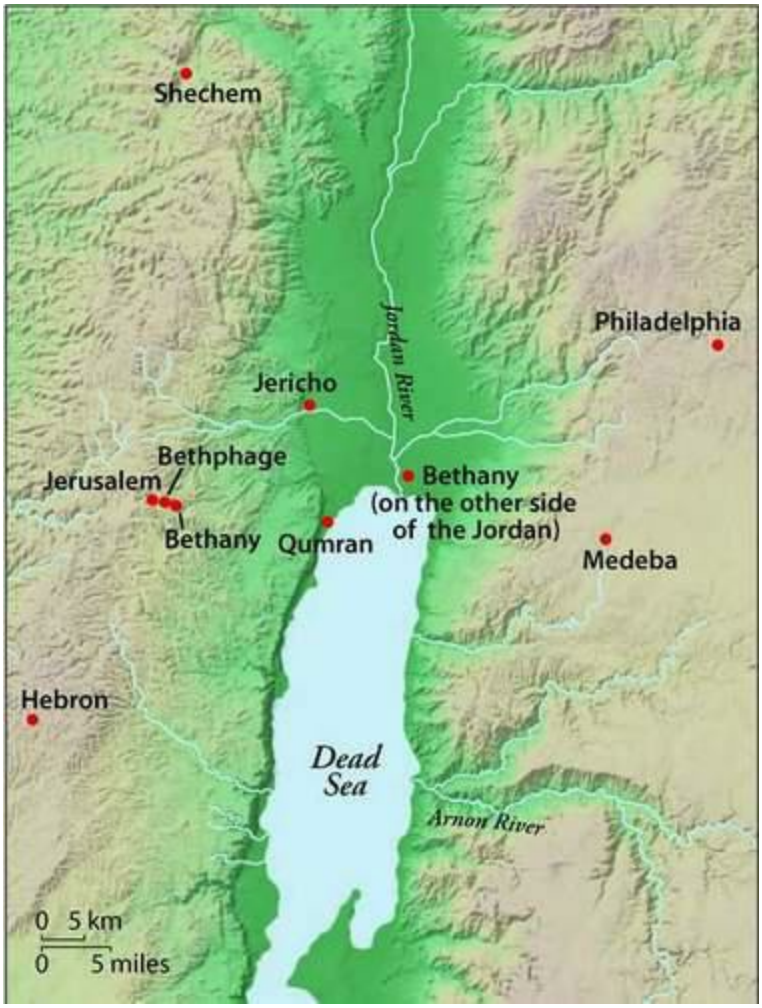
(2) A place E of the JORDAN where JOHN THE BAPTIST ministered and where his confrontation with the delegation of priests and Levites from Jerusalem took place (Jn. 1:28, where the KJV has BETHABARA). Considerable debate surrounds the identification of this site, although a strong possibility is the traditional location at the Wadi el-Kharar, some 6 mi. E of Jericho; at the nearby Qasr el-Yehud, there is a monastery dedicated to St. John (see F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* 2 vols. [1933 – 38], 2:265). Some scholars believe that this Bethany should be identified with #1 above (see P. Parker in *JBL* 74 [1955]: 257 – 61). According to a recent proposal, the reference is to BATANEA, a region E of the Sea of Galilee (R. Riesner, *Bethanien jenseits des Jordan: Topographie und Theologie im Johannes-Evangelium* [2002]). Others view the place as fictitious and symbolic.

(3) A town in the vicinity of Jerusalem that was conquered by NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Jdt. 1:9; *Batanē,* KJV "Betane"). The site is unknown, though some scholars identify it with BETH ANOTH.

H. G. ANDERSEN

Beth Arabah beth-air'uh-buh (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה *H1098,* "house of the ARABAH [desert]") A town belonging to the tribe of JUDAH on its northern boundary with the tribe of BENJAMIN (Josh 15:6, 61; 18:18; the last reference involves an emendation based on the LXX, which reads *Baitēaraba*—the MT has *mûl-hāărābâ,* "facing the Arabah"). However, Beth Arabah is also included among the possessions of Benjamin (18:22); it is possible that the town changed hands at some time by an incident not recorded in the text. Beth Arabah is usually identified with the modern Arab village of ʿAin el-Gharabeh, located in the wilderness about 4 mi. SE of JERICHO, on the N bank of the Wadi Qelt a few miles W of the Jordan Valley.

W. WHITE, JR.



Bethany.

Beth-aram beth-air'uhm. KJV form of BETH HARAM.

Beth Arbel beth-ahr'buhl (בֵּית אַרְבֵאל *H1079,* "house of Arbel"). An Israelite town devastated by a certain SHALMAN (HOS. 10:14). There is no other mention of either this town or the king. Beth Arbel is usually identified with the modern Irbid, which is situated on a crossroads in northern TRANSJORDAN, c. 20 mi. SE of the S tip of the Sea of GALILEE. (See *NEAEHL,* 1:87 – 89.)

R. L. ALDEN

Beth Ashbea beth-ash'bee-uh (בֵּית אַשְׁבֵּעַ *H1080,* "house of Ashbea"). A town of unknown location; it was home to some clans of linen workers that descended from JUDAH through SHELAH (1 Chr. 4:21). The KJV interprets the Hebrew as referring not to a town but to a family (i.e., the linen workers "of the house of Ashbea").

Bethasmoth beth-as'moth. See AZMAVETH (PLACE).

Beth Aven beth-ay'vuhn (בֵּית אָוֶן *H1077,* "house of trouble *[or* idolatry]"). A town belonging to the tribe of BENJAMIN on its N boundary; it was near AI, to the E of BETHEL and just to the W of MICMASH (Josh. 7:2; 18:12; 1 Sam. 13:5; 14:23). The precise location is disputed, but a likely site is Tell Maryam, some 7 mi. NE of JERUSALEM. The prophet Hosea, however, appears to use the name in a

derogatory way as a reference to Bethel (Hos. 4:15; 5:8; 10:5; cf. also the wordplay in the Heb. of Amos 5:5). According to some scholars, the name of the town mentioned in Joshua and 1 Samuel may have been originally *bêt)ôn* ("house of strength, wealth"), but the vocalization in the MT was affected by Hosea's pun on Bethel. See also AVEN.

Beth Azmaveth. See AZMAVETH (PLACE).

Beth Baal Meon beth-bay'uhl-mee'on (מְעוֹן בֵּית בַּעַל *H1081,* "house of the lord of the dwelling"). A town within the tribal territory of REUBEN in TRANSJORDAN (Josh. 13:17), probably to be identified with BAAL MEON. Both names occur in the MOABITE STONE (lines 9 and 30; see *ANET,* 320 – 21).

Beth Barah beth-bair'uh (בֵּית בָּרָה *H1083,* "house of Barah," possibly from עֲבָרָה *H6302,* "ford"). A place near the JORDAN River; GIDEON instructed the men of EPHRAIM to seize that area so as to head off the fleeing army of MIDIAN (Jdg. 7:24). Because the Hebrew construction is unusual (lit., "up to Beth Barah, and also the Jordan"), some scholars emend the text so that it reads, "up to the fords of the Jordan." Others have attempted to link the place with BETHABARA, but the site remains unidentified.

Bethbasi beth-bay'si (Βαιθβασι). A village in the Judean wilderness, fortified by Jonathan and Simon (see MACCABEE); it withstood a siege by BACCHIDES, the Hellenistic governor of the W Euphrates under King Demetrius I (1 Macc. 9:62 – 64). The abortive invasion (158 – 157 B.C.) ended in peace for the Jews and the triumph of Jonathan. The town is identified with modern Khirbet Beit Bassa, about 2 mi. SE of BETHLEHEM.

Beth Birei beth-bihr'ee-i. KJV form of BETH BIRI.

Beth Biri beth-bihr'i (בֵּית בִּרְאִי *H1082,* "house of Biri"). KJV Beth-birei. An unidentified town inhabited by descendants of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:31); apparently a postexilic name for BETH LEBAOTH (Josh. 19:6).

Beth Car beth-kahr' (בֵּית כָּר *H1105,* "house of pasture"). TNIV Beth Kar. A town of unknown location, but apparently to the W of MIZPAH, in the territory of the tribe of BENJAMIN; the Israelites pursued the PHILISTINES all the way to an area near this town (1 Sam. 7:11).

Beth Dagon beth-day'gon (בֵּית־דָּגוֹן *H1087,* "house of [the god] Dagon"). (1) A site in the SHEPHELAH or lowlands of JUDAH (Josh. 15:41). The exact location of the site is unknown, though it would appear that it originally was related to a temple named for DAGON, a ubiquitous ancient northeastern deity. A town by that name is mentioned by RAMSES III and by SENNACHERIB (see *ANET,* 242, 287), but the biblical Beth Dagon is probably a different site.

(2) A border city in the territory of the tribe of ASHER and E of Mount Carmel (Josh. 19:27; see CARMEL, MOUNT). The precise location is unknown, although some identify it with modern Tell Regeb, about 5 mi. SE of Haifa.

(3) The name of a temple to the god Dagon in Azotus (ASHDOD) in Maccabean times (1 Macc.

10:83 – 84, *Bēthdagōn).*

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beth Diblathaim beth'dib-luh-thay'im (בֵּית דִּבְלָתַיִם *H1086,* "house of [double] fig cakes"). One of the cities of MOAB against which JEREMIAH announced judgment (Jer. 48:22). The town is mentioned in the MOABITE STONE (line 30; see *ANET,* 321), which suggests it was situated between MEDEBA and BETH BAAL MEON. It is probably the same location as ALMON DIBLATHAIM (Num. 33:46 – 47). The town is often identified as modern Khirbet Deleilat esh-Sherqiyeh, about 21 mi. SE of Amman; another proposal is Khirbet Libb, about 8 mi. N of Dibhan.

W. WHITE, JR.

Beth Eden beth-ee'duhn (בֵּית עֵדֶן *H1114,* "house of delight"). An Aramean principality (see ARAM) against which AMOS prophesied (Amos 1:5; KJV, "house of Eden"). It was the Bit-Adini of the Assyrian sources (cf. *ANET,* 275), situated in the watershed of the EUPHRATES, and apparently one of the small Neo-Aramean states that rose and thrived in the wake of the collapse of the great powers in the 9th-8th cent. B.C. SENNACHERIB boasted that his Assyrian forefathers had destroyed "the people [children] of Eden," probably a reference to the same place (2 Ki. 19:12 = Isa. 37:12; perhaps also Ezek. 27:23). (Cf. A. Malamat, *The Aramaeans in Aram Naharaim and the Rise of Their States* [1952], 39 – 47; A. Lemaire in *Syria* 58 [1981]: 313 – 30.)

W. WHITE, JR.

Beth Eglaim beth-eg'lay-im. This ancient name does not occur in the Bible but is mentioned by EUSEBIUS *(Onom.* 48.19 – 20, *Bēthaglaim,* from *byt ʿglym,* "house of the [two] calves"). It is usually identified with the mound excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie *(Ancient Gaza* [1931 – 34]; however, see the objections of A. Kempinski in *IEJ* 24 [1974]: 145 – 52). Its modern name is Tell elʿAjjul, "mound of the little calf." This mound lies 4 mi. SW of GAZA on the N side of the mouth of Wadi Ghuzzeh near the seacoast. It covers about 28 – 30 acres, which is a large site for ancient times (twice the size of MEGIDDO and almost three times the size of David's JERUSALEM, according to C. C. McCown, *Ladder of Progress in Palestine* [1943], 126 – 30). The site is no longer an impressive one, since sand dunes have drifted in from the seaward side and deep irregular gullies have formed from the erosion of the centuries. What may have once been a natural harbor is now silted in, and the marshes and malaria-bearing mosquitoes make the place a forbidden area except in the winter. Some commentators have speculated on the possible connection that may exist between this southernmost spot in PHILISTIA with its name of "the house (or mound) of the two calves" and the "two calves of gold" made by JEROBOAM (1 Ki. 12:28).

Petrie identified Tell el-ʿAjjul with the site of the original ancient Gaza. He believed that this site was abandoned because of the same malaria that almost wiped out one hundred of his workmen the first year they excavated. Then the city moved to the site of modern Gaza at the beginning of the Late Bronze period. Petrie began to dig in the autumn of 1930, but was stopped by the malaria until the cold weather came. That winter they drained the marshes, so that they were able to work there for four winter campaigns, 1930 – 1934. Petrie called the earliest level "Copper Age," but this was later corrected by W. F. Albright (in *AJSL* 55 [1938]: 337 – 59) on the basis of a revised pottery chronology to the 22nd and 21st centuries.

Some of the best examples of HYKSOS fortifications come from the "Palace I" period of Petrie.

On the S side, the mound was protected by a sandstone bluff that rose 50 ft. above the wadi. The other three sides had the typical fosse or large ditch extending around the mound for about three-quarters of a mile long. On approaching the city one would find a 20-ft. drop into the fosse, and then an upward slope of 150 ft. at a 35-degree angle (forming the much lauded *terre pisée* of Hyksos fortifications) with the only entrance in evidence on the NE side, where a series of tunnels and siege works of an enemy were found.

Petrie was immensely successful in finding great hordes of movable property like jewelry, bronze weapons, pottery, scarabs, and other objects of gold, silver, ivory, and basalt. He also hit upon the best buildings that the site could offer, some preserved up to a height of 8 ft. with some doorways even intact. This is due to the experience and the sheer common sense exercised by the excavator. For example, to find the best place to dig for the finer homes on the site, he is alleged to have wet his finger and tested for the wind direction placing the homes upwind and the stables and related smells down wind. When the security of the excavated gold objects became a problem, he noisily sent off many crates allegedly containing the gold, only to have filled the shipped crates with sand!

"Palace II" represented the era after the Hyksos and "Palace III" was apparently just an Egyptian fortress on the caravan route. "Palace IV" fell in the 14th and 13th centuries, again according to Albright's revision, and "Palace V" is represented by a series of tombs in the 10th and 9th centuries. Petrie believed he found evidence for hippophagy, or horse eating, in a foundation sacrifice under "Palace IV." The shoulders and left thigh were removed from the remains, and this the excavator alleged was used in the feast before the remainder was placed in a 5-ft.-deep pit. If this interpretation is true, it would fit the horse culture of the Hyksos of "Palace I" era. In addition, there would be other burials of donkeys; sometimes horses, donkeys, and men are all found crushed together in the same tomb. The problem is as puzzling as it is interesting.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beth Eked (of the Shepherds) beth-ee'kid (בֵּית־עֵקֶד *H1118* + הָרֹעִים [pl. of רֹעֶה *H8286],* possibly "binding-house of the shepherds" [BDB, 112] or "place with sand piles for herds" *[HALOT,* 1:128]). A place on the way from JEZREEL to SAMARIA where JEHU executed some relatives of King AHAZIAH (2 Ki. 10:12, 14). *Targum Jonathan* interprets the words not as a proper name but as a description, "the meeting house of the shepherds" (*byt knyšt)* r(y)); a similar approach is followed by the KJV, which renders the whole phrase as "the shearing house." It is probably a proper name referring to a town, and some scholars have identified it with modern Beit Qad, a few miles SSE of JEZREEL, but this location is disputed.

Bethel beth'uhl (בֵּית־אֵל *H1078,* "house of God"). A town on the great N – S watershed road of Palestine 12 mi. N of JERUSALEM and identified as the modern village of Beitin (see esp. *SacBr,* 116 – 18; for a different identification, see D. Livingston in *BAR* 15 [1989]: 11). The presence of excellent springs of water near the top of the ridge of hills made the site desirable from early days. Bethel also occupied a key point on the E – W route from TRANSJORDAN by way of JERICHO to the Mediterranean. These circumstances are a partial explanation for the fact that Bethel is mentioned in Scripture more often than any other city except Jerusalem. (This Bethel is not to be confused with a town by the same name mentioned in 1 Sam. 30:27; see BETHUEL.)

The bare mountain top at Bethel served as a worship center for NOMADS through the millennia.

The god BAAL, who normally replaced EL in the Canaanite pantheon, was unable to dislodge the name of the latter in Bethel. Even ABRAHAM and JACOB used the name Bethel, although another name for the site in the time of the patriarchs was Luz (Gen. 12:8; 28:19). Bethel (called a *māqôm H5226,* "[holy] place," in 28:19) originally may have been the sanctuary on the ridge E of the town, whereas the town (ʿîr *H6551)* itself may have been designated as Luz. In the boundary descriptions of EPHRAIM and BENJAMIN, Bethel and Luz appear to be mentioned as adjacent sites (Josh. 16:2; however, see LXX and NIV).

The earliest archaeological evidence for the occupation of the high place at Bethel is a Chalcolithic water jar from 3500 B.C. The lack of structures dating from that period suggests that Bethel was an open-air sanctuary in that age. During the late Chalcolithic period (c. 3200) Bethel was occupied, as indicated by ceramic evidence found around the high place and S of the sanctuary area. AI then replaced Bethel as the major town of the area. A second occupation of Bethel was about 2400 – 2200. Later that town was abandoned and not reoccupied until the 19th cent. This marked the beginning of an almost continuous occupation of the site. A temple was built immediately above the high place and a town was constructed S of it. A strong defensive wall system may not have been constructed until the 18th or 17th centuries.

It was early in this Middle Bronze period that the accounts of the patriarchs as presented in Genesis fit well into the archaeological history of Bethel. The quality of the architectural evidence indicates that Abraham and Jacob found a well-developed

Agricultural watchtowers on the western outskirts of Bethel.

town when they visited the site. While Jacob might think of the town as Luz, a place where he could find refuge from his twin brother ESAU as he fled toward the E, the Genesis account also reports that Jacob played on the generic name for God, which was EL. He set up a stone, poured oil upon it, and called the name of the place "house of God," Bethel, for God had spoken to him in a dream the night before (Gen. 28:1 – 22). The Canaanite might mean one thing by the name, but Jacob meant another. To him the spot was not only the house of God but also "the gate of heaven" (28:17). Jacob revisited Bethel and renewed his covenant with God on his return from PADDAN ARAM.

The absence of Late Bronze I material at Bethel suggests that the site was destroyed about 1550 B.C. by the Egyptian drive against the HYKSOS, who were thrown out of Egypt and Palestine. In the Late Bronze II period (14th – 13th cent.) the city was rebuilt and extended. The quality of the houses was superior to those of the earlier periods. A sewer system, the only one the town ever had, was constructed in this era. The only industry located by the archaeologists was an olive oil press. The

plentiful evidence of burning, which indicates the end of this period in the history of the site, suggests that the city was prosperous when the Israelites invaded the region. While both Jericho and Ai present problems relating to the conquest of JOSHUA, the evidence is clearer in the case of Bethel: ash and brick debris to the depth of 1.75 meters, in addition to destroyed houses, witness to its destruction in the 13th cent., c. 1240 – 1235.

Captured by JOSHUA (Josh. 8:7), the town was allotted to the tribe of BENJAMIN. After the civil war against Benjamin, the town became a part of EPHRAIM. It was on the border between the two tribes. The importance of Bethel is revealed in a passage that speaks of a "Bethel to Shechem" highway and locates SHILOH as a site N of Bethel (Jdg. 21:19). The ARK OF THE COVENANT, which was the center of Israel's life, was located at Bethel for a period of time right after the conquest. The divine oracle was consulted at Bethel (Jdg. 20:18), and DEBORAH, the prophetess, lived near the town (Jdg. 4:5). SAMUEL made Bethel one of the locations of his court as he moved around the circuit judging Israel (1 Sam. 7:16). While Bethel is not mentioned by name in the OT under either DAVID or SOLOMON, archaeological evidence shows that the city was prosperous in that period. Building arts improved, pottery art took on new techniques and forms, and the Israelite control of iron created new opportunities in agriculture.

JEROBOAM I established Bethel as the chief sanctuary of Israel as a rival to Jerusalem in Judah (1 Ki. 12:26 – 33). During the time of the divided kingdom, the fortunes of Bethel rose and fell with the

Old Testament worship centers.

tides of the civil struggle. Several accounts tell of this fluctuation in prominence (1 Ki. 12:29—16:34; 2 Ki. 2:2—23:19; 2 Chr. 13:19). Jeroboam II made Bethel a royal sanctuary in the northern

kingdom and the shrine was restored to its earlier importance. Archaeologists have not found Jeroboam's temple, which is probably under the modern village of Beitin. They did find the seal with which the incense bags were marked. The incense was used in the temple ritual. The seal dates to shortly after the visit of the QUEEN OF SHEBA to Palestine. In the days of ELIJAH and ELISHA, a school of the prophets flourished in Bethel (2 Ki. 2:2 – 3); not all the younger generation in the Bethel area had respect for the prophets, however, for the young boys jeered at Elisha (vv. 23 – 24).

Following the fall of SAMARIA to the Assyrians, Bethel also suffered destruction. The shrine was revived later so as to offer a religious center for the imported populations settled in the area by the Assyrians (2 Ki. 17:27 – 33). When JOSIAH moved N after the fall of Assyria, he did not destroy Bethel, only its temple; nor was the town destroyed by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. when they razed Jerusalem. Bethel was evidently regarded as a part of the administrative region of SAMARIA and therefore was not in revolt against Judah. The presence of Babylonian colonists in the Samarian region is noted in 2 Ki. 17:24, 30. Bethel was destroyed by a great fire either in 553 or 521 B.C. This destruction may have been the work of NABONIDUS of Babylon or of the Persians in the period just before DARIUS.

During the time of EZRA and NEHEMIAH, Bethel was a village of a few crude walls built from material taken from the old city wall. The census records under both Ezra and Nehemiah show that Bethel had only a small population (Ezra 2:28; 1 Esd. 5:21 ["Betolio"; KJV, "Betolius"]). Bethel is listed as the northernmost town of the Benjamites (Neh. 11:31). There is no mention made of the involvement of the people of Bethel in the rebuilding of Jerusalem. (For a detailed study of Bethel traditions in the OT, see M. Köhlmoos, *Bet-El—Erinnerungen an eine Stadt* [2006].)

Literary references to Bethel in the early Hellenistic period are missing. Archaeological evidence, however, clearly indicates that good houses, quality pottery, and thriving trade marked the period immediately prior to the Maccabean (see MACCABEE). In 1 Macc. 9:50 (cf. also Jos. *Ant.* 13.1.3), reference is made to the fact that Bethel was one of the towns fortified by BACCHIDES. The city flourished under the Maccabees, with houses even outside the city walls. In the Roman period either POMPEY or VESPASIAN broke down the NE gate and leveled part of the N wall. No other evidence of destruction has been noted but Roman construction took place, a house being built over the leveled N wall.

There is no specific reference to Bethel in the NT, but Christ must have gone through the city on his trips, since it was on the main road from SHECHEM to Jerusalem. The town increased in population in the 1st cent. A.D. Vespasian captured Bethel just before he left Palestine to become emperor of Rome. JOSEPHUS (*War* 4.9.9) mentions that Vespasian established a Roman garrison at Bethel. So great was the increase of population at Bethel in this period that CISTERNS were introduced for the first time. The four springs had been adequate for the population until the Roman occupation. The authorities found it necessary to build large community cisterns close to the largest spring so that they could be filled in the winter.

EUSEBIUS refers to Bethel as a large village in the 4th cent. A.D. It continued to be a holy place. On a ridge E of Bethel, an important Byzantine church was built, perhaps marking an identification of the locale of Jacob's dream. Another church was built about the 6th cent. This sought to commemorate the site of Abraham's sanctuary. Near the great spring within the city, a third Byzantine church was constructed with possible related monastic structures. Meanwhile about A.D. 500 Bethel erected a new city wall as a defense against the current Samaritan revolts. The city reached its greatest extent and prosperity in the Byzantine period. Only a little Islamic material was found. No explanation for the sudden disappearance of the city is known. (For a summary of the archaeological work, see W. F.

Albright and J. L. Kelso, *The Excavation of Bethel,* AASOR 39 [1968]; *NEAEHL,* 1:192 – 94.)

H. M. JAMIESON

Bethel (deity) beth'uhl (בֵּית־אֵל *H1078,* "house of God"). AW Semitic deity attested in the onomasticon of the Aramaic papyri from ELEPHANTINE and in Neo-Babylonian cuneiform texts by some 15 different names. A probable biblical reference is Jer. 48:13, where Bethel stands in parallelism with CHEMOSH. However, no notice is ever given to the presence of this god in the northern tribes, so it is possible that, as is likely in Amos 5:5, the name Bethel is given, by metonymy, with reference to the golden calf found in the city.

In Zech. 7:2, the KJV renders the name as "the house of God," but a reference to the Jerusalem temple is very unlikely, since the expression used in the next verse is Beth Yahweh (over 250 times in the OT; elsewhere Beth Elohim, about 50 times); Bethel does not occur once in this sense. Thus the Hebrew text (*bêt-ʾēl śar-ʾśer)* may reflect the personal name Bethel-sharezer (see SHAREZER), supported by similar Neo-Babylonian names, such as Bit-ili-shēzib and Bīt-ili-shar-uṣur, from the days of Nebuchadnezzar and following (cf. J. P. Hyatt in *JBL* 66 [1937]: 387 – 94; id., *JAOS* 59 [1939]: 81 – 98). Some modern versions (e.g., NAB, NEB, NJPS) have adopted this interpretation, but others (e.g., NIV, NRSV) understand the text as a reference to the town (or inhabitants) of Bethel.

The papyri from 6th-cent. Elephantine removed any doubts concerning the use of Bethel as a divine name, for from this site Albert Vincent *(La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* [1937], 564, 593, 622, 654) conveniently collected such names as Bethel-nātan, Bethel-nûrî, Anath-bethel, Eshembethel. This deity is also known from the Phoenician theogony by PHILO OF BYBLOS, where *Ouranus* ("Heaven") and *Ge* ("Earth") have four sons: *Ilus* (Cronus), *Betylus, Dagon,* and *Atlas*. This pair is now attested in the Ugaritic pantheon as š *šmm* and *ʾarś* and possibly along with their four sons as il, il *śpn, dgn,* and *ʾilib.* The exact identification of the sons must wait until more complete texts are available; therefore one cannot place this deity in the 2nd millennium in a Phoenician or Ugaritic pantheon as yet. In the meantime, the Ugaritic name *nʿbtʾil may* be noted as containing this theophorous element and leads one to expect the presence of this god in the 2nd millennium B.C. (Cf. also W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* 4th ed. [1956], 168 – 75.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beth Emek beth-ee'mik (בֵּית הָעֵמֶק *H1097*, "house of the valley"). A town on the northern border of the tribe of ASHER (Josh. 19:27). It is usually identified with modern Tell Mimas, about 5 mi. NE of Acco (see *NEAEHL,* 1:202 – 3).

Bether bee-thuhr' (בֶּתֶר *H1441,* possibly "cutting, piece"). The KJV and other versions take the Hebrew word as a proper name in Cant. 2:17 and render the text, "the mountains of Bether." There is indeed a town named Bether (Bethther) mentioned in the SEPTUAGINT (CODEX ALEXANDRINUS), but not in the MT (Josh. 15:59 *Baithēr,* 1 Chr. 6:59 [LXX v. 44], *Baiththēr);* moreover, EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 4.6.3) tells us that BAR KOKHBA made his last stand against the Romans (A.D. 135) in *Bēththēra,* identified with modern Khirbet el-Yahud, near Bittir, some 7 mi. SW of Jerusalem. However, it is doubtful that Song of Solomon is referring to this city, and many take it as a reference to a plantname or to a fragrance (cf. Cant. 8:14, "spice-laden mountains"). If the noun is derived from the verb *bātar H1439,* "to cut in pieces," the text could be translated "the cleft mountains" (NRSV;

the NIV has, "the rugged hills"). (Cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 151, 204, 379, 536. On the archaeology of Bittir, see W. D. Carroll in AASOR 5 [1924 – 25]: 77 – 104.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Bethesda buh-thez'duh (Βηθεσδά *G1031,* possibly from Aram. בֵּית חִסְדָּא "house of mercy," or Heb. בֵּית אֶשְׁדָּתַיִם "house of outpouring"). The name of a pool in Jerusalem where Jesus healed a lame man (John 5:2). This is the reading of most Greek MSS, including CODEX ALEXANDRINUS; it is followed by several versions, including KJV and NIV. A few important witnesses, including CODEX SINAITICUS, read *Bēthzatha,* the variant adopted by the UBS committee and accepted by some versions, such as NRSV (see BETH-ZATHA). Other textual variants in this passage are *Belzetha* (CODEX BEZAE and two Old Latin MSS) and *Bēthsaida* (CODEX VATICANUS,

This view of the wall that divides the northern and southern pools of Bethesda reveals bedrock (lower right of photo) that was part of the original pool dating as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. (View to the NW.)

two early papyri, and several other witnesses). One argument used in favor of the originality of the form Bethesda is that the *Copper Scroll from* Qumran (3Q15 XI, 12) supposedly refers to a pool as *byt)šdtyn* (possibly a dual ending). However, two of the consonants can be read differently (see DJD, 3:297), and recent scholars interpret the phrase otherwise (cf. the extensive discussion by J. K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: A Reevaluation. A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary* [2000], 392 – 97; see also R. Ceulemans in *ZNW* 99 [2008]: 112 – 15).

There is indeed an early tradition regarding twin pools N of the temple associated with physical healing. According to the text in Jn. 5:2, the location of the pool was near the SHEEP GATE (KJV, "sheep *market"),* probably where sheep were sold for sacrifice (Neh. 3:32; 12:39). It was located on the NE side of the city near the temple. In 1888 K. Schick excavated a site not far from the church of St. Anne and found twin pools, one 55 and the other 65 ft. long. The former one was spanned by five arches with five corresponding porches. The Crusaders regarded this as the site mentioned by John and built a church over it, with a crypt imitating the five porches and an opening in the floor to get down to the water. (Cf. E. W. G. Masterman in *PEQ* no vol. [1921]: 91 – 100; J. Jeremias, *The Rediscovery of Bethesda* [1966]; J. Wilkinson, *The Jerusalem Jesus Knew* [1978], 95 – 104.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beth Ezel beth-ee'zuhl (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל *H1089,* possibly "house of proximity," i.e., "nearby place"). A town against which MICAH prophesied (Mic. 1:11). The imprecation is against the enemies of Judah and refers to various locations mostly in the SHEPHELAH. Only a precarious identification can be made with modern Deir el-ʿAṣal, about 10 mi. SW of HEBRON.

Beth Gader beth-gay'duhr (בֵּית־גָּדֵר *H1084,* "house of stone wall"). A place name appearing as part of JUDAH'S genealogical list (1 Chr. 2:51, "Hareph the father *[i.e.,* founder, ruler] of Beth Gader"). Some scholars identify it with GEDER. The town was probably in the vicinity of the other towns listed, such as BETHLEHEM, but its precise location is unknown.

Beth Gamul beth-gay'muhl (בֵּית גָּמוּל *H1085,* "house of recompense"). One of the cities of the tableland of MOAB against which JEREMIAH prophesied (Jer. 48:23 [LXX 31:23, *oikos Gamōl]).* Some have identified it with Khirbet el-Jemeil, c. 5 mi. E of AROER.

Beth Gilgal beth-gil'gal (בֵּית הַגִּלְגָּל *H1090,* "house of Gilgal [circle]"). One of the villages around JERUSALEM from which singers came to celebrate the dedication of the wall rebuilt after the EXILE (Neh. 12:29; KJV, "the house of Gilgal"). It is often identified with the better-known town of GILGAL, which lies c. 4 mi. SE of JERICHO, but some scholars argue that Beth Gilgal was probably closer to Jerusalem.

Beth-haccerem, Beth-haccherem beth-hak'uh-rem. See BETH HAKKEREM.

Beth Haggan beth-hag'uhn (בֵּית הַגָּן *H1091,* "house of the garden"). A town S of the Valley of JEZREEL toward which AHAZIAH fled when pursued by JEHU (2 Ki. 9:27; KJV, "the garden house"). It is identified with modern Jenin, 11 mi. SE of MEGIDDO.

Beth Hakkerem beth-hak'uh-rem (בֵּית־הַכֶּרֶם *H1094,* "house of the vineyard"). Also Beth-haccerem, Beth-haccherem. The chief city of a district in JUDAH; its ruler, MALKIJAH, repaired the DUNG GATE as the wall was rebuilt after the EXILE (Neh. 3:14). It was a suitable location for a signaling station (Jer. 6:1). Some scholars have identified the city with ʿAin Karim, c. 6 mi. W of JERUSALEM, but a more likely site is Khirbet Ṣaliḥ (Ramat Raḥel), a high hill 3 mi. SSW of Jerusalem (cf. Y. Aharoni in *Arch* 18 [1965]: 15 – 25; *NEAEHL,* 4:1261 – 67).

D. H. MADVIG

Bethhanan. See ELON BETHHANAN.

Beth Haram beth-hair'uhm (בֵּית הָרָם *H1099,* "house of high place"). KJV Beth-aram. A town allotted to the tribe of GAD (Josh. 13:27); it is doubtless the same as Beth Haran (Num. 32:36). Taken from the Amorites, it held a high point E of the JORDAN River in the Jordan valley and was fortified by the tribe of Gad to protect their families and cattle while they shared with the other tribes in the conquest W of Jordan. It is believed to be the same site as Beth-aramphtha, a name used by the Syrians and mentioned by JOSEPHUS. The site is identified with the modern Tell Iktanu, 8 mi. NE of the mouth of the Jordan, S of the Wadi Heshban.

N. B. BAKER

Beth Haran beth-hair'uhn. Alternate form of BETH HARAM.

Beth Hoglah beth-hog'luh (בֵּית־חָגְלָה *H1102,* "house of Hoglah [partridge]"). One of fourteen cities assigned to the tribe of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:21). It was located in the ARABAH on the S boundary of Benjamin (Josh. 18:19), which is also the N boundary of JUDAH (Josh. 15:6). The boundary began at the N end of the DEAD SEA going W to Beth Hoglah then N to BETH ARABAH. It should possibly be identified with Deir Ḥajlah, 3.5 mi. SE of JERICHO.

D. H. MADVIG

Beth Horon beth-hor'uhn (בֵּית־חוֹרוֹן *H1103,* "house of a caves). KJV Beth-oron. The name of twin towns belonging to the tribe of EPHRAIM. The location of these two ancient towns is of little doubt, since today there exist the villages of Beit ʿUr el-Foqa (Upper Beth Horon) and Beit ʿUr et-Taḥta (Lower Beth Horon). The former is some 10 mi. NW of JERUSALEM and c. 1,800 ft. above sea level; the latter, 2 mi. farther W, is larger and c. 1,100 ft. Excavations have produced evidence of occupation going back at least to the Late Bronze Age. Today one still can see evidences of the Roman road connecting the two towns, which were both located on the important trunk route between GIBEON to the E and the Valley of AIJALON and the coastal plain to the W. The towns were near the border between Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. 16:3 – 5; 18:13 – 14). Because of their location on a mountain pass, and because they were border towns, they had more than their share of bloodshed.

Beth Horon was among the Levitical cities given to the descendants of KOHATH (Josh. 21:22; 1 Chr. 6:68; prob. both cities are meant). The twin towns were built by SHEERAH, who was the daughter of BERIAH son of Ephraim (1 Chr. 7:24). The famous battle of Beth Horon took place nearby (Josh. 10:6 – 15; see BETH HORON, BATTLE OF), and the city was among the towns raided by the PHILISTINES during the reign of SAUL (1 Sam. 13:18). King SOLOMON built up Lower Beth Horon after the Egyptians had raided both it and GEZER (1 Ki. 9:17); elsewhere it is reported that he rebuilt both Upper and Lower Beth Horon "as fortified cities, with walls and with gates and bars" (2 Chr. 8:5). An attack on the town by disgruntled Ephraimite mercenaries took place under the reign of AMAZIAH (2 Chr. 25:13). The only possible patronymic is Sanballat the Horonite (Neh. 2:10).

Beth Horon is mentioned several times in writings outside the Hebrew canon (cf. *Jub.* 34:4; Jdt. 4:4). Judas MACCABEE at least twice won victories near these towns (1 Macc. 3:15 – 26; 7:39 – 43). Later BACCHIDES fortified Beth Horon after a battle with Jonathan in the desert of TEKOA (9:50).

R. L. ALDEN

Beth Horon, battle of. Name traditionally given to a famous military conflict between JOSHUA and five kings of Canaan around GIBEON, BETH HORON, and the Valley of AIJALON (Josh 10:6 – 15). It is often characterized as "the day the sun stood still." The battle was a strategic one for the program of conquest under JOSHUA. JERICHO had fallen, AI was subdued, and now the SW part of Canaan was next on the route of possession. The Gibeonites, realizing that their territory was in imminent danger from the hitherto highly successful invaders, sought and succeeded in making a treaty with Joshua. The guise under which they approached the general is described in Josh. 9:1 – 15. The latter part of that same chapter relates how Joshua discovered their duplicity and subjugated them to servitude, but did not destroy them because of the treaty.

From the point of view of the AMORITE cities in the area—JERUSALEM, HEBRON, JARMUTH, LACHISH, and EcLON—Gibeon was a traitor to the cause, so the kings planned to attack Gibeon (today called el-Jib). The Gibeonites immediately appealed to the treaty and asked Joshua to protect them (Josh. 10:6). Joshua marched against the Amorite kings and "took them by surprise. The LORD threw them into confusion before Israel, who defeated them in a great victory at Gibeon. Israel pursued them along the road going up to Beth Horon and cut them down all the way to Azekah and Makkedah. As they fled before Israel on the road down from Beth Horon to Azekah, the LORD hurled large hailstones down on them from the sky, and more of them died from the hailstones than were killed by the swords of the Israelites" (vv. 9 – 11).

As one traces this strategy of Joshua's on a map, it is clear that the followers of ADONI-ZEDEK, the king of Jerusalem, fled in a direction away from home—NW down from the hills into the Valley of Aijalon. Joshua had apparently cut off their line of communication by intercepting the road between Jerusalem and Gibeon. Having gone down the Beth Horon pass, they angled southward again to the two towns named in the text. The enemy having fled, Joshua gave his famous command: "O sun, stand still over Gibeon, / O moon, over the Valley of Aijalon" (v. 12). There are several interpretations of this celestial phenomenon. The most common is that the daylight was lengthened so that Joshua might catch his enemies. Another is that the clouds obscured the scorching sun so that in the relative coolness they might pursue the enemy. The text clearly implies that the day was extraordinarily long (vv. 13 – 14). See DAY, JOSHUA'S LONG. In any event, the miraculous hailstones did most of the damage to the enemy, while the lengthening of the day is not said to have had any particular effect on the battle. (Cf. R. B. Y. Scott in *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 19 – 20; J. S. Holladay in *JBL* 87 [1968]: 166 – 78.) Later the five kings with their armies were destroyed by the Israelites, and Southern Canaan was thus opened for possession and settlement by the tribes of Israel.

R. L. ALDEN

Beth Jeshimoth beth-jesh'uh-moth (בֵּית הַיְשִׁימוֹת *H1093,* "house of deserts" or "desolate place"). A city in the plains of MOAB; it had been ruled by SIHON king of the AMORITES and was allotted to the tribe of REUBEN (Num. 33:49 [KJV, "Beth-jesimoth"]; Josh. 12:3; 13:20). It is described, along with BAAL MEON and KIRIATHAIM, as one of the glorious cities on the frontier of Moab (Ezek. 25:9). This ancient town is identified with Tell el-ʿAzeimeh, about 4 mi. from the NE end of the DEAD SEA. (Cf. N. Glueck in *BASOR* 91 [1943]: 23 – 25. On the Israelite journey through Moab, see J. M. Miller in *JBL* 108 [1989]: 577 – 95.)

Beth Kar. See BETH CAR.

Beth-leaphrah bethli-af'ruh. See BETH OPH-RAH.

Beth Lebaoth beth'li-bay'oth (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת *H1106,* "house of lionesses"). One of the cities "taken from the share of Judah" and assigned to the tribe of SIMEON (Josh. 19:6; cf. v. 9). It is probably the same as LEBAOTH, described as one of the "southernmost towns of the tribe of Judah in the Negev toward the boundary of Edom" (15:32; cf. v. 21). In the Chronicler's parallel list, it is apparently referred to as BETH BIRI, possibly its postexilic name (1 Chr. 4:31). Its precise location in the NEGEV is unknown.

Bethlehem beth'li-hem (בֵּית לֶחֶם *H1107,* "house of bread," orig. perhaps "house of [the god] Lakhmu"; gentilic (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי *H1095,* "Bethlehemite"). (1) A town within the tribal territory of JUDAH, famous as the "city of DAVID" and as the birthplace of JESUS CHRIST. It lies about 6 mi. SW of JERUSALEM near the main N – S road connecting HEBRON and the S. It is over 2,300 ft. above sea level (see *NEAEHL,* 1:203 – 10). This gives it a position of strength; it was occupied by a garrison of PHILISTINES in David's time (2 Sam. 23:14; 1 Chr. 11:16) and was fortified by REHOBOAM (2 Chr. 11:6). The area surrounding Bethlehem is quite fertile.

Little is known of the origin of the town, though in 1 Chr. 2:51 SALMA the son of CALEB is described as the "father *[i.e.,* founder] of Bethlehem." The town is apparently first mentioned in one of the TELL EL-AMARNA letters of the 14th cent. B.C., where ʿAbdu-Heba, the prince of Jerusalem, complains that Bit-*Lahmi* (if that is the correct reading of the ideogram) has gone over to the ʿApiru (EA no. 290; cf. *ANET,* 489; see HABIRU). It was known first in the OT as EPHRATH, but in general as Bethlehem Ephrathah or Bethlehem Judah to distinguish it from the second Bethlehem (see #2 below). RACHEL'S tomb was remembered (and still is) as being near Bethlehem (Gen. 35:19). Bethlehem was the home of a young Levite who served as priest to a certain MICAH in the hill country of EPHRAIM and who later ministered in the tribe of DAN (Jdg. 17:7 – 10; 18:15 – 20). It was also the home of the Ephraimite Levite's concubine whose death at the hands of her master precipitated a war between Benjamin and Israel (Jdg. 19).

Even in the OT, however, Bethlehem is known chiefly for its messianic connections. RUTH, the God-fearing woman from MOAB, made her home with her second husband BOAZ in the town of Bethlehem and was remembered as an ancestor of David (Ruth 1:1 – 2, 19, 22; 2:4; 4:11). David himself was known as "the son of an Ephrathite named Jesse, who was from Bethlehem in Judah" (1 Sam. 17:12). It was there that David shepherded his father's sheep (17:15) and there too that he was anointed king over Israel at the hands of the prophet SAMUEL (16:13). Bethlehem was also the home of ELHANAN, one of David's mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:24; 1 Chr. 11:26); and ASAHEL, the son of David's sister ZERUIAH, was buried there (2 Sam. 2:32).

After David's time, the town seems to have declined in importance as far as the historical events of the OT are concerned. Bethlehemites are mentioned, however, as participating in the EXILE, and there were many who returned to take up residence in their home town (Ezra 2:21; Neh. 7:26; cf. 1 Esd. 5:17). Bethlehem's future fame is spelled out in Mic. 5:2 as being the birthplace of the "ruler

Bethlehem.


The cross-shaped Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, built over the destroyed chapel of Helena, dates to the time of Justinian (c. A.D. 526).

over Israel, / whose origins are from of old, / from ancient times." By NT times there was the expectation that the MESSIAH should arise in Bethlehem (Matt. 2:5 – 6; Jn. 7:42), and the birth of Jesus is recorded to have taken place there (Matt. 2:1; Lk. 2:4 – 7). The story of the shepherds, the MAGI, and the slaying of the infants therefore center upon the town.

In A.D. 325 Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, built a church over a series of caves in Bethlehem, probably on the basis of the tradition, recorded as early as JUSTIN MARTYR *(Dialogue,*

78), that the scene of the nativity was a cave (see JEROME, *Letter to Paulinus,* 58.3). Justinian I (A.D. 527 – 565) built a new and larger church on the same site upon the destruction of Helena's chapel. This so-called Church of the Nativity still stands, though with some medieval modifications. Whether the church actually marks the exact spot of the nativity is uncertain, however. By A.D. 132 HADRIAN had devastated Bethlehem and no remains of the first three centuries of the Christian era have been found there. (Cf. J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* [1941], 22 – 30, 77 – 85; C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels* [1963], 1 – 47.)

(2) A town within the tribal territory of ZEBULUN (Josh. 19:15), probably the home and burial place of IBZAN, an early judge of Israel (Jdg. 12:8, 10; cf. however Jos. *Ant.* 5.7.13). The town, modern Beit Laḥm, is about 7 mi. NW of NAZARETH, and some remains have been found indicating its importance in earlier times.

H. G. ANDERSEN

Bethlehem, Star of. See STAR OF BETHLEHEM.

Beth-lomon beth-loh'muhn (Βαιθλωμων). Apparently an Israelite whose 123 descendants returned from captivity in Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:17). However, the parallel passage speaks of 123 men from Bethlehem (Ezra 2:21), and on that basis the RSV has Bethlehem as well in 1 Esdras. It is not certain whether the Greek translator understood Beth-lomon to be a person or a place.

Beth Maacah. See ABEL BETH MAACAH.

Beth Marcaboth beth-mahr'kuh-both (הַמַּרְכָּבוֹת בֵּית־ *H1096* and בֵּית מַרְכָּבוֹת *H1112,* "house of [the] chariots"). TNIV Beth Markaboth. One of the cities "taken from the share of Judah" and apportioned to the tribe of SIMEON (Josh. 19:5, cf. v. 9; 1 Chr. 4:31). It is probably the same town as MADMANNAH, which appears in its place in the corresponding list (Josh. 15:31) and which is identified with Khirbet Tatrit (or with nearby Khirbet Umm ed-Deimneh), 9 mi. NE of BEERSHEBA. Some think it was originally named Madmannah but later renamed because it was made into a chariot city by SOLOMON (cf. 1 Ki. 10:28 – 29).

D. H. MADVIG

Beth Meon beth-mee'on (בֵּית מְעוֹן *H1110,* "house of habitation"). A town in the Moabite plateau against which JEREMIAH prophesied judgment (Jer. 48:23). It is probably to be identified with BAAL MEON.

Beth Millo beth-mil'oh (בֵּית מִלּוֹא *H1109,* "house of Millo [filling]"). Also Beth-millo. (1) A place associated with SHECHEM (Jdg. 9:6, 20; KJV, "the house of Millo") and usually identified with "the tower of Shechem" (9:46 – 49). Some think it may refer to an area of earth fill and thus to the foundation of the upper city, which would have been inhabited by priests and soldiers.

(2) A place near JERUSALEM, "on the road down to Silla," where King JOASH was assassinated by his officials (2 Ki. 12:20; KJV and other versions, "the house of Millo"). It may have been a prominent building in an area of Jerusalem known as the MILLO.

Beth Nimrah beth-nim'ruh (בֵּית נִמְרָה *H1113,* perhaps "house of a leopard" or "place of the water streams"). A town allotted to the tribe of GAD (Num. 32:36; Josh. 13:27), also called simply Nimrah

(Num. 32:3, *nimrâ H5809).* Taken from the Amorites, it was fortified by the Gadites to protect their families and cattle while they shared with the other tribes in the conquest W of Jordan. The ancient city is identified as Tell el-Bleibil, some 10 mi. NE of JERICHO on the N side of the Wadi Shaib. The city was later moved about a mile to the SW, where the name is preserved in modern Tell Nimrin.

D. A. MADVIG

Beth Ophrah beth-of'mh (בֵּית לְעַפְרָה *H1108,* "house of dust" [the preposition ל here possibly functions as a possessive]). A town in the SHEP-HELAH mentioned in Micah's lament (Mic. 1:10; KJV, "the house of Aphrah"; NRSV and other versions, "Beth-leaphrah"). J. Simons *(The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 472) suggests that it be identified with Wadi el Ghafr between ed-Daweimeh and Tell ed-Duweir. However, since the expression is clearly a play on words ("in the dusty place roll in the dust"), some think it may be an allusion to another city, such as OPHRAH or BETHEL.

D. H. MADVIG

Beth-oron beth-or'uhn. KJV Apoc. form of BETH HORON (1 Macc. 3:16 et al.).

Beth-palet beth-pay'let. KJV alternate form of BETH PELET (Josh. 15:27).

Beth Pazzez beth-paz'iz (בֵּית פַּצֵּץ *H1122,* "house of dispersion"). A city included in the territory of the tribe of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19:21). It was located to the E of Mount TABOR, but the site has not been identified; suggestions include Kerm el-Hadethe (F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine, 2* vols. [1933 – 38], 2:279) and Sheikh Mazghith (C. G. Rasmussen, *Zondervan NIV Atlas of the Bible* [1989], 229).

Beth Pelet beth-pee'lit (בֵּית פֶּלֶט *H1120,* "house of escape"). One of the "southernmost towns of the tribe of Judah in the Negev toward the boundary of Edom" (Josh. 15:27 [KJV, "Beth-palet"]; cf. v. 21). It was rebuilt and inhabited by the people of JUDAH after their return from EXILE in Babylon (Neh. 11:26 [KJV, "Beth-phelet"]; the name is omitted from the corresponding passage in LXX). HELEZ the Paltite, one of David's famous Thirty, was likely from this city (2 Sam. 23:26). It is perhaps to be identified with Tell es-Saqati, about 6 mi. NNE of BEERSHEBA.

Beth Peor beth-pee'or (בֵּית פְּעוֹר *H1121,* "house of Peor"). A city in MOAB that was assigned to the tribe of REUBEN (Josh. 13:20). Before entering the land of Canaan, the Israelites encamped in the valley near Beth Peor while MOSES viewed the Promised Land from the top of Mount PISGAH (Deut. 3:29). In this same valley Moses committed laws to them, and here God buried him (4:46; 34:6). The name of the city may have been originally Beth Baal Peor and was likely the place where BAAL PEOR was worshiped as patron deity (Num. 25:3, 5, 18; see also PEOR). Possible identifications are Khirbet esh-Sheikh-Jayil and Khirbet ʿAyun Musa, both of them a short distance N of Mount Nebo (see NEBO, MOUNT).

D. H. MADVIG

Bethphage beth'fuh-jee (Βηθφαγή *G1036,* from Aram. בֵּית פַּגָּא "house of unripe figs"). A village

on the MOUNT OF OLIVES and near BETHANY. As Jesus approached this town on his way to JERUSALEM, he sent two of his disciples to procure a colt in preparation for the TRIUMPHAL ENTRY (Matt. 21:1; Mk. 11:1; Lk. 19:29). The name is mentioned in a number of passages in the TALMUD, sometimes as a village on its own and sometimes as part of Jerusalem. The site is generally identified with the present Kafr eṭ-Ṭur, just W of Bethany and less than a mile E of Jerusalem.

H. G. ANDERSEN

Beth-phelet beth-fee'let. KJV alternate form of BETH PELET (Neh. 11:26).

Beth Rapha beth-ray'fuh (בֵּית רָפָא *H1125,* "house of Rapha [healing]"). Son of Eshton and one of "the men of Recah," descendants of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:12). Some scholars think that Beth Rapha is a place near BETHLEHEM. Since a person is apparently intended in the text, perhaps he was named after (or was otherwise associated with) a city. (See Y. Aharoni, *The land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 108, contrasted with 248.)

Beth Rehob beth-ree'hob (בֵּית רְחוֹב *H1124,* "house of Rehob [street]"). An ARAMEAN town or principality near the city of Laish (see DAN (PLACE)) in the extreme N of Palestine (Jdg. 18:28). It is probably the same as the REHOB that marked the northern limit of the spies' inspection of Canaan (Num. 13:21). When the Ammonites prepared to fight against King DAVID, they hired 20,000 Aramean mercenaries from this area and from the nearby kingdom of ZOBAH (2 Sam. 10:6; see AMMON and ARAM). The area was probably located in the BEQAʿ Valley, between Dan and Zobah, but the precise location has not been identified.

J. B. SCOTT

Bethsaida beth-say'uh-duh (Βηθσαϊδά *G1034,* from Heb. בֵּית צַיִדָה "house of hunting [fishing]"). Also Beth-saida. A town on the N shore of the Sea of GALILEE.

I. The biblical record. The Gospel of John clearly states that PHILIP the disciple was from Bethsaida, the city of ANDREW and PETER (Jn. 1:44; 12:21). Apparently Jesus visited the town at this early point in his ministry (cf. 1:43). It is noteworthy that Peter had a home in CAPERNAUM (Matt. 8:13 – 14), which on any suggested location cannot be far away.

Bethsaida was the scene of the feeding of the 5,000 (Lk. 9:10 – 17). Both Matthew and Mark wrote of the scene of this feeding as a "solitary place" without naming it (Matt. 14:13; Mk. 6:31 – 32). Confusion arises from Mark's account, which first reports the event and then adds, "Immediately Jesus made his disciples get into the boat and go on ahead of him to Bethsaida" (Mk. 6:45). Furthermore, John introduces his account of the same event by saying that "Jesus crossed to

Bethsaida.


Excavation of a site thought by some to be ancient Bethsaida.

the far shore [presumably the E side] of the Sea of Galilee" (Jn. 6:1). Elsewhere John speaks of "Bethsaida in Galilee" (12:21). Tradition places the feeding of the 5,000 at ʿAin et-Tabghah, 1.5 mi. W of Capernaum, but there are serious problems with this identification despite the presence of the Chapel of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes at that site. It is generally agreed from the texts that Bethsaida is somewhere near the N end of the Sea of Galilee, but probably on the E side of the Jordan's mouth.

After Jesus' trip toward TYRE and SIDON, he returned to the area of GALILEE, where he healed a

deaf mute, fed the 4,000, argued with the PHARISEES, and then came again to Bethsaida (Mk. 8:22). He healed the blind man brought to him and from there went N to CAESAREA PHILIPPI with his disciples. Jesus called Bethsaida a "village" (*kōmē G3267,* Mk. 8:26). Apparently Jesus' ministry was less than successful in Bethsaida in spite of the feeding of the 5,000; both that town and KORA-ZIN were cursed (Matt. 11:21 – 22; Lk. 10:13). The only other reference to Bethsaida in the Bible is as a textual variant (Jn. 5:2, where the original reading is prob. BETHESDA).

II. The problem of locating Bethsaida. The lack of clarity in the NT as to the location of Bethsaida, whether E or W of the JORDAN, is compounded by the several references to the town (or towns) in the writings of JOSEPHUS. The name Bethsaida, being a fitting description of a fishing village, could refer to several towns on this productive lake. Josephus recorded that the tetrarch Philip (see HEROD VI) "advanced the village Bethsaida, situated at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city…and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Caesar's daughter" *(Ant.* 18.2.1). Philip chose it as his burial place *(Ant.* 18.4.6). Other references in Josephus indicate that it was E of the Jordan and N of the lake: in Lower GAULANITIS, the political division N and E of the Sea of Galilee *(War* 2.9.1); at the beginning of the mountains that extend S to ARABIA (*War* 4.7.2); about a furlong from the Jordan (*Life* 72).

Two cities may be considered as the most likely location of Bethsaida. The modern site el-ʿAraj is right on the lake and near the Jordan's mouth. It has a harbor and thus meets most of the specifications, but some argue that it does not fit the descriptions by Josephus of Julias as a city. About a mile N of el-ʿAraj, and connected by what was a fine road, is another site bearing the simple name of et-Tell ("the mound"). This location is near the Jordan and has evidence of being a larger city complete with wall, aqueduct, and fine buildings. Perhaps the fishing settlement first occupied the shore position, whereas the city that Herod Philip built (or its acropolis) was located at a more advantageous site to the N. This identification would solve most of the questions presented in the Gospels as well as those in ancient secular sources (but see *SacBr,* 356 – 59).

The expression "Bethsaida in Galilee" (Jn. 12:21) need not imply a second city by that name W of the Jordan. The phrase should probably be understood in a general geographic rather than strict political sense. Other problems concern the expressions about crossing the sea or going to the other side. Although some insist that these terms mean going in a relatively straight line through the middle, the problem is eliminated if all it means is that they went from one point on the shore to another not so far away. Finding a site for the feeding of the 5,000 still remains a problem, for the description of that event fits better with the more fertile area to the W, although there is nothing to rule out completely the possibility that the miracle took place somewhere in the vicinity of what is now el-ʿAraj. (Cf. G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* [1935], 161 – 68; C. Kopp, "Christian Sites Around the Sea of Galilee," in *Dominican Studies* 3 [1950]: 10 – 40; *ABD,* 1:692 – 93.)

R. L. ALDEN

The uplifted hill of Beth Shan inhabited during the 0T period towers over the Greco-Roman and Byzantine ruins of Scythopolis. (View to the NNE.)

Bethsamos beth-sam'os. See AZMAVETH (PLACE).

Beth Shan beth-shan' (בֵּית־שְׁאָן *H1126* [בֵּית שָׁן in Samuel], "house of quietness"). Also Beth-shean. A city and important stronghold in the valley of Jalud, near the junction of the JEZREEL and JORDAN valleys. Only a few perennial streams join the Jordan on its W bank, and the most important is the Jalud. Hence this valley was densely settled in the Canaanite and Israelite periods, though the principal city was at Rehob (not one of the towns of the same name mentioned in the Bible), 5 mi. S of Beth Shan. The valley of Jezreel is a minor rift valley leading into the broader plain of ESDRAELON and the Mediterranean coast. The huge pyramid of Tell el-Ḥusn, site of ancient Beth Shan, is located at a step in the narrow Jezreel trough, in a nodal position of great military importance. It commanded thus the routes S along the Jordan, N to Syria by way of the Sea of GALILEE, and W to the coast of the Mediterranean. It is situated at c. 350 ft. below sea level, but Tell el-Ḥusn commands a wide prospect on a promontory between the Jalud Valley to the N and a converging valley to the SE, high above the Jordan.

The name is frequently alluded to in the Bible. The town was on the N border of the territory assigned to MANASSEH, although this tribe was unable to drive out the Canaanites (Josh. 17:11, 16; Jdg. 1:27; 1 Chr. 7:29). Beth Shan never seems to have been integrated into the life of Israel. The Canaanites were not driven out of it in the life of the JUDGES, and here the PHILISTINES hung the bodies of SAUL and his sons on the wall of the city after their defeat at GILBOA (1 Sam. 31:10 – 12; 2 Sam. 21:12). Thanks to DAVID'S power, SOLOMON was able to incorporate Beth Shan in one of his districts (1 Ki. 4:12). It also figures in the conquests of Sheshonq (named SHISHAK in 1 Ki. 14:25) and in the accounts of Judas and Jonathan MACCABEE (1 Macc. 5:52; 12:40 – 41), but it plays little or no other role in Israelite history.

During the Greek period it was known as Scythopolis ("City of the Scythians"; cf. Jdt. 3:10; 2 Macc. 12:29 – 30), possibly from a force of SCYTHIAN cavalry in the army of PTOLEMY II. Then, under the Seleucids in the 2nd cent. B.C. (see SELEUCUS), it acquired the name of Nysa. The primitive name was retained by its native peoples, and the Arabic Beisan is maintained in a village near tell. In the HASMONEAN and succeeding period it attained considerable prosperity as the only city of the DECAPOLIS on the W side of Jordan (1 Macc. 12:40; Jos. *Ant.* 14.5.3). Apart from its geographical location and biblical references, the name occurs with several linguistic variations in Egyptian and

Akkadian documents from the 15th cent. B.C. onward.

The tell has been excavated by several archaeological expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania: C. S. Fisher (1921 – 23), Alan Rowe (1925 – 28), G. M. FitzGerald (1930 – 33), and more recently by F. W. James and P. E. McGovern. At one point a sounding to virgin soil was dug down for 70 ft., through 18 main occupation levels, to Chalcolithic occupation of the mid-4th millennium B.C. It was an important Canaanite town in the early and Middle Bronze Age, but in the period from c. 3300 to 1500 the evidence suggests the town was unwalled. In the late Bronze Age Beth Shan became an important stronghold of the Egyptian Empire. Egyptian influence began about the 15th cent. B.C. in Level X of the site. Level IX, dating from the 14th cent., shows first evidence of a town wall and gateway of stone construction. In Level VIII, two royal stelae of Seti I refer to an attack by neighboring petty kings and one made by the ʿApiru (HABIRU) or nomadic peoples. Level VII (13th cent.) contained a temple of RAMSES II, which continued through into Level VI in the 12th cent. In ground plan these temples resemble shrines at TELL EL-AMARNA. The goddess of fertility—ANATH or Antit—is alluded to, and also a Babylonian deity. In Level V (c. 11th cent.) two temples have been discovered, the southern one dedicated to the god RESHEPH, and the other to the goddess Antit (perhaps referred to in 1 Sam. 31:10). A great number of Canaanite cultic objects have been discovered at this level.

There is no certain evidence when Beth Shan fell into the hands of the Israelites, possibly in Level IV. Then at this Iron Age period, the site was occupied only between c. 815 to 700 B.C., followed by a long period of desertion before its renewed occupation in the Hellenistic period (Level III). Only a few figurines, once regarded as evidence of Scythian occupation, have suggested the possibility that it had a hill-top shrine under the Persians, but this is conjectural. In Level III a peripheral temple was excavated, probably Roman, with an adjoining citern

Beth Shan.

adorned with the head of perhaps Dionysius. Levels II and I represent the Byzantine and Arab periods. In Level II, there are remnants of a circular Christian church, a monastery of the 6th cent. A.D., and the restored city wall. The city finally fell to the Arabs in the year 636. (Cf. I. A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan* [1930]; G. M. FitzGerald in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study,* ed. D. Winton Thomas [1967], 185 – 96; F. W. James and P. E. McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII*, 2 vols. [1993]; *NEAEHL,* 1:214 – 35.)

J. M. HOUSTON

Beth-shear) beth-shee'uhn. See BETH SHAN.

Beth Shemesh beth-sheh'mish (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ *H1127,* "house of the sun"). Also Beth-shemesh. A place name, apparently applied to several towns where a shrine to the sun-god was consecrated during pre-Israelite times.

(1) In Upper GALILEE. A Canaanite town in the tribal inheritance of NAPHTALI (Josh. 19:38); it maintained its independence during the period of the judges (Jdg. 1:33), probably until the reign of DAVID (cf. 2 Sam. 24:6 – 7). This may be the town whose name appears as *bwtšmš* in the Egyptian EXECRATION TEXTS of the 19th cent. B.C. (G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* [1940], No. E-60). In any case this city of Naphtali should not be equated with the one in Issachar (cf. below,

#2). The biblical association of BETH ANATH with Naphtali's Beth Shemesh (Jdg. 1:33) points to a location in central upper Galilee. Thus Y. Aharoni has proposed its identification with Khirbet Tell er-Ruweisi, about 17 mi. NE of Acco, a prominent site overlooking the high Galilean table land *(The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 162, 432). While this identification is uncertain, other proposals are of dubious value.

(2) In Lower Galilee. Another town by this name appears near the border of the tribal territory of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19:22). Of the various suggestions for its identification, the most likely is Khirbet Sheikh esh-Shamsawi (Khirbet Shamsin), which would place Beth Shemesh on the northern side of Issachar's district near the border with Naphtali, about 3 mi. SW of the S tip of the Sea of Galilee (cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 432, and map 18). A commonly accepted suggestion puts Beth Shemesh at the nearby el-ʿAbeidiyeh, closer to the Jordan River, but this latter site is a more likely candidate for the Yanoam known from nonbiblical sources (e.g., *ANET,* 378).

(3) In JUDAH. The most prominent Beth Shemesh in biblical history was the one on the northern boundary of Judah's tribal inheritance (Josh. 15:10). It was also known as IR SHEMESH (Josh. 19:41; *ʿîr šemeš H6561,* "city of the sun") and Mount HERES (Jdg. 1:35). EUSEBIUS reported that in his day there existed a town "ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the east between it and Nicopolis" (*Onom.* 54.12 – 13; text restored according to E. Z. Melamed). By this he evidently meant that Beth Shemesh could be reached by taking the eastern road to Nicopolis instead of the main route, which passed further to the W. The first to locate the ancient mound of Beth Shemesh was E. Robinson, who noted that the biblical name was still preserved in the form ʿAin Shems, "the well of the sun," attached to some village ruins where the Wadi eṣ-Ṣarar (SOREK) is joined by the Wadi en-Najil from the S and Wadi el-Ghurab from the N. Just W of ʿAin Shems is the large mound Tell er-Rumeileh, which represents the site of the biblical city, some 16 mi. W of Jerusalem.

The first archaeological excavations on Tell er-Rumeileh were conducted by D. Mackenzie under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund during 1911 – 12. The site was reinvestigated by the

Beth Shemesh.

The oval shaped site of ancient Beth Shemesh borders the western edge of the modern town. (View to the NE.)

Haverford College Expedition under the direction of E. Grant during the years 1928 – 31 and 1933 (cf. E. Grant and G. E. Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations,* 5 vols. [1931 – 39]). The resultant division of the finds according to strata distinguishes six levels of occupation, from Middle Bronze to Byzantine times. Discoveries from the Late Bronze Age were of special importance for the history of WRITING in Canaan. One small clay tablet was found bearing an enigmatic inscription in CUNEIFORM script like that used for writing the language of UGARIT; the signs read from right to left, as is the case with only a few of the Ugaritic texts (where left-to-right is the rule). Certain peculiarities of the signs

also correspond to the right-to-left texts from Ugarit (cf. W. F. Albright in *BASOR* 173 [Feb. 1964]: 51 – 53). Another important inscription is on a potsherd and represents the "proto-Canaanite" script. Typical small finds from the Iron Age included numerous royal stamped jar handles and one in particular bearing the inscription "Belonging to Eliakim, the steward of Jehoichin"; two examples of this seal were found at Tell Beit Mirsim and one at Ramat Rahel. (See further *NEAEHL,* 1:249 – 54.)

Beth Shemesh served as a landmark on the N boundary of Judah (Josh. 15:10), but under the name Ir Shemesh its territory was apparently assigned to DAN (Josh. 19:41). However, the Danites were pushed back into the hills by the AMORITES and were thus unable to occupy the region of Mount Heres (Jdg. 1:35), which is probably an allusion to Beth Shemesh. The town itself was given to the descendants of AARON (Josh. 21:16; 1 Chr. 6:59). When the ARK OF THE COVENANT was returned to Israel by the PHILISTINES, it was brought via the Sorek Valley to Beth Shemesh (1 Sam. 6). There its reception was accompanied by rejoicing and sacrifices, but afterward some of the citizens were smitten for looking into the ark (1 Sam. 6:19 – 21). As a consequence, the ark was transferred to KIRIATH JEARIM.

SOLOMON'S second administrative district included Beth Shemesh (1 Ki. 4:9). Since Judah was not included except possibly at the end of the list (v. 19, according to the LXX), Beth Shemesh was clearly reckoned as part of "Israel" during the united monarchy. A clash between AMAZIAH king of Judah and Jehoash (see JOASH) king of Israel took place at Beth Shemesh, resulting in the defeat and capture of the former (2 Ki. 14:8 – 14; 2 Chr. 25:17 – 24). At this time, Beth Shemesh is said to have belonged to Judah. It had undoubtedly been Judean ever since the split of the monarchy, because towns to the N and S of it, such as Zorah and Azekeh, had been fortified by King REHOBOAM of Judah (2 Chr. 11:9 – 10). During the reign of AHAZ king of Judah, raids were made by the Philistines against the Judean cities of the SHEPHELAH and several towns were taken, including Beth Shemesh (28:18). Ahaz may have expected that TIGLATH-PILESER III would return these towns to Judah during the Assyrian campaign in Philistia (734 B.C.), but if so, he was sorely disappointed (28:20). Beth Shemesh does not figure again in the biblical record; one may surmise that it was again in Judean hands at least during the reign of King JOSIAH, and perhaps also under HEZEKIAH.

(4) In EGYPT. Jeremiah speaks of breaking the pillars of *bēt šemeš* (KJV, "Beth-shemesh"), which the NIV renders "the temple of the sun," and which may be a reference to ON, that is, HELIOPOLIS (Jer. 43:13; cf. the LXX [50:13] and NRSV).

A. F. RAINEY

Beth-shemite beth-shem'it (בֵּית־שִׁמְשִׁי *H1128).* Term used in the KJV and other versions with reference to a certain Joshua, in whose field the ARK OF THE COVENANT was set (1 Sam. 6:14, 18; NIV, "Joshua of Beth Shemesh"). See BETH SHEMESH #3.

Beth Shittah beth-shit'uh (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה *H1101,* "house of Shittah [acacia]"). Also Beth-shittah. The place near the border of ABEL MEHOLAH to which the routed army of MIDIAN fled before GIDEON (Jdg. 7:22). The proposed identification with modern Shattah, some 5 mi. NW of BETH SHAN, is unlikely. Since Beth Shittah was not far from Abel Meholah, the site was probably located SE of Beth Shan, perhaps on the E side of the Jordan.

Bethsura beth-soor'uh. KJV Apoc. form of BETH ZUR (1 Macc. 4:29 et al.).

Beth Tappuah beth-tap'yoo-uh (בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ *H1130,* "house of [the clan of] Tappuah" or "place of the apple trees"). A town in the hill country of JUDAH; its district included HEBRON and seven other cities (Josh. 15:53). The site is identified with the modern village of Taffuḥ, 3.5 mi. NNW of Hebron. It stands on the edge of a high ridge that overlooks fertile terraces below. This district has been described as fruitful and rich, which suggests the reason for the name given to the town.

J. B. SCOTT

Bethther. See BETHER.

Beth Togarmah beth'toh-gahr'muh (בֵּית תּוֹגַרְמָה *H1129,* "house of Togarmah"). A place in "the far north" that exchanged horses and mules for the merchandise of TYRE and that had military connections with GOG (Ezek. 27:14; 38:6). It was probably located in what is modern Armenia. See also TOGARMAH.

Bethuel (person) bi-thyoo'uhl (בְּתוּאֵל *H1432,* possibly "man of God"). Son of NAHOR (ABRAHAM'S brother) and father of REBEKAH and LABAN (Gen. 22:22 – 23; 24:15; et al.). He is referred to as "the Aramean from Paddan Aram" (25:20; cf. also 28:5). See ARAM (COUNTRY). E. Speiser (in *Biblical and Other Studies,* ed. A. Altmann [1963], 15 – 28) has pointed to the Nuzi "sistership documents" *(ṭuppi ahātūti)* to explain the prominent part played by Laban in the marriage request of ISAAC'S servant, rather than the father Bethuel who was living at this time (Gen. 24:50, contrary to Jos. *Ant*. 1.16.2, which says he was dead; cf. also N. Jay in *VT* 38 [1988]: 52 – 70).

Bethuel (place) bi-thyoo'uhl (בְּתוּאֵל *H1433,* derivation uncertain, but cf. previous item; also בְּתוּל *H1434* [Josh. 19:4]). A town occupied by the clan of SHIMEI, descendant of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:30). In a parallel list that describes the inheritance of Simeon within the territory of JUDAH, it is spelled Bethul (Josh. 19:4). It appears to be the same as KESIL (Josh. 15:30), and perhaps it occurs once in the alternate (or textually corrupt?) form "Bethel" (1 Sam. 30:27; cf. W. F. Albright in *JPOS* 4 [1924]: 150; others emend to BETH ZUR). Its precise location is unknown, although one proposal is Khirbet el-Qarjetein, a ruin some 12 mi. S of HEBRON (see J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], §321).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Bethul beth'uhl. See BETHUEL (PLACE).

Bethulia bi-thoo'lee-uh (Βαιτουλουα). A town mentioned frequently (and only) in the book of JUDITH. It is described as a town located in such a way as to prevent the enemy led by HOLOFERNES from penetrating the plain directly into the hill country: it is opposite the plain of ESDRAELON and near a second plain in which DOTHAN was located (Jdt. 4:6). Elsewhere we are told that Holofernes's army "encamped in the valley near Bethulia, beside the spring, and they spread out in breadth over Dothan as far as Balbaim [prob. Khirbet Bel(ameh] and in length from Bethulia to Cyamon, which faces Esdraelon" (7:3 NRSV). Two textual changes to this text have been proposed so that it reads, "…in breadth *from [apo* instead of *epi]* Dothaim to Belbaim and in length from *Belbaim* to Cyamon." Therefore, J. Simons concludes that our city of Bethulia "was situated between the upright sides of a

triangle, the top of which is the twice mentioned site of hirbet bel(ameh, while its base was a line from tell dōtān to el-jāmūn" *(The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 499).

This conclusion leads to an identification of Bethulia with Sheikh Shibil on the top of Jebel el-(Aṣi. This site does block the approach to Judea by which it would have been possible to reach Jerusalem (Jdt. 4:6 – 7). It is also on top of a hill (7:8; 10:10) and near a spring that served as the city's water supply (6:11; 7:7, 12, 17). At Sheih Shibil there are several springs, but the one at the SE foot of the hill is probably referred to here. From the top of Sheih Shibil (c. 475 meters above sea level) a good view of the hills of Samaria and the plains of Esdraelon was possible. At this site Judith's husband was buried (8:3), and it is defined as being between Dothan and BALAMON (which again fits Sheih Shibil). Other sites, such as SHECHEM, have been proposed as corresponding to Bethulia. Moreover, many scholars believe that this name, and many others in the book, are fictitious (cf. T. Craven, *Artistry and Faith in the Book of Judith* [1983]).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Beth-zaith beth-zay'ith (Βηθζαιθ from בֵּית זַיִת "house of olive"). The place where BACCHIDES, one of DEMETRIUS'S generals, slaughtered many Jews in the Maccabean War (1 Macc. 7:19; KJV, "Bezeth"). When enemies of Judas MACCABEE and his friends accused them of ruining the country, Demetrius chose Bacchides to take vengeance on Israel. With the help of ALCIMUS, Bacchides deceived some HASIDEANS into trusting him and slew sixty of those who went over to him from Jerusalem. Then he went to Beth-zaith and slaughtered many more, casting them into a pit. The site is identified with modern Beit-Zeita, 4.5 mi. SW of BETHLEHEM.

J. B. SCOTT

Beth-zatha beth-zay'thuh (Βηθζαθά, possibly from Aram. בית זיתא "house of the olive"). According to CODEX SINAITICUS and a few other witnesses, this was the name of the pool in JERUSALEM where Jesus healed a lame man (Jn. 5:2; this textual variant is accepted by the editors of the UBS Gk. NT and by a number of modern versions). JOSEPHUS (*War* 2.19.4 §530) refers to "Bezetha" as the "New City," which lay beyond the Second Wall on the N side of Jerusalem. The pool may have been given the name Beth-zatha (either initially or subsequent to NT times) because of its connection or proximity to this suburb. However, the NIV takes BETHESDA as the original reading in John.

Beth-zechariah beth-zek'uh-ri'uh (Βαιθζαχ- αρια, "house of Zechariah"). KJV Bath-zacharias. A town about 10 mi. SW of JERUSALEM, modern Khirbet Beit Zakariya. It is the place where Judas MACCABEE was defeated by ANTIOCHUS V (Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes) shortly after the latter became king (1 Macc. 6:32 – 33). Antiochus had brought a large, well-equipped army, including a number of elephants. After initial engagements the Jews fled from before the armed host. JOSEPHUS also describes the event *(Ant.* 12.9.4).

C. P. WEBER

Beth Zur beth-zuhr' (בֵּית־צוּר *H1123,* "house *[or* place] of rocks"). Also Beth-zur. A town in the hill country of JUDAH (Josh. 15:58), apparently founded by MAON, a descendant of CALEB (1 Chr. 2:45; "Maon was the father of Beth Zur" could also mean that Maon was the ancestor of the inhabitants of Beth Zur, or even that the people of the town of Maon founded Beth Zur). In a passage that mentions

several towns to which the fugitive DAVID sent what he had plundered from the Amalekites (1 Sam. 30:27), some scholars emend "Bethel" to "Beth Zur" on the basis of the better Greek MSS (see P. K. McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel,* AB 8 [1980], 434). Beth Zur was one of fifteen cities REHOBOAM fortified for the defense of the southern kingdom (1 Chr. 11:7). After the EXILE, the town is described as a half-district ruled by a certain Nehemiah son of Azbuk (Neh. 3:16).

The greatest number of references belong to the Maccabean times when Beth Zur (Gk. *Baithsoura)* functioned as a strategic fortress. In episode after episode, this town figures as a strategic frontier town that was disputed between JUDEA and IDUMEA. Here, in 165 B.C., Judas MACCABEE with ten thousand men met the Seleucid general LYSIAS, who had an army of sixty thousand soldiers (1 Macc. 4:28 – 29; Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.5). The resulting battle was a rousing success for Judas as his men slew five thousand from the army of Lysias. The Seleucid general was forced to return to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA to enlarge his army with "a company of strangers" as "he purposed to come again into Judea" (4:35); meanwhile Judas fortified Beth Zur so that "the people might have a stronghold that faced Idumea" (4:61; 6:7, 26).

ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes died and Lysias promptly set his son Antiochus V, called Eupator, in his stead (1 Macc. 6:17). This Seleucid and Lysias were victorious over Judas and his forces in 162 B.C., and Beth Zur fell into their hands under a murderous attack of thirty elephants used as tanks, one hundred thousand foot soldiers, and twenty thousand horsemen (6:31 – 47), plus a siege of the city that came at the time of the sabbatical year, when the food supplies were low inside the city (6:49). Having secured the site, Antiochus V stationed one of his garrisons there (Jos. *Ant.* 12.9.4 – 7). About 160 B.C., BACCHIDES, general for the Seleucid DEMETRIUS I, returned and fortified Beth Zur and Gazara (9:52; see GEZER) and thus the site became a retreat for "certain of those had forsaken the law and commandments" during the rule of Jonathan (10:12 – 14). Simon Maccabee finally recovered the loss of this city c. 143 B.C. and again strengthened its fortifications (11:65 – 66; 14:7, 33). No wonder JOSEPHUS described Beth Zur as "the strongest place in all Judea" (*Ant.* 13.5.6).

Beth Zur is identified with Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqah, which is about 4.5 mi. N of HEBRON and about 1 mi. NW of Ḥalḥul. The ancient name is preserved in nearby Burj eṣ-Ṣur, which dates from the Byzantine period. The mound of eṭ-Ṭubeiqah was excavated by an American expedition in 1931 under the direction of O. R. Sellers and W. F. Albright. The task was again resumed in 1957 under O. R. Sellers's direction. (See *BASOR* 43 [Oct. 1931]: 2 – 13; *BA* 21 [1958]: 71 – 76; *AASOR* 38 [1968].) Evidence for an Early Bronze Age occupation was very sporadic, since the site yielded only a few handfuls of Early Bronze potsherds. It was not until the Middle Bronze Age II (19th-16th cent. B.C.) that there is evidence for any settlements.

Surprisingly, it had a large population during the HYKSOS period (the latter part of MB II), as is attested by the typical massive fortification walls. A few jar handles with the Hyksos designs are in evidence. In the 15th cent. the city was destroyed and remained unoccupied throughout the Late Bronze period. A 13th or 12th cent. Israelite occupation is ended by a burning level in the mid-11th cent. (perhaps as a result of Philistine wars). Another occupation gap exists in the 10th and 9th centuries, which seems to be at odds with the statement that Rehoboam fortified this city in the late 10th cent (1 Chr. 11:7).

There was a large occupation later, in the 8th and 7th centuries. The city was destroyed during NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S invasion of the country, and a small collection of evidence belongs to the Persian period of Nehemiah's day. The Ptolemies are represented by a few coins, the Seleucids by 173 (124 of which belonged to Antiochus IV Epiphanes), the Maccabees by 18, and John Hyrcanus by 16 (cf. O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-zur* [1933]; for coins see pp. 73 – 74 and fig. 72). Sometime

around 100 B.C. the town was abandoned. (See further *NEAEHL,* 1:259 – 61.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Betolio bi-toh'lee-oh (Βαιτολιω). KJV Betolius. A town whose few inhabitants had returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:21 NRSV). The parallel passage has BETHEL (Ezra 2:28).

Betolius bi-toh'lee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BETO-LIO (1 Esd. 5:21).

Betomasthaim, Bethomesthaim bet'uh-masthay'im (Βαιτομασθαιμ, Βαιτομεσθαιμ). KJV Betomasthem and Betomestham. Place unidentified but facing the plain of ESDRAELON near DOTHAN (Jdt. 4:6). Because of this strategic military position, this city was requested by Joakim, high priest in Jerusalem, to block the Assyrians under HOLOFERNES at the passes into the hills. After JUDITH killed HOLOFERNES, Uzziah, a magistrate of Bethulia (Judith's home), sent to Betomasthaim for aid in destroying the Assyrians (15:4).

C. P. WEBER

Betonim bet'uh-nim (בְּטֹנִים *H1064,* "pistachio nuts"). A town in the AMORITE territory of JAZER allotted to the tribe of GAD (Josh. 13:26). It is usually identified with modern Khirbet Baṭneh, about 16 mi. NE of JERICHO, across the Jordan.

C. P. WEBER

betrothal. See MARRIAGE.

Beulah byoo'luh (בְּעוּלָה *H1241,* "married" [fem. pass. ptc. of בָּעַל *H1249]*). This name, as a transliteration of the Hebrew, occurs once in some English translations of the Bible, such as KJV and NIV (Isa. 62:4; NRSV, "Married"). In this passage God promises Israel that she will no longer be called Azubah (Deserted) but Hephzibah (My Delight is in Her); and her land will no longer be called Shemamah (Desolate) but Beulah (Married). The marriage relationship is often used in the Bible to portray God's relationship with his people (Isa. 54:5; Ezek. 16; 23; Hos. 1 – 3; et al.). The Hebrew form of the word is used elsewhere as a common participle meaning "married" (e.g., Isa. 54:1).

C. P. WEBER

beveled. Term used by the NRSV to render the Hebrew term *môrād H4618* ("slope") in a passage where it occurs as an architectural term: "wreaths of beveled work" (1 Ki. 7:29; KJV, "thin work"; NIV, "hammered work"). It refers to low-relief, scroll-like intertwined wreath decoration on the top and bottom rails; with the undecorated stiles, they formed the frames of panels of the wagon lavers of Solomon's TEMPLE. Interconnection between CYPRUS and PHOENICIA could have provided opportunity for the introduction of the form into the latter country, and thence to Israel by Phoenician workmen used by SOLOMON.

H. G. STIGERS

bewitch. A term used in most English versions to render the Greek verb *baskainō G1001* (Gal. 3:1), which meant, among other things, "to cast a spell." Paul's use of such a strong metaphor indicates the

seriousness of the error espoused by the Galatians. The English word is also used twice by the KJV to render *existēmi G2014* in the context of Simon's sorceries (Acts 8:9, 11); however, this Greek verb is better translated "to amaze."

W. L. LIEFELD

beyond (the) Jordan. An expression used in the English versions to translate the Hebrew phrase *bĕēber hayyardēn* (which occurs some thirty times with minor variations). It is usually taken as a reference to the TRANSJORDAN, that is, the E side of the river JORDAN. B. Gemser, however, adduces much evidence to show that the real meaning of the expression is "Jordania" or "the region of Jordan" *(VT* 2 [1953]: 349 – 55; he points out that a Sabean word *ʿbrt* means "the neighborhood of a stream"). This phrase, which occurs some thirty times, should therefore not be uniformly referred to E of the Jordan. The following passages can refer only to W of the Jordan: Gen. 50:10 – 11; Deut. 3:20, 25; 11:30; Josh. 9:1; Isa. 9:1 (cf. 1 Ki. 4:24). The phrase can indicate either side of the river, depending on the stance of the writer; notice the explicit reference to the "west" in Josh. 5:1 and 12:7. Many have too quickly interpreted these passages as referring to Transjordania alone.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

beyond the river. An expression used in the English versions to translate the Hebrew phrase *bĕēber hannāhār* (which occurs over twenty times with minor variations). It means the region of the EUPHRATES River and can refer to either side of the river (see BEYOND [THE] JORDAN). The OT uses a special word for "river" *(yĕʾōr H3284,* an Egyptian loanword) when referring to the Nile, but when designating particular rivers it usually uses the term *nāhār H5643:* Gen. 2:10 – 14 of the river of EDEN; Isa. 18:1 and Zeph. 3:10 of the rivers of ETHIOPIA; 2 Ki. 5:12 of the rivers of DAMASCUS; and often of the EUPHRATES River. Frequently the Arameans are said to be located "beyond the River" (2 Sam. 10:16; 1 Chr. 19:16), meaning E of the Euphrates; cf. also the Assyrians (Isa. 7:20) and Haran (Josh. 24:3, 14 – 15). Solomon's realm included the region "beyond the river" (1 Ki. 4:21), and here it obviously refers to the W side of the Euphrates by means of the same term. During the Persian period the term becomes a technical expression referring to the W of the Euphrates and DARIUS I'S fifth satrapy, *Ebirnari* (Ezra 4:10 – 11, 16 – 17, et al.). (See further *SacBr,* 278 – 79.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Bezae, Codex. See CODEX BEZAE.

Bezai bee'zi(בֵּצַי *H1291,* prob. short form of בְּצַלְאֵל *H1295,* "in the shadow of God"; see BEZALEL). (1) Ancestor of an Israelite clan that returned from the EXILE (Ezra 2:17; Neh. 7:23; 1 Esd. 5:16 [KJV, "Bassa"]).

(2) One of the leaders who affixed their seals to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:18). He was probably the head of the clan mentioned in #1 above.

Bezaleel bi-zal'ee-uhl. KJV form of BEZALEL.

Bezalel bez'uh-lel בְּצַלְאֵל *H1295,* "in the shadow of God"). KJV Bezaleel. (1) Son of Uri and a descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ (1 Chr. 2:20). Bezalel was the chief artisan and foundryman of the TABERNACLE. He was appointed to this task by Yahweh, who filled him with the Spirit to perform

the work. His special gift included the detailed technical skills for metallurgy, casting, engraving, jewelry making, and wood carving (Exod. 31:2 – 5; 35:30 – 33; 36:1 – 2; 37:1; 38:22; 2 Chr. 1:5). The nature of this endowment, which included the ability to teach others, such as OHOLIAB (Exod. 31:6), suggests a dearth of craftsmen in Israel. His labors included the tabernacle proper, its court, elements of posts, hangings, and coverings; the furniture of the brazen altar, the table of shewbread, the altar of incense, the ark and its mercy seat, and the garments for the priests. The skills he was given provided for a broad technical and inventive capability.

(2) One of the descendants of PAHATH-MOAB who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:30).

H. G. STIGERS

Bezek bee'zik (בֶּזֶק *H1028,* possibly "scattering"). A town where the tribes of JUDAH and SIMEON conquered the Canaanites under ADONI-BEZEK (Jdg. 1:4). Some scholars locate the town in S Palestine, in the territory allotted to Judah, but it is probably the same Bezek where King SAUL mustered his troops to fight the Ammonites at JABESH GILEAD (1 Sam. 11:8). It is thus to be located in the mountains of GILBOA and identified with modern Khirbet Ibziq, 13 mi. NE of SHECHEM. Y. Aharoni *(The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 214 and n. 76) argues that there is no reason to suspect the historicity of the brief notices collected in Jdg. 1 and that the Judahites may well have fought in the region of MANASSEH, since the tribes often passed through the hill country of EPHRAIM.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Bezer (person) bee'zuhr (בֶּצֶר *H1310,* possibly "gold ore"). Son of Zophah and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:37).

Bezer (place) bee'zuhr (בֶּצֶר *H1311,* possibly "gold ore" or "fortress"). A Levitical city in the region of the tribe of REUBEN assigned to the descendants of MERARI (Josh. 21:36; 1 Chr. 6:78). It was also one of the three CITIES OF REFUGE appointed by MOSES on the E side of the Jordan (Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:8). According to the MOABITE STONE, Bezer was one of the towns King MESHA fortified c. 830 B.C. (see *ANET,* 320 – 21), possibly the same as BOZRAH of MOAB (Jer. 48:24, as opposed to Bozrah of EDOM). It is often identified with modern Umm el-ʿAmad, 8 mi. NE of MEDEBA and 11 mi. S. of modern Amman (but see *SacBr,* 204). Biblical Bezer is not to be confused with another site of the same name in BASHAN mentioned in extrabiblical texts.

W. C. KAISER, JR.

Bezeth bee'zith. KJV Apoc. form of BETH-ZAITH (1 Macc. 7:19).

Bezetha. See BETH-ZATHA.

Biatas bi'uh-tuhs. KJV Apoc. form of PELAIAH (1 Esd. 9:48).

Bible. The sacred Scriptures of the Christian church. This article embraces a wide variety of aspects and thus offers a very general survey of biblical contents, history, unity, and other related features. If further details are required, reference should be made to separate articles dealing with more specific

subjects.

1. Descriptive terms
2. Divisions within the Bible
3. The languages of the Bible
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    1. The OT text
    2. The NT text
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6. The canon of the Bible
    1. The OT canon
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7. The use of the Bible
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8. The inspiration and authority of the Bible
9. The unity of the Bible
10. The uniqueness of the Bible

I. Descriptive terms. The English word *Bible* is derived from the Greek word *biblion G1046,* a diminutive form of *byblos* (also *biblos G1047),*

A portion of the great Isaiah scroll from Qumran (1QIsa[a]).

which refers to the bark of the PAPYRUS plant, used widely for writing material. Thus the term meant first "a strip of papyrus," then "document, scroll, book." The plural *biblia* ("books") was naturally used of the collection of holy writings, but it was sometimes mistaken for the feminine singular, which has an identical form, hence "books" became "book" (Bible). The mistake in the grammatical derivation of the word was not inappropriate as a growing conviction developed regarding the unity of the whole. In JEROME'S time the collection was known as the divine "library" (*bibliotheca),* which draws attention to the diversity within the whole. The Bible is simultaneously "the book" and "the

books," both a single volume and a library.

The term *Scriptures,* which is used in the NT and in the writings of the church fathers, represents the Greek word *graphai* (pl. of *graphē G1210,* "writing"; in the sing. it generally denotes a particular passage of Scripture). It is clear from the NT use of these forms that the OT was regarded as possessing special authority. This is borne out by the significance of the formula "it is written," which is so frequently used to introduce important OT citations. Since the plural is used for the whole collection, "Scriptures" corresponds to the early use of "books," although the singular came to be used later in a collective sense.

Another term important in descriptions of the sacred writings is "testament," derived from the Latin *testamentum,* but corresponding to the Greek *diathēkē G1347.* Although the Greek term normally means "testament" in the sense of "will," it is used in the SEPTUAGINT to translate the Hebrew *bĕrît H1382,* meaning COVENANT. When used as a title for the OT or NT, it is understood in this latter sense. The OT contains the books of the old covenant, as the NT contains the books of the new covenant. Since it was the Lord who used the term "new covenant" at the Last Supper, it was not a great step from there to think of the whole process of salvation under the figure of a covenant, which naturally suggested that the former covenant was old by comparison (cf. Heb. 8:6 – 13). It is in this sense that the descriptive adjectives "old" and "new" are to be understood. See COVENANT, THE NEW.

II. Divisions within the Bible. Within the OT there are well-defined groupings of books, but neither the order nor the grouping of these in English Bibles follows the Hebrew. The grouping in the Hebrew is threefold: the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings (the latter known in the Greek versions as the *Hagiographa).* The books of the Law comprise the first five books of the Bible. The Prophets consist of several historical books (known as the Former Prophets: Joshua, Judges, 1 – 2 Samuel, 1 – 2 Kings) and the prophetical books (known as the Latter Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve [i.e., the "Minor Prophets," Hosea to Malachi]). The Writings include all the rest (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 – 2 Chronicles).

Since the double books (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles), the Minor Prophets, and Ezra-Nehemiah were respectively counted as single books, the normal rabbinical reckoning of the books was twenty-four. JOSEPHUS *(Against Apion* 1.8) reckons only twenty-two, evidently by joining Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah (similarly Jerome, *Preface to the Old Testament).* Josephus also differs from the general rabbinical procedure by apparently including thirteen books within the prophetical group and only four within the third group.

The NT bears witness to a threefold division of the OT Scriptures, as in Lk. 24:44, "the Law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms," the latter term clearly standing for the *Hagiographa,* of which Psalms was the first book. Sometimes the Law and the Prophets alone are mentioned (e.g., Matt. 5:17; Acts 13:15). At times the Law seems to stand for all the books, since the term is used with reference to citations drawn from books outside the Pentateuch (e.g., Jn. 10:34, a citation from Ps. 82:6). More often, however, the NT does not use the terms for the divisions, but the more comprehensive term, "the Scripture(s)."

It will be observed from the above that none of the books known as the APOCRYPHA were regarded by either the rabbis or Josephus as belonging to the Jewish Scriptures. These books were mainly those added to the books of the Hebrew CANON in the SEPTUAGINT. Since this Greek translation became the Bible of the early church, it is remarkable that none of the books of the Apocrypha is cited in the NT as Scripture. Some suppose that Jude cites *1 Enoch* in this way, but it is

highly debatable whether he intends to call it Scripture. It is worth noting that Melito of Sardis (c. A.D. 170) found it necessary to consult the Jews in the countries where the OT books had originated in order to settle the question of the content of the OT. At the same time he used the LXX, but clearly did not consider that this was authoritative for the additional books. The apocryphal books were included in the VULGATE (Jerome's Latin translation) and through this means became part of the Scriptures of the Roman Catholic Church. This position was officially adopted at the Council of Trent in 1546. The Reformers rejected the Apocrypha from the canon, but allowed it for reading purposes. The apocryphal books will not be covered in this article.

In the NT the division of the books follows the classification of the literary forms: Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. There is a natural sequence in this order, although it has nothing to do with chronology. The Gospels were placed first because they focus attention on JESUS CHRIST, whose work and teaching formed the central feature of the Christian message. The Acts was from early times linked with the Gospels, partly because it was viewed as a continuation of the gospel story, and partly because it was always associated with the third gospel as the work of Luke. The Epistles follow naturally from Acts because they preserve data regarding the apostolic preaching. The concluding book, the Apocalypse of John, presenting a vision of the future state of the church, forms a fitting consummation to the NT collection. It is significant that many unauthentic books began to circulate at an early period, mainly among heretical sects, which were with few exceptions patterned on the same four types as in the NT collection. It was essential for the Christians to be able to differentiate between those that were genuine and those that were not, and this they did with little hesitation. See CANON (NT).

A division that occurred during the history of the NT canon was based on the existence of doubts concerning certain books. Those unchallenged were called *homologoumena* (confessed or accepted), and those over which some had doubts were called *antilegomena* (disputed). These latter were Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 – 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. Such a division as this belongs to the history of the canon and did not affect the arrangement of the books within the NT.

III. The languages of the Bible. Three languages were used in the original text of the Bible. Hebrew is the language of the major part of the OT, but a few portions are preserved in Aramaic (Ezra 4:8—6:18; 7:12 – 26; Dan. 2:4—7:28; Jer. 10:11). The latter language, which is closely related to Hebrew, was adopted by the Jews during the exile and subsequently became the general Palestinian language for trade and social intercourse. By the time of Jesus it had become the native language of Palestine, while Hebrew was used mainly as the sacred language of the Scriptures. The method of writing Hebrew consonants has remained virtually unchanged over the last 2,000 years. Prior to that there were many changes. The vowels, which were omitted from all older Hebrew writing, were introduced about A.D. 500 by the Masoretes, and since that time have become standard in Hebrew orthography. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT) VII. Much valuable information has come to light from the Qumran library on the state of the Hebrew language some 700 years before the work of the Masoretes, but there is a remarkable degree of agreement between these earlier and later evidences. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

The form of Greek in which the NT is written is known as Koine (or common) Greek, in widespread use at the time as the everyday language of the people. It differed in certain features from classical Greek, which had a more complex structure. Marked differences of style are apparent in the NT. Luke's gospel, for instance, is written in a better style of literary Koine than Mark's, while within Luke there are portions in a different style of Greek (the prologue is more classical than the

rest, while Lk. 1:5—2:52 is written in a Semitic style akin to that of the LXX). So much lexicographical data about the Koine has come to hand from the rubbish heaps of Egypt, that NT exegetes have valuable aids for the understanding of the texts. See also ARAMAIC LANGUAGE; GREEK LANGUAGE; HEBREW LANGUAGE; LANGUAGES OF THE ANE.

IV. The text of the Bible. When dealing with a book, or more precisely a collection of books, parts of which reach back to great antiquity, it is natural to inquire how reliably the texts have been preserved. This question is simpler to answer for the NT than for the OT, since the amount of data available is vastly more for the former than for the latter. However, the quantity of available material for the verifying of the NT text presents its own problems in the need for some method of classifying and assessing the evidence.

A. The OT text. There are four main streams of information for this text. The oldest evidence comes from Qumran. Among the MSS discovered there are many that preserve parts of the OT text. Although for some books the amount of evidence preserved is extremely fragmentary, there is some portion of text extant from all the books except Esther. Much work still needs to be done in examining these documents. What information is available shows that for the main part the Qumran texts agree with the MT or traditional text (see below). This evidence has in fact increased the knowledge of the OT text by more than a 1,000 years. In addition to MSS of the Hebrew text, there are many commentaries on OT books as well as early Greek fragments that throw further light on textual questions.

The next line of evidence is the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT). This is a complete translation of the OT into Greek, including the books of the Apocrypha. Its origins are obscure, but the demand for it certainly seems to have arisen in Egypt. There was a large colony of Jews in ALEXANDRIA, few of whom would have been acquainted with Hebrew. A Greek version also would have been valuable throughout the DIASPORA. Tradition has it that the Egyptian king PTOLEMY Philadelphus (285 – 246 B.C.) instigated the work, but there is no knowing what reliance to place on this tradition. It is probably safe to conclude that the translation of the Pentateuch was completed by 200 B.C.; the rest of the biblical books were translated during the next two centuries. The usefulness of the LXX as evidence for the Hebrew text is problematic, as it frequently deviates from the traditional text, in many cases adding to it. In some passages liberties have been taken to paraphrase or else to modify by means of explanatory phrases, and this process shows that caution must be exercised in using the Greek versions as a guide to the Hebrew text. At the same time, since there are some instances where the Hebrew text as it stands is unintelligible, it may be that the LXX has preserved an accurate reading. Another caution against the LXX is that the translators have at times misunderstood the unpointed (unvocalized) Hebrew text and have consequently introduced corruptions. Less valuable, but still important, are other ancient translations, such as the Latin (Vulgate) and the Syriac (Peshitta). See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT.

The third line of evidence comes from rabbinic literature, especially as preserved in the TARGUMS and the TALMUD. The former are Aramaic paraphrases that became necessary because the Jewish people were unable to understand the public readings from the Hebrew texts. These paraphrases were at first transmitted orally and were gradually written down; most of the extant evidence for them comes from the 4th cent. A.D. There are Targums preserved on all the OT books except Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Some of the Targumists kept much closer to the Hebrew text than others. The work of Onkelos is of most value. These Targums throw more light on the interpretation of the text than on the text itself, but they do at times supply information about the latter. The Talmud

contains the discussions of the rabbis on the oral law (MISHNAH) and related topics. Since they often cited and commented on the Scriptures, they provide valuable information on textual matters, especially those affected by the absence of vowel signs. The Talmud belongs to the period of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

The fourth line of evidence for the Hebrew text consists of the MSS preserving the MT, which took final shape after A.D. 500 and became the traditional text. A pointing system was used to indicate the vowels on the basis of the most probable interpretation of the text from the tradition of the rabbis. This text was subsequently so carefully preserved that there is remarkable uniformity among the extant MSS of pointed Hebrew, the earliest of which is dated to the end of the 9th cent. A.D. Part of the reason for the lack of earlier evidence is that MSS used for public worship may have been destroyed when a new copy was produced. The carefully preserved MT, in combination with earlier evidence, allows scholars to establish the Hebrew text of the Bible to a time prior to the Christian era and thus to approximate its original form. See also TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

B. The NT text. The problem with the text of the NT rests precisely in the abundance of material available. There are thousands of Greek MSS in addition to a great quantity of documents preserving the ancient versions. The majority of the MSS are subsequent to the 8th cent. A.D. It soon became evident to scholars, when the science of textual criticism was developed during the 18th cent., that late MSS were of little value for ascertaining the original text, since in the course of transmission scribal errors tended to be perpetuated. It was not, however, until later that it was recognized that a specific process of ecclesiastical editing took place at the end of the 4th cent., which meant that the majority of the later MSS conformed to that edited text. The focus of attention among editors has therefore shifted to the earlier MSS.

The MS evidence consists of three main types: (1) the papyri, (2) vellum or parchment MSS using the capital or uncial type of script, and (3) later MSS that use a cursive or minuscule script (small flowing style). The cursive MSS are valuable only when they preserve an earlier form of text, as they occasionally do. There are papyri of a fragmentary kind that can be dated as far back as the 2nd cent.; best known is the Rylands fragment of John's gospel (P^{52}, containing a few verses from Jn. 18 and dated to c. A.D. 130). There are others which are more extensive that may be dated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, such as the BODMER PAPYRI and the CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI . The most important uncial MSS are CODEX VATICANUS (B) and CODEX SINAITICUS (ℵ), both of which were produced in Alexandria during the first half of the 4th cent. Sinaiticus is the earliest complete text of the NT, but Vaticanus, which is defective after Heb. 9:14, is generally recognized as superior in text. Most modern editors are agreed that these codices have preserved a text very near to the original. This recognition is due in large measure to the labors of B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, and the influence of their 1881 edition of the Greek NT. Much work has since been done on the text. As a result certain of Westcott and Hort's opinions have been modified in individual readings, but their high estimate of these MSS would still be strongly supported. Other important uncials are CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A) and CODEX BEZAE (D). The latter is of special importance because it preserves a longer text than the other older uncials and is of quite different character.

In addition to these MSS there are several ancient versions, some of which are valuable as evidence for the underlying Greek text, which reaches back to a period earlier than the existing uncial MSS. The Old Latin and Old Syriac versions are most valuable, representing an original Greek text of about A.D. 200. Later Latin and Syriac editions (the Vulgate and the Peshitta respectively) are also valuable. Next in importance is the Coptic version (in Sahidic and Bohairic dialects), which

possesses a text closely akin to the text of B. There were other versions, such as Old Armenian and Old Georgian, which preserve some significant readings, but which have survived mainly in later edited forms. The NT was translated into Gothic by an Arian missionary. Ethiopic and Arabic translations were also produced, but these are not valuable for reconstructing the NT text. See also VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT.

Most of the early church fathers frequently alluded to or else definitely quoted the text of the NT, sometimes adding comments on variant readings. This is a fruitful source of information because it enables the editors to ascertain the type of text used in certain areas and also to date that text. Sometimes the evidence from patristic sources is earlier than any other evidence (as, for instance, in the case of writers such as IRENAEUS and TERTULLIAN). However, patristic citations have their limitations, since it is essential to be sure that an uncorrupted text of the patristic author has been preserved before much use may be made of the evidence. Moreover, some authors were notoriously loose in their method of quoting Scripture, and these are of less value for supplying information about the text they used.

From the mass of evidence there have emerged several textual streams from which editors have been able to construct a provisional text of the NT. The Alexandrian stream is regarded as the most reliable, but the so-called Western text (represented mainly by D and the Old Latin) is one

A Coptic manuscript containing Lk. 7:12b – 22b.

of considerable antiquity and may well preserve some genuine readings where it differs from the Alexandrian. Another stream is known as the Caesarean text because it was at first believed to have been based in CAESAREA, but some scholars are skeptical regarding the existence of this textual type. A fourth stream is the Syrian, later developing into the Byzantine text-type, which became the

traditional form and in the 16th cent. became known as the Textus Receptus (TR). It is the consensus of scholarly opinion that the modern critical text of the NT stands close to the original form, although there are many isolated readings over which certainty cannot be obtained. It is possible that some of these problems may yet be resolved should more MS discoveries be made, but in the meantime the approach to the text may be governed by the assurance that the proportion of uncertainty regarding the text of the NT is small and does not affect doctrinal issues. See also TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

V. Versions of the Bible. Some mention has already been made of various ancient translations. All of these were called forth by practical needs. In addition to the LXX there were other Greek versions of the OT (esp. those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus), which caused ORIGEN in the 3rd cent. A.D. to produce a remarkable work known as the Hexapla, in which he compared by means of parallel columns all the Greek versions with the Hebrew text and suggested his own revision. When Jerome translated the OT, he went back to the Hebrew text (the Old Latin version of the OT had been based directly on the LXX). Other ancient versions of the OT were parallel to those in the NT (the main versions were the Syriac and the Coptic) and showed that the expanding use of the OT was closely linked with the developing needs of the church. The whole Bible existed in at least seven versions by the 6th cent. A.D., in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, and Ethiopic.

During the Middle Ages the movement to translate the Bible into the language of the people found little support. The Vulgate had become purely ecclesiastical, and the Bible itself was largely ignored. Medieval philosophy had replaced biblical theology. Consequently, it was not until the Reformation period that once again the practical needs of the people exercised dominant influence in the field of Bible translation. The earliest attempts to put the Scriptures into English may be followed in the article on VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ENGLISH. Various versions appeared before the KJV was published in 1611. Most of the earlier attempts were based on the Vulgate, but a serious attempt was made by the scholars who produced the KJV to base it on the Hebrew and Greek texts. Similar movements occurred in other European countries, most notably in Germany and France.

It was a considerable time after this before those movements began which aimed to translate the Bible into the vernacular of other peoples of the world, even into tribal languages. The modern Bible societies that exist for this purpose developed alongside the modern missionary movement. The British and Foreign Bible Society began in 1804, and the American Bible Society in 1816, and many similar societies sprang up throughout Europe. For example, the Basel Bible Society in 1806 undertook the production of German Bibles. In the same year the Berlin Bible Society was founded. So great was the interest awakened by this movement that a Roman Catholic Bible Society (Regensburg) was founded in 1805, but its activity did not meet with the approval of the Vatican and was suppressed in 1817. Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries all had similar movements, which began in the early years of the 19th cent. This remarkable awakening of interest, not only in the translation of the Scriptures but also in the distribution of them, has continued unabated. The present number of versions of the whole or parts of the Bible totals more than 2,300—an undeniable testimony to the relevance of the Bible to meet the needs of the various peoples of the world. Special organizations such as the Wycliffe Bible Translators have been formed to attempt to fill in the gaps left in this work. The aim to place the Bible in the hands of the people, which began even before the Reformation, has not yet been completed for all areas of the world. New versions of the Bible, or parts of it, are constantly appearing, and this fact bears testimony to its continuing significance.

VI. The canon of the Bible. There are sixty-six books in the Bible, thirty-nine in the OT and twenty-seven in the NT. The question naturally arises: why these books, no more and no less? The answer takes one into the field of canonicity. As with the text, so with the canon, only the briefest survey is possible, and those desiring more detail should consult the separate articles on CANON (OT) and CANON (NT). Once again, much more specific information is at hand for the NT than for the OT.

A. The OT canon. The most convenient starting point is a statement in the Talmudic treatise *Baba Bathra,* which contains a list of books virtually the same as the present canon. During the 2nd cent. A.D. there was some discussion among the Jews regarding Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. The problems did not concern canonicity as much as internal difficulties. There was no discussion of ancient tradition or questions of authorship. During this period there is also evidence that the Christian church was prepared to accept only those books which formed part of the Hebrew canon, and for this reason the evidence from Jewish sources is important.

At a gathering of Jewish elders, thought to have been held c. A.D. 90 at Jamnia under the presidency of Rabbi Eleazar, there was supposedly some debate about the canonicity of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, but both were apparently accepted. (With regard to the so-called Council of Jamnia, see the end of the article JABNEEL.) Since Jamnia became the center of Palestinian Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem, its deliberations would have had far-reaching effects among the Jews. As already mentioned, Josephus refers to twenty-two books, but these are almost certainly the same books as the present canon. There is the possibility that Josephus may have rejected Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, but since he was a PHARISEE this is most unlikely. In all probability Josephus reflects the popular approach to the OT canon in his time. He mentions that the boundary of the accepted books was marked by the time of Artaxerxes, after which no authorized books were issued.

In the NT not all the OT books are quoted. Some of the Hagiographa and a few of the prophets are lacking (e.g., Judges, Obadiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah). It is not possible to conclude from this that the OT was definitely fixed by this time, but the evidence points in that direction. Throughout the NT the OT is assumed to possess the character of inspired Scripture. The Lord and his apostles shared the beliefs of the Jewish people generally regarding the authority of the OT. It is significant that although there are certain allusions drawn from the APOCRYPHA, there is no instance of an apocrpyhal book being cited as Scripture (Jude 14 is no exception). The OT canon of the early church would certainly seem to approximate the Hebrew rather than the Greek canon, in spite of the use of the text of the LXX.

Prior to the birth of Jesus, the main evidence is drawn from the Qumran library and from the Prologue to Sirach (see ECCLESIASTICUS). There is no specific canonical list that has been preserved from Qumran, but there are now extant fragments of the texts of all the OT books except Esther. From the number of MSS preserved for some of the books, it is possible to ascertain which were the most popular, namely Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Psalms. The commentaries on the OT books show something of the high regard in which the Qumran covenanters held the Scriptures, even if the exegesis is heavily weighted in favor of the covenanters' own situation. From these commentaries it is clear that there was a marked difference between the canonical Scriptures and the numerous other books in the Qumran library. There are many apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books, but no similar commentaries upon them.

The Prologue to Sirach (c. 130 B.C.) speaks of the Law, Prophets, and other books, but there is no clear evidence regarding the third group. Most of the books in this group seem to have been known, but there is some uncertainty about Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. Previous to this

date the evidence for the OT canon is sparse except in the case of the Pentateuch. Tradition has it that EZRA was mainly responsible for the collecting of the material into a recognized canon. Although this has been challenged by many scholars, who date some of the books subsequent to this date, it is highly probable that a major part of the material is preexilic. In the absence of enough evidence on the origin of the OT canon, it is impossible to be certain. As men of old were moved by the Spirit to write the books, so God's people were led by the Spirit to preserve and treasure the books. The canon was not organized, but it grew. The same phenomenon is seen in the history of the NT canon.

B. The NT canon. The growth of the NT canon can be traced in various stages. The earlier stages are the most difficult to reconstruct because of the scarcity of evidence. It is not until c. A.D. 180 that the evidence becomes prolific, but it is clearly the period previous to this which is likely to prove most significant. The high regard for the OT provided a pattern, for since the OT was read in the Christian services, soon the teaching of Jesus and the events of his death and resurrection would claim attention. It is impossible to say how early it was that the first NT books were placed on an equality with the OT. Later the apostolic epistles would be publicly read to provide an answer to the many problems that would constantly arise. This importance attached to apostolic witnesses is significant in the whole history of NT canonicity and may be regarded as its real key.

The basis for the NT canon was the testimony of the Gospels and of the apostles. These were the authorities for the teaching of Christ and his immediate authorized representatives. The definition of the qualifications required of a claimant for the apostolic office (Acts 1:21 – 22) is of great importance in studying the history of the NT canon. The

The Gutenberg Bible (1455) opened to a page in Daniel.

replacement for JUDAS ISCARIOT was required to have been an associate with the disciples throughout the ministry of the Lord Jesus, from the time of his baptism by JOHN THE BAPTIST until his ascension, and to have been a witness of the resurrection. In other words, the apostles had to be in a position to authenticate the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus. This explains why so much emphasis was placed, not only in the earliest period but also later, on the apostolic origin of the various books.

It was the heretical MARCION who first gave expression to the idea of an authorized canon, understood in the sense of a published list. Marcion's Bible consisted of only eleven books, namely,

the Gospel of Luke and ten epistles of Paul (excluding the PASTORALS). The OT was excluded *in toto*. Even the NT books retained were severely edited, many excisions being made.

This type of approach to the canon did not meet with general support. By the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian, the Christian churches generally were not only staunchly maintaining the OT as Scripture, but were also placing most of the NT books on an equal footing with it. There is sufficient positive evidence to show that most of the NT books were in authoritative use. This was certainly true of the four Gospels, the epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, and Acts. The Apocalypse was much read in Asia. The other books do not appear to have been cited in the patristic authors, except Hebrews, which was known to Clement of Rome and to Tertullian, who once cited it. Jude was also known to Tertullian and was regarded as apostolic by him.

For the rest it is necessary to turn to evidence from the 3rd cent., raising the question whether these books have any claim to remain part of the canon. Two important observations must be made regarding the NT in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. In spite of the fact that certain books outside the NT were in some areas revered (esp. in Egypt), the evidence shows that basically the early church was highly selective in its approach to Christian literature. The growth of competing gospels, acts, and other pseudo-apostolic literature was not allowed to modify this basic approach. The books accepted were those which preserved apostolic doctrine. When Tertullian is arguing for those gospels that were considered authentic, he makes out a case for Matthew and John because the evangelists were apostles, and for Mark and Luke because they were pupils of the apostles Peter and Paul respectively. The second important feature of this period is the lack of any official pronouncement on the part of the orthodox churches regarding the NT canon, in spite of Marcion's list. This is sufficient to show that the contents of the NT were the result, not of ecclesiastical selection, but of established usage. The churches needed no official exhortation to regard these NT books on a par with the OT. They did so instinctively as part of their understanding of the continuity of Christianity with the OT predictions.

The period of the 3rd and 4th centuries, during which the questions surrounding the "disputed books" were settled, is marked by a distinction between the attitude of the E and the W. The eastern churches, although aware of doubts held by some over these disputed books, more rapidly came to recognize them as Scripture. By the time of Athanasius (mid-4th cent.) there was no longer any doubt except over the Apocalypse, which was not included in the list attached to the decrees of the Council of Laodicea in 363. The W was slower to include books over which questions had arisen, but by the time of Augustine and the Council of Carthage in 397 all the books were accepted.

Did the decisions of the two councils close the canon forever? Martin Luther's action in preferring certain of the NT books above others, on the ground of their testimony to the doctrine of justification by faith, virtually introduced the idea of degrees of canonicity, but his approach was basically affected by his own personal experience, not by critical analysis. In spite of the questions raised by Luther and others at the time of the Protestant Reformation, the canon remained unchanged. Because of their constant appeal to the Bible as the sole authority for faith and practice, it was reinstated as of fundamental importance to the Christian church.

During the last two centuries or so there have been other factors which have caused further questionings. BIBLICAL CRITICISM has subjected the Bible to scientific examination and sometimes to examination that has been anything but scientific, the results of which have been claimed to show that the idea of an authoritative canon can no longer be held. OT criticism has led to a radical reconstruction of the growth of the OT, which cannot but affect the approach to the canon, even if it has not in fact led to a revision. The same is true for the NT. The question, therefore, arises whether a uniform canon is necessary. Can those, for instance, who do not accept the authenticity of certain

books legitimately exclude these from their canon, even if all do not share their estimate of these books? Most scholars are reluctant to make such a claim.

The general approach adopted by adverse critics of parts of the Scriptures has been to retain canonicity, but to reduce its significance. Hence, if the PENTATEUCH is not accepted as coming from the time of MOSES, it can still be treated as a useful source of data. Similarly, any of PAUL'S epistles not regarded as being written by him are still retained as canonical. What is affected is not their inclusion in the canon, but their authority. The concepts of canonicity and authority are so closely linked, however, that the question must be asked whether such books ought not to be declared noncanonical, if canonicity is to retain any relevant meaning. So drastic a step could never be taken while any doubt remained regarding the correctness of critical conclusions. The Bible cannot be viewed on the basis of opinion. The testimony of the Christian conscience throughout the centuries cannot be dispensed with so readily. The canon of Scripture, as Calvin perceived, is witnessed by the testimony of the Spirit to the individual Christian and to the community as a whole.

VII. The use of the Bible. As the sacred Scriptures of the Christian church, the Bible has been used in a variety of ways, reflecting its remarkable scope and versatility.

A. The liturgical use. It is impossible to be certain what procedure was adopted in the earliest churches with regard to Bible reading as a regular feature of WORSHIP, but it is a fair assumption that the Christians were influenced by Jewish practice. A three-year lectionary for the OT is known to have been used among Jews during the Christian period, though it is not certain how early this commenced. Some scholars think that it was already in existence in the Lord's time. Some theories suggest that certain of the Gospels were constructed on a lectionary pattern (cf. P. Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Calendar: A Study in the Making of the Marcan Gospel* [1952]; A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship* [1960]). But these are suppositions which, while possible, cannot be regarded as substantiated. It may be assumed that regular reading of the OT and NT in public worship soon developed. There are several references in the patristic showing that public reading of any NT book was an evidence of its being an accepted book and thus canonical. In the MURATORIAN CANON such a book as the *Shepherd of Hermas* was allowed for private, but not public, reading. During the Middle Ages the use of Scripture for this purpose fell out of favor, and it was only restored at the Reformation. This was coincident with its becoming the court of appeal for the Protestant churches. The reaction of the Roman Catholic Church was to forbid the use of Scripture even privately among the laity (see next section).

B. The private use. Because of the great cost involved in producing MSS, most copies of the Bible during the early period were owned by churches or by a few wealthy individuals. The common people could not possess their own copies, and they depended on the public readings for their knowledge of Scripture. Moreover, this method was invaluable for Christians who were illiterate. It was not until about the 8th cent. that a smaller, and therefore cheaper, kind of codex of the Bible came into use. This was a decided advantage, for it was then possible for considerably more people to possess their own copies. The practice of reading the Scriptures for study purposes had been commended long before by Augustine and Jerome, but during the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic Church did nothing to encourage it. In the early part of this period there was no direct prohibition of Bible reading, but with the neglect of Latin and the lack of versions in the vernacular, the church condoned the fading out of the practice by default.

During the 12th and 13th centuries, when groups such as the Albigenses and Waldenses arose who appealed to the Bible, the church more strongly opposed the private use of Scripture. This attitude reached its climax in 1546 at the Council of Trent, when it was stipulated that no version made by heretics was to be read without the consent of the bishop. While this is still the official position of the Roman Church, there has been a significant modification since Vatican Council II, prompted no doubt by the ecumenical approach. The rigid stand taken at Trent was to combat the free use of Scripture by the Reformers, particularly by Martin Luther. There is no doubt that one of the mainstays of Protestantism has been its doctrine that God is his own interpreter of the Word. Those movements have been strongest that have recognized the supreme importance of the devotional use of the Bible.

C. The theological use. In the modern church as in the ancient, the Bible has been at the center of theological discussion. The revival of interest in BIBLICAL THEOLOGY in the mid-20th cent. was significant because it revealed a growing recognition that no adequate theological structure can exist without a biblical foundation. At the basis of all true biblical theology is a sound exegetical understanding. It is for this reason that the astonishing flow of commentaries on the Bible continues unabated. Attention is drawn to the theological use of the Bible merely to emphasize its central importance in all theological debate. Most deviations of doctrine are due either to a neglect of biblical truths or else to a misinterpretation of fundamental biblical principles.

D. The literary use. In spite of the fact that the Bible was never intended to be read as literature, it has certain literary qualities and has undoubtedly exerted great influence over other literature, particularly in the English-speaking world. The KJV in England was a powerful means for standardizing English usage, not only in the realm of vocabulary, but also of style. A comparison of this version with its predecessors is sufficient to show how varied the literary characteristics were before the standardizing took place. Similar processes have happened in other cultures, but probably not to the same remarkable extent, since the KJV was produced during the most flourishing period of English prose style.

From a literary point of view the Bible contains samples of drama, poetry, historic prose, and plain narrative. In the NT the samples of epistolary writing are unparalleled elsewhere for their intimacy and wide appeal. They conform neither to the contemporary private letters nor to the literary epistle designed for a wide audience. Like the Gospels, these literary forms were created to meet a specific need. Whereas the Bible still merits literary study, it is not for this reason that it is the bestselling book in the world. See also LITERATURE, THE BIBLE AS.

VIII. The inspiration and authority of the Bible. The doctrine of INSPIRATION is dealt with elsewhere, but no general article on the Bible would be complete without drawing attention to it. Except for those who adopt a radical approach to the Bible, most would agree that it is an inspired book. There are differences of opinion, however, over the meaning of "inspired," and it is essential therefore to embark on a brief clarification of terms.

As often used, inspiration can consist of no more than a sudden flash of insight, or it can refer to that state of mind that lifts an author or artist out of his normal rut and enables him to achieve what is normally beyond his powers. Biblical inspiration is different, for God's agents spoke as they were moved by the HOLY SPIRIT (cf. 2 Pet. 1:21). The impulse came from God, not from human beings, but caution is necessary. This language does not mean a mechanical view of inspiration, which would

annul the humanity of the writers. The mode of inspiration is less important than the fact. JUSTIN MARTYR'S concept of the Spirit playing on the strings of a lyre does less than justice both to the writers and to the Spirit. The motive that prompted it—to safeguard the divine revelation from corruption—was highly commendable, but the Spirit has ways of insuring the purity of the revelation other than by a complete suspension of the human faculties. He who created those faculties could certainly work through them.

If a mechanical inspiration must be rejected, in what sense did the Spirit inspire the Bible? It is not sufficient to limit inspiration to the message of SALVATION, for in that case any book that presented Christ would be equally inspired, and the Bible would lose that unique authority Christians have always instinctively ascribed to it. The inspiration must have some reference to the book itself as the means by which God speaks to sinners. Consequently, it has been the conviction of many that inspiration must extend to the words, in the sense that the words used are the best medium through which the truths of revelation could be expressed. The emphasis falls on the result rather than on the process. Just as all the different factors in the various parts of the OT and NT converge to form a unity under the influence of the Spirit of God, in a manner undreamt of by the separate authors, so the same Spirit has perfectly coordinated the various processes that went to make up the writing to insure an inspired result. There is no other book that possesses the power to challenge and yet reassure, to illuminate and to comfort, to instruct and to warn as the Bible can. This in itself bears testimony to its inspiration.

Closely linked with the inspiration of the Bible is its AUTHORITY. Why does a book containing such diverse material exercise so great an authority over the human mind? It is a plain fact that the Bible does possess the power to exercise authority, whatever the explanation might be. The witness of the Spirit draws attention to the major purpose of Scripture, that is, to show the dominating progression of God's REVELATION, which reaches its climax in the INCARNATION and the ATONEMENT. The religious aspect of this authority is well expressed in the words of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1.5): "We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of the Holy Scripture, and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellences, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts." Because of this inner testimony of the Spirit to the message of the Bible, the Bible itself assumes an authority for the believer. It is this which marks it out from all other books, however inspiring they might be, but it is this also that has raised problems.

One of the major problems affecting the authority of the Bible is whether or not it should be submitted to historical criticism in the same way as other books. One school of thought adopts the view that, since the Bible is an inspired book, it is irrelevant to submit it to human examination. Questions of authorship are invalid, since the Holy Spirit is its author. Date and background are again irrelevant, for the Spirit can apply the word without historical aids. But unless the human situation and personality of the authors did not affect the production of the various books, it must be valuable to inquire into them.

Another school of thought, which equally recognizes the work of the Spirit in the production of the books, nevertheless concedes that since Christianity is a historical religion, its Scriptures must be subject to historical criticism (see BIBLICAL CRITICISM). There is a sense in which the Bible is unique,

and biblical critics must recognize this truth in their approach. They must take into account that the human writers were moved by the Spirit in a way that their secular contemporaries were not. At the same time, it has been the contention of the best of biblical critics that the Bible can withstand criticism and need not fear careful examination.

Another school of thought considers that criticism should take no account of inspiration. It is this approach that has resulted in a spate of speculative theories regarding the origin of many of the OT and NT books, which have in turn led to a rejection of their authenticity. To this school belong the older liberals and the more recent demythologizers, to whom questions of inspiration and authority are of no essential importance, if, indeed, of any relevance. This approach exalts the critics' status higher than that of the Bible, since it gives them an authority it denies to the Bible itself. What do the critics do when their opinions about the Bible conflict with the claims of the Bible? If the authority of the Bible has no influence upon them, they will reject these claims and maintain their own opinion. If the authority be maintained, they will question the validity of their own deductions. There is sometimes a dilemma, and in these cases the critics' presuppositions will sway their opinion.

There is no easy theory of inspiration that is not fraught with some difficulties, but no theory is adequate which sets an unnatural hedge around the Bible to protect it from the most searching, though reverent, examination. It is significant that not a few speculative theories, which were once so confidently promulgated, have been exploded because of further evidence that has since come to light. The theory of a late 2nd-cent. date for John's gospel or the historical unreliability of Acts may be cited as striking examples that should cause considerable reserve before any theories, however specious, are regarded as facts. In spite of a great deal of destructive criticism, the Bible still retains its powerful and unique influence over the human mind. The Bible is its own vindicator.

IX. The unity of the Bible. Mention has more than once been made in this article of the essential link between the OT and NT, and of the fact that these form one, not two books. Certain features of that unity may helpfully be pointed out. First, since the Spirit inspired both parts, it may be expected that the one part will be complementary to the other. What is foreshadowed in the OT is fulfilled in the NT. Second, since the Christian faith finds its basis in the ministry and mission of Christ in the NT, some concept of a progressive revelation, which ever moves toward fuller insights until it reaches perfection in Christ, is essential for a true appreciation of the role of the OT. Third, the basic unity rests on the harmony of the biblical message. It is the same God who reveals himself in both OT and NT: a God who condemns sin, but is ever ready to show mercy to the penitent; a God who has chosen sacrifice as the medium through which salvation can be achieved; a God who has sent his Son, predicted by prophets in the OT, manifested in flesh in the NT. The many times that the NT writers cite the OT shows the apostolic assumption that there was a unity between God's act in Christ and the revelation of the OT (see QUOTATIONS IN THE NT).

X. The uniqueness of the Bible. Since for Christians the Bible is a sacred book, the question arises as to how it compares with the sacred books of other religious systems. In what sense is it superior to these? The question is important because, unless its superiority can be established, the Bible cannot claim to be unique as a revelation of religious truth. The major religious literature of the world outside the Bible consists of the Veda of Brahmanism, the Tripitaka of Buddhism, the Zend-Avesta of Zoroastrianism, the sacred texts of Confucianism, and the Koran of Islam.

The Vedic hymns, which consist of four books, gathered ritualistic commentaries around them known as Brahmana, together with the Upanishads (speculative philosophical treatises). In addition to

these sacred hymns, there are the Laws of Menu, which enshrine certain codes for the regulation of conduct, many of which are of high moral quality. Most of these writings are addressed to nature deities. Although much of the material in these writings is of ancient origin, its present form is probably no earlier than the 2nd cent. A.D. In these writings the aim of the soul is to attain absorption into the self-existent.

The Tripitaka, or three baskets, of Buddhism were not written down much before the time of Christ, although the teachings of the Buddha are of considerable antiquity. The three volumes that comprise this sacred literature are the Vinaya Pitaka, the Abidhama Pitaka, and the Sutta Pitaka, which contain rules for community living, philosophic doctrines, and the oral teachings of the Buddha, respectively. The main theme of these books is the soul's quest for escape from existence.

Some of the writings that make up the ZendAvesta are thought to be as early as 800 – 700 B.C., but there is no certain knowledge as to when Zoroaster lived (see ZOROASTRIANISM). There was originally a sacred text and twenty-one books of commentary upon it, but only fragments remain. These make up three sections: Yasna (liturgies), Visperad (sacrificial litanies), and Vendidad (laws and legendary narratives). The religious viewpoint of these fragments is mixed, although the writings do preserve some fine passages.

The texts of Confucianism claim no supernatural authority. There are five of these; parts are Confucius' own teaching and parts are earlier material. These sacred books are a mixture of chronicles, magical formulae, moral laws, and songs. At times they preserve some noble concepts. Confucianism contains no god. It is, therefore, strictly not a religion. The texts must be regarded as moral precepts that possess no authority to bolster them. A famous sacred book produced by Lao-tsze, a philosopher born some time before Confucius, but who in late life met him, is known as the Tao-ti-King and contains some fine moral injunctions. It was this sacred text which led to Taoism, which did not however develop until 500 years later, and bore little resemblance to the teachings of Lao.

The Koran consists of revelations claimed to have been received by Muhammad and written down by his followers. In its original form it possessed no system of arrangement and dealt with a great variety of subjects, only some of which are religious. The main significance of the Koran for Islam is that the teaching purports to have been originally written by the finger of God and to have been transmitted to Muhammad in a series of revelations. The book itself therefore claims to possess divine authority.

There are several features that distinguish all these sacred books from the Bible and show the superiority of the latter. The most striking is the lack of historical background. None of them conceive of any revelatory value in history as the Bible does. The place that history takes in the Christian Scriptures is taken by ritual or explanatory comment, or superstition in these other books. It is for this reason that the biblical revelation has been adaptable to the needs of succeeding eras, whereas the other books have not. What is based in history has an immediate relevance because of its essentially human appeal. Moreover, the other books exalt the past above the present. They go back to fine thoughts of noble minds, but can give no power to translate those thoughts from past to present.

Contrasted with these, the Bible calls for a present confrontation, a challenge to a holier life with God in the present. The past is important only as it leads to a real experience now. Compared with the other books, the Bible is a book of hope. It faces the problem of SIN, but points to a means of overcoming it. It does not hold out the gloomy despair of the Veda or the Tripitaka, or the fatalism of the Koran. In short, it is the subject matter of the Bible that makes it superior to the other books. Its concept of God, of the sinner's need, of salvation and destiny, and, above all, the presentation of Christ illustrate this superiority. It has a message for the varied needs of human beings.

Moreover, the Bible presents a complete picture of the religious situation, which the other books do not. The latter, although they present occasional glimpses of light, are mainly dark from a religious point of view. The Bible, on the other hand, presents a progressive view of truth, reaching its climax in the assertion of Jesus, "I am the way and the truth and the life" (Jn. 14:6). Such a claim enshrines the uniqueness of Christianity and of its sacred Scriptures. The superiority of the Bible over all other books claiming to be divine revelation rests on the superiority of Christ, not merely as a moral teacher, but as a Savior. See also NEW TESTAMENT; OLD TESTAMENT; SCRIPTURE.

(Among numerous helpful surveys, see C. A. Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* [1899]; A. S. Peake, *The Bible: Its Origin, Its Significance, and Its Abiding Worth* [1913]; H. H. Rowley, *The Unity of the Bible* [1953]; P. R. Ackroyd et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of the Bible,* 3 vols. [1963 – 70]; J. C. Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and The Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* [1998]; P. D. Wegner, *The Journey from Texts to Translations: The Origin and Development of the Bible* [1999]; J. Rogerson, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Bible* [2001].)

D. GUTHRIE

Bible, English versions. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ENGLISH.

Bible as literature. See LITERATURE, THE BIBLE AS.

Bible dictionaries and encyclopedias. Works that treat topically the places, persons, history, doctrines, and objects of the Bible. This article will not include CONCORDANCES, lexicons, indexes to the Bible, theological and denominational encyclopedias, or any of the smaller works since 1900.

Probably the first to undertake a Bible encyclopedia was EUSEBIUS of Caesarea (c. A.D. 326), who wrote a four-volume encyclopedia of which only one part is extant, known as the *Onomasticon.* It is a geographical dictionary, listing and describing about 600 names of towns, rivers, etc., in the OT and in the Gospels. JEROME (d. c. A.D. 340), who knew Palestine intimately, translated it into Latin, correcting some of its errors and adding some important material. This work has only recently been translated into English *(Onomasticon,* trans. R. S. Notley and Z. Safrai [2005].)

A few years later, in A.D. 367, AUGUSTINE expressed what must have been the general desire of many serious students of Scripture when he wrote in his "Rules for the Interpretation of Scripture": "What then some men have done in regard to all words and names found in Scripture in the Hebrew and Syriac and Egyptian and other tongues…and what Eusebius has done in regard to the history of the past…, the same I think might be done in regard to other matters, if any competent man were willing in a spirit of benevolence to undertake the labor for the advantage of his brother. In this way he might arrange in their several classes and given an account of the unknown places and animals and plants and trees and stones and metals and other species of things that are mentioned in Scripture, taking up these only, and committing his account to writing" *(On Christian Doctrine* 2.39).

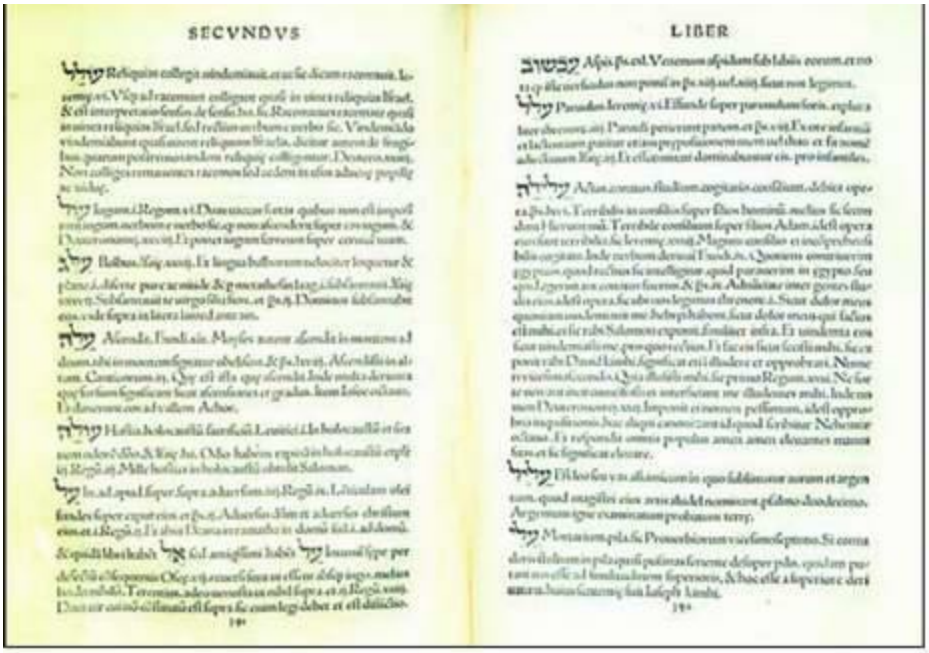
The first book to be published in English that might be classified as a Bible dictionary was a volume of 200 pages, published in London by William Patten in 1575, entitled: *The Calendars of Scripture, whearin the Hebru, Chaldean, Arabian, Phenician, Syrian, Persian, Greek and Latin names of Contreys, Men, Women, Idols, Cities, Hills, Rivers, and of Other Places in the Holly Byble Mentioned by Order of Letters is Set and Turned into Our English Toung.* The first real Bible dictionary in English was the *Complete Christian Dictionary* of Thomas Wilson, a minister of St. George's, Canterbury (d. 1621). It appeared first in 1612, and passed through several editions, of

which the fifth (1667) was somewhat enlarged. The 3rd ed. (1622) contains 948 unnumbered pages, including a unique dictionary for the book of Revelation of 131 pages, and a dictionary of the Song of Solomon of 49 pages. It is probably the only Bible dictionary in English that contains articles dealing not only with individual words, but also with phrases.

For the next hundred years no important volumes of this character appeared in the English language, but for the sake of completeness, the following are listed. Thomas Wayne, a schoolmaster (1582 – 1645), wrote *The General View of the Holy Scriptures; or, the Times, Places, and Persons of the Holy Scriptures* (rev. ed., 1640). Two years later in 1642 Richard Bernard (1568 – 1641) published a small work of less than 200 pages, more theological than biblical, *The Bibles Abstract and Epitome, The Capitale Heads, Examples, Sentences and Precepts of all the Principall Matters in Theologie, Collected Together for the Most part Alphabetically…taken out of the best Modern Divines.* Francis Roberts, the author of a number of apologetic works, issued in 1648 his *Clavis Bibliorum: The Key to the Bible,* which was printed in at least four editions by 1675. In 1660 a volume was published with the title, *Scripture-Names Expounded;* according to the title page, it contains about 4,000 proper names "collected by R.F.H." A volume more truly of a dictionary nature was published in 1730 by Ferdinando Shaw, A *Summary of the Bible; or the Principal Heads of Natural and Revealed Religion; alphabetically disposed in the Words of Scripture only.*

In 1732 a great Bible dictionary appeared, though it was the translation of a work originally published in French (Paris, 1722) by Augustin Calmet (1672 – 1757). This was the epochal *Historical, Critical, Geographical, Chronological and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible,* appearing in 3 volumes, a work of nearly two and a half million words. The last section, the second part of volume two, is probably one of the most fascinating, and at the same time almost wholly ignored works in the area of biblical interpretation. The first 300 pages (600 columns) consist of a carefully classified annotated *"Bibliotheca Sacra,* or a Catalog of the Best Books that can be Read in Order to Acquire a Good Understanding of the Scriptures." Most of the sections on the various books of the Bible and biblical subjects are reclassified under Catholic and Protestant authors. Many of the books in its magnificent bibliography could not be found in any of the libraries of Europe, Britain, or America today. The alphabetical table of authors contains over two thousand names. It contained also an account of Hebrew military tactics by a famous French military authority, a dissertation on Hebrew coins, a chronological table of the history of the Bible, and a "Preface to the Translation of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek names in the Bible." This work continued in publication for more than one hundred years until 1847, and an abridged one-volume edition prepared by T. A. Buckley appeared as late as 1856. Calmet's influence may be seen in *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible…Serving in a Great Measure as a Concordance to the Bible* (London, 1759), a three-volume work published without any hint as to its authorship. It contained some 1,300 pages and approximately 1,700,000 words. Some of its articles were disproportionately long: "Agab" was given ten columns, more than were assigned to "Adam" or "Angel."

Probably the most frequently reprinted Bible dictionary appearing in the last half of the 18th cent. was *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible Containing Definitions of All Religious and Ecclesiastical Terms…and a Biographical Sketch of Writers in Theological Science,* edited by the famous John Brown of Haddington (1722 – 87). The 1st ed. appeared in 1768 and the 4th by 1797, while the 6th ed. included in the title *The Whole Comprising Whatever Important is Known Concerning the Antiquities of the Hebrew Nation and the Church of God.* The 6th ed. was enlarged by Brown's three sons and included a life of the author. The two volumes contained 1,770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Reuchlin's Hebrew Lexicon (1506).

pages and about 800,000 words. Editions were published as late as 1860 under the editorship of William Brown. An interesting entry appears at the close of the article on "Church," where the editor writes: "Whatever particular revivals may take place among the Protestants, I fear things in general shall grow worse and worse, til by apostasy and by persecution and murder the slaughter of the witnesses against Popery be fulfilled. Nor do I suppose this will take place til about A.D. 1886 or 2016."

An anonymous *Dictionary of the Bible* appeared in 1792, and it became the first one published in America (by Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, Mass., 1798). In 1774 John Fleetwood, the author of one of the most widely circulated lives of Christ to be published in the 18th or 19th cent., produced the most extensive dictionary written by an English scholar prior to the large work of Kitto. Nothing is known of Fleetwood's life; the name may have been a pseudonym. The book carried the lengthy title o f *The Christian's Dictionary; or Sure Guide to Divine Knowledge. Containing a Full and Familiar Explanation of all the Words Made use of in the Holy Scriptures and Body of Divinity, as set forth in the Writings of the Most Eminent and Pious Divines; whether Ancient or modern…to which is added a Brief Explication of all the Proper Names found in Scripture, including the senses wherein they were used by the Jews, etc.* The book was a quarto volume, containing more than 500 pages with a text of approximately 200,000 words. Fleetwood's interpretations were often quite unusual. To him Antichrist was the Pope, and the beast out of the earth was Rome. His *Dictionary of Scriptural Proper Names* contains about 1,500 items, many of which are treated in considerable detail.

The most important Bible dictionary to be edited by a British writer in the last quarter of the 18th cent. was the one by Alexander MacBean, published in 1779, *A Dictionary of the Bible Historical and Geographical, Theological, Moral, and Ritual, Philosophical and Philological.* The first American ed. was taken from the second London ed. enlarged, published in Boston in 1798. Several other dictionaries of secondary importance appeared about the same time: *A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Holy Bible: Containing a Biographical History, etc.* (London, 1776); Alexander Fortescu, *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible,* Winchester (1777, reprinted in 1792 and 1798); William Button, *A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (1796), based on the earlier dictionary of

John Brown; and Peter Oliver, *The Scripture Lexicon, or a Dictionary of Above Four Thousand Proper Names Mentioned in the Bible, with their Derivation, Description, Accentuations* (Birmingham, 1787). This work of less than 300 pages was published in a new edition in Oxford in 1810, and another one in 1818. Oliver was an American graduate of Harvard in 1730 and a judge of the Superior Court and Chief Justice until 1776, when he moved to England.

At the beginning of the 19th cent. James Wood (1751 – 1840) published a two-volume work, *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible,* a part of the subtitle reading, *Serving in a Great Measure as a Concordance to the Bible Extracted Chiefly from Calmet, Brown, etc…and a Considerable Quantity of Original Matter* (Liverpool, 1804). This work went through twelve editions, the last in 1863. James Morrison (1762 – 1809) was reputedly the author of the anonymous *Bibliotheca Sacra or Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures* appearing in two volumes in Edinburgh (1806). Much of it was taken from earlier writers. The first *Geographical Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures* was published in 1807 by Aaron Arrowsmith. Various editions of it appeared for fifty years. He edited also *A Bible Atlas,* and issued during his lifetime more than 130 maps. James Creighton's *Dictionary of Scripture Proper Names* was published in London (1808). Miles Martindale's *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible,* a two-volume work, appeared in 1810.

A famous two-volume work was edited by William Jones (1762 – 1846), a Baptist minister of Finbury, entitled *The Biblical Cyclopaedia; or Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1816). The pages were unnumbered, 648 in the first volume, 564 in the second. It contained some beautiful steel engravings and some excellent maps (for that time). In 1812 appeared *A Concordance and Dictionary to the Holy Scriptures* by Thomas Hawker (1753 – 1827) with later editions, a work of some 880 pages. A smaller volume of 130 pages was published in 1815 by J. K. Whish, *The Cottager's Dictionary of the Bible* (Bristol, 1815). Definitions were limited to one or two lines in length. The compiler said that he wrote the book "to facilitate the understanding of the Scriptures among the poor." Some minor dictionaries were published at this time: John Robinson's *A Theological, Biblical and Ecclesiastical Dictionary* (London, 1815, rev. 1835). A small volume was published in 1818, *The Youth's Spelling, Pronouncing, and Explanatory Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* with an introduction by Emerson Dowson.

In 1822 appeared the first Bible dictionary by a recognized authority on biblical geography, Edward Robinson (1794 – 1863), author of the most important work on this field that had yet appeared in any language, and professor at Union Theological Seminary for nearly half a century. His work, *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible,* appearing in 1822, continued to be published with numerous revisions as late as 1879. In the same decade appeared a work that had a phenomenal circulation, *The Domestic Dictionary of the Bible,* by Howard Malcolm (1799 – 1899). This book reputedly sold more than 130,000 copies in the first twenty years of its appearance. Malcolm edited also an *Index to Religious Literature, A New Bible Dictionary* (Boston, 1852); *A Dictionary of the Most Important Names found in the Holy Scriptures* (1831); and *The Proper Names of the Old Testament arranged Alphabetically* (1859).

Dr. Archibald Alexander (1772 – 1851), Professor at Princeton Seminary, prepared for the American Sunday School Union his *Pocket Dictionary of the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1829, rev. 1831). Although it was called a "pocket" dictionary, it contained 546 pages. It was not listed in the bibliography of its author. One of the most widely used volumes of this nature was written by Richard Watson (1781 – 1833), the author of the famous *Theological Institutes*. The title was comprehensive: *A Biblical and Theological Dictionary: Explanatory of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Jews and Neighboring Nations. With an Account of the Most Remarkable Places and Persons*

Mentioned in Sacred Scriptures: An Exposition of the Principal Doctrines of Christianity and Notices of Jewish and Christian Sects and Heresies (London, 1831; 1,068 pp.). At least ten editions were required within twenty years. The work of Samuel Green, *A Biblical and Theological Dictionary,* first appearing in London (1840), continued to be republished for more than a quarter of a century (28th ed., 1868). A two-volume work was issued in London by William Goodhugh (1799 – 1842), a work of 1,444 pages, with the title, *The Bible Cyclopedia, or Illustrations of the Civil and Natural History of the Sacred Writings by Reference to the Manners, Customs, Rites, Traditions, Antiquities, and Literature of Eastern Nations.*

Beginning in 1844 a number of dictionaries appeared in rapid succession. Samuel Dunn edited *A Dictionary of the Gospels with Maps, etc.* (4th ed., London, 1846). John Beard (1800 – 1876) wrote *The People's Dictionary of the Bible* (London, 1847 and 1861). In 1847 John P. Lawson produced a three-volume work entitled *The Bible Cyclopedia Containing the Biography, Geography, and Natural History of the Holy Scriptures.* The first volume was devoted to biography. In 1869 he collaborated with John N. Wilson on a two-volume work entitled *A Cyclopedia of Biblical Geography, Biography, Natural History, and General Knowledge.* The bibliography, which covers eighteen columns, was the most extensive list of titles available in its time. The same two men later published in Edinburgh *The Imperial Encyclopedia of Biblical Knowledge* in 1873.

The greatest dictionary of this period was the *Cyclopedia of Biblical Knowledge* edited by John Kitto (1804 – 45). He engaged the help of forty distinguished biblical scholars, including George Bush, John Eadie, J. Pye Smith, and the German scholars E. W. Hengstenberg and F. A. G. Tholuck. For the first time there appeared in this work authoritative articles on geographical subjects, such as five columns on Baal-gad (Baalbek). Biblical criticism received eleven columns; Gnosticism, twelve columns. The 3rd ed. of 1869 was edited by William Lindsay Alexander in three volumes, with the assistance of such scholars as F. W. Farrar, Alexander Geikie, R. S. Pole, Henry Wace, and John S. Candlish. In 1849 John Eadie (1810 – 1876) produced the most important one-volume Bible dictionary of its time, *The Biblical Cyclopedia,* which was revised and reprinted as late as 1901.

Between 1850 and 1860 ten new dictionaries were printed, some of which were new, and some of which were reprints or revisions of earlier works. In 1860 the first volume of William Smith's (1813 – 93) *Dictionary of the Bible* was printed. It took rank immediately as the outstanding Bible dictionary in the English language. The American revision, edited by H. B. Hackett and assisted by Ezra Abbot of Harvard, in four volumes and 3,667 pages, was the standard American Bible dictionary for almost half a century. A large number of dictionaries were written in the second half of the 19th cent. A partial list would include *Cassell's Bible Dictionary* (1863); John Ayre, *Treasury of Bible Knowledge* (1866); J. Eastwood and W. A. Wright, *The Bible Word Book* (1866); William Henderson, *Dictionary and Concordance of the Names of Persons and Places in the Scriptures* (1869); Samuel O. Beeton, *Bible Dictionary* (1870); William Gurney, *A Handy Dictionary of the Bible* (1870); William Nicholson, *The Bible Explained: A Dictionary of the Names, Countries, etc. as Contained in the Old and New Testaments* (1870); James A. Wylie, *The Household Bible Dictionary*, 2 vols. (1870); Charles Boutell, *A Bible Dictionary for Students of the Holy Scriptures,* London (1871).

One outstanding work of this period was the *Imperial Bible Dictionary* by Patrick Fairbairn (1805 – 74), which was expanded into six volumes in the new edition of 1885, and which was reprinted in the 20th cent. Another worthy of special comment was William Blackwood, *Potter's Complete Bible Encyclopedia* (1873), in two volumes of 2,000 pages with 3,000 illustrations. It was the most beautiful Bible dictionary ever published in this country. It covered almost every

conceivable subject in biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical areas. It never had wide recognition, possibly because of its cost, which was high for its time.

An anonymous work, *A New and Complete Pronouncing Bible Dictionary,* appeared in Philadelphia in 1877. *The Handbook of Bible Words* by H. F. Woolrych, with an introduction by J. J. S. Perowne, was published in 1878. The Presbyterian Board of Education of Philadelphia published in 1880 *The Westminster Bible Dictionary,* which was later the title of the more famous work edited by John Davis. The Southern Methodist Publication Society issued *A Bible Dictionary* by John C. Granberry (1829 – 1907) at Nashville in 1883. In the same year Robert Young published a small work in Edinburgh, *Dictionary and Concordance of Bible Words and Synonyms of the New Testament.* The earlier work of Eastwood and Wright was revised by Wright himself in 1884 and became a standard work of reference: *The Bible Word Book, A Glossary of Archaic Words and Phrases in the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.*

The Self-Pronouncing Bible Dictionary of James P. Boyd, published in 1890, was frequently inserted in Holman's *Pronouncing Teacher's Bible.* In 1891 A. R. Fausset (1821 – 1910) produced *The Englishman's Critical and Expository Bible Encyclopedia,* a large work of about 950,000 words, which remained in print until 1949. Fausset was one of the three authors of the famous Jamieson-Fausset-Brown Bible commentary, originally published in six volumes, which was immensely popular and passed through numerous editions, both complete and abridged. Fausset was an assiduous student of prophecy, but his works on this subject are very scarce.

One of the most popular and helpful of all modern dictionaries was that of John D. Davis (1854 – 1926), *A Dictionary of the Bible* (1898; 4th ed., 1924, repr. Baker, 1954). The work was revised and rewritten by Henry S. Gehman and published under the title *The Westminster Dictionary of the Bible* (1944). For forty years it was one of the most useful conservative one-volume dictionaries in English. Its viewpoint was somewhat less conservative after editing by Gehman. A thoroughly revised edition, also by Gehman, appeared in 1970: *New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible.* It had over 300 pages more than the earlier editions; its illustrations were greatly increased, and the archaeological data brought up to date. In 1899 was published the famous *Encyclopedia Biblica,* edited by T. K. Cheyne and T. Sutherland Black, containing 544,000 columns of text. A vast amount of scholarly work was produced by some of the writers, but on the whole the work was drastically hurt by some of its radical views. The *Expository Times* remarked: "It is not a dictionary of the Bible: it is a dictionary of the historical criticism of the Bible."

Charles R. Barnes's *Bible Encyclopedia* was issued in 1900 in two volumes, was reissued in 1910 in 3 volumes, and again in 1913 in a single volume that included a short archaeological supplement by Melvin Grove Kyle, with the title *The People's Bible Encyclopedia.* Samuel Fallows (1835 – 1922) edited *The Popular and Critical Encyclopedia and Scriptural Dictionary* (Chicago, 1901, 1904); it was published in three volumes of more than 1,900 pages with 600 maps and engravings. Andrew C. Zenos and Herbert L. Willett were coeditors. Later it became the foundation for the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.*

In 1905 began the publication of the most important Bible dictionary since the work of William Smith in 1860: James Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* containing approximately 5,400,000 words in five volumes. The fifth volume contained a series of outstanding special articles and 200 pages of index. The articles of Sir William Ramsay in the fifth volume on the religions of Greece and Asia Minor (47 pages), and on the numbers, hours, and years, and roads and travel in the NT (28 pages), totaling 172 columns, make the reader wonder how one man could produce such learned discussions. A condensation in a single volume was issued by Scribner in 1909. In addition, Hastings edited a

two-volume work, *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* which appeared in 1908, and *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church,* also in two volumes (1916 – 1918).

Within the same period were published several other dictionaries. Jesse L. Hurlbut's *Handy Bible Encyclopedia* was issued by Winston in 1908. In the same year the house of Murray published a large work of 1,000 pages edited by William C. Piercy. *The Standard Bible Dictionary* edited by Edward E. Nourse and Andrew C. Zenos was published by Funk and Wagnalls in 1909 (2nd ed., 1925). Later it was further revised and published under the name of *A New Standard Bible Dictionary* (1936). *The Temple Dictionary of the Bible,* edited by W. Ewing and J. E. H. Thomsen, appeared in 1910; and in 1914 Fleming H. Revell published *The Universal Bible Dictionary,* edited by A. R. Buckland, and a revised edition in 1929 with the assistance of Canon Lukyn Williams. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* edited by James Orr, in five volumes, first appeared in 1915 (rev. ed., 1929). The articles in this work totaled over 4 million words, with hundreds of illustrations and with exhaustive indexes. It was consistently conservative in theology, and many of its articles became classical treatments of their respective subjects.

During the next thirty years only one dictionary appeared of sufficient importance to be mentioned in this study. This was the revision of the *Standard Bible Dictionary* of 1909, under the title, *A New Standard Bible Dictionary,* edited by W. M. Jacobus (New York, 1936), assisted by 55 contributors, and extending to nearly one million words. Probably Alan Richardson's *The Theological Word-Book of the Bible* should also be included. Although not an inclusive dictionary of all topics, it contains valuable bibliographies.

Harper's Bible Dictionary (1952), edited by Madeleine S. Miller and J. Lane Miller, followed their work on *An Encyclopedia of Bible Life,* published in 1944. It emphasized heavily archaeology, sociology, natural history, pottery, and many similar topics. Archaeologically the work was definitely up to date, and contained 500 illustrations together with the Westminster maps. In England it was known as *Black's Bible Dictionary.* In 1957 Moody Press published *Unger's Bible Dictionary,* edited by Dr. Merrill F. Unger of Dallas Seminary, based on the *Bible Encyclopedia* of C. F. Barnes, originally issued in 1900. Most of the 500 photographs and drawings are new, and the archaeological material is recent. Although it was presumably revised, about threefourths of the material was taken unchanged from Barnes in spite of the lapse of half a century.

Among modern dictionaries should be included the work published in 1958 by the Oxford University Press, *A Companion to the Bible,* edited by J. J. Van Allmen, which originally appeared in French in 1954. It is a dictionary of the major theological terms and ideas found in the Bible. In 1960 the Seventh-day Adventists published a large volume of more than 1,200 pages, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary,* as vol. 8 in their Commentary Series, edited by S. H. Horn. The archaeological articles are especially valuable.

The New Bible Dictionary, published in 1962 by Eerdmans, under the editorship of J. D. Douglas, 1,390 pages, is without doubt the most important one-volume Bible dictionary to be published in the 20th cent. In addition to the consulting editors there were 135 contributors, including eleven from Australia, twelve from Africa, and nineteen from the United States. Some articles are too short to be adequate, but most of them are very thorough. The article by Donald Wiseman on archaeology, of thirty columns, including a unique "List of the Principal Excavated Sites in Palestine," is a complete treatise on the subject.

In the same year there appeared also the first of four volumes of *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* published by the Abingdon Press, a beautiful piece of typography, with hundreds of illustrations, and a text of more than 4 million words. It includes the contribution of 253 scholars

under the editorship of Dr. George A. Buttrick. Theologically, in some areas, especially in the matters of inspiration, predictive prophecy, and authenticity, the work is inclined to a liberal view. In others, such as the resurrection, three entire columns are devoted to the defense of the view that the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was empty on the Easter morning. The articles are carefully documented, and the more important articles have extensive bibliographies. An important Supplementary Volume was published in 1976; it updates selected articles and adds many new entries.

In 1963 four works of an encyclopedic nature were published, each quite different from the other. McGraw-Hill issued a huge volume of more than 2,600 pages: *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible,* edited by Louis Hartman, which was a translation of A. Van den Born's *Bijbels Woordenboek.* Some of the articles were unusual, such as a series on Veneration of the Dead, Fear of the Dead, Care of the Dead, and the Abode of the Dead. The *Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary* appeared in the same year, under the editorship of Merrill C. Tenney, assisted by 65 contributors, a helpful and dependable volume for those who do not want the more exhaustive articles of the *New Bible Dictionary.* In the same category Macmillan published the *Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia,* ed. by G. Cornfield, in 1963. A new and thoroughly revised ed. of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* edited by F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley, appeared in one volume in 1963. Like the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* it was based on the RSV and contained many new entries, with excellent maps.

For further information, see T. H. Horne, *Manual of Historical Bibliography* (1839), 369 – 72; McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (1867 – 81), 2:787 – 89; *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1903), 4:577 – 79; the article by the famous bibliographer E. C. Richardson in the *ISBE* [1929], 2:844 – 45; and C. T. Fritsch in *Interpretation* 1 (1947): 363 – 71. The most extensive treatment of Bible dictionaries in English up to the time of its appearance is the article by W. M. Smith in the *Fuller Library Bulletin* (September 1954), which includes theological and ecclesiastical dictionaries not mentioned in this article (for a more recent summary, see F. W. Danker, *Multipurpose Tools for Bible Study,* rev. ed. [1993], ch. 9). W. M. SMITH

Since the first edition of the *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible,* numerous works have appeared, only a few of which will be noted here. Among one-volume projects, the *New Bible Dictionary* (3rd ed., 1996, ed. I. H. Marshall et al.) continues to play a special role; it was also the basis for the 3-vol. *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (1980, ed. J. D. Douglas and N. Hilyer). A companion work, *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (2000, ed. T. D. Alexander et al.), seeks to bridge the gap between traditional Bible dictionaries and dictionaries of theology. Note also the *Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (1996, ed. W. A. Elwell). The *New International Bible Dictionary* (a revision by J. D. Douglas of the *Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary)* appeared in 1987. The *Harper's Dictionary of the Bible,* unique in that it was prepared under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Literature, was edited by P. Achtemeier and published in 1985; it has since appeared in revised form as the *Harper-Collins Dictionary of the Bible* (1997). Another significant one-volume work is the *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (2000), edited by D. N. Freedman. In addition, InterVarsity Press has produced a very useful series of related volumes characterized by a selected number of articles covered in depth: *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (1992, ed. J. B. Green and S. McKnight); *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (1993, ed. G. F. Hawthorne and R. P. Martin); *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Development* (1997, ed. R. P. Martin and P. H. Davids); *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (2000, ed. C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter); *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch* (2002, ed. T. D. Alexander

and D. W. Baker); *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books* (2005, ed. B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson).

Several multi-volume works deserve notice. The *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* was thoroughly revised under the editorship of G. Bromiley (1979 – 88). For the sake of continuity, many important articles were preserved with little or no change, but the work as a whole was carefully updated. The 2-vol. *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible* (1988, ed. W. A. Elwell; now available in 4 vols.) was a brand-new effort, especially useful for pastors and laypeople. For a scholarly audience, we now have the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992, ed. D. N. Freedman), a 6-vol. work with emphasis on culture, sociology, archaeology (including entries on many sites that do not figure in the Bible), and current critical methods. It includes few illustrations, but the bibliographies are of great value. J. H. Hayes has edited a *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, 2 vols. (1999). This work focuses on the history of the interpretation of each book of the Bible and provides biographies of important biblical interpreters. Finally, the *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* began publication in 2006.

biblical criticism. Literary criticism involves the search for and examination of the objective data pertaining to a written document in order to ascertain, insofar as possible, the identity of the writer or writers, the time of composition, the contemporary political and cultural situation confronting the author, and the attitudes and purposes involved in the production of the work. In line with the basic meaning of the verb *krinō G3212* ("to judge"), the adjective *kritikos G3217* means "pertaining to discernment or judgment." It therefore constitutes a systematic effort to grasp and properly to sift all the objective data leading to an accurate appraisal of the value and intent of the document under study, and a just appreciation of its significance. Especially in the critical study of religious works such as the BIBLE, criticism aims at an objective analysis of all the pertinent data leading to a just estimate of its importance and worth; as such it is distinct from devotional or deductive theological study, which already presupposes the divine AUTHORITY and reliability of the purported SCRIPTURE (see also INSPIRATION).

The investigative function of biblical criticism may serve for the verification and defense of the teachings of Scripture, and it does not reflect some sinister purpose of impairing the credibility of the Bible. It has thus been practiced by all learned scholars of evangelical conviction, who have successfully refuted the attacks of liberal and rationalist savants. But it should be observed in this connection that complete objectivity is virtually impossible in the field of biblical criticism; everyone is personally involved in a very profound sense—condemned as a guilty, helpless, depraved sinner. Scholars must make a personal response one way or the other to the call of God as conveyed by the words of Scripture. If our response is an outright rejection of the possibility of divine REVELATION and of the reality of the supernatural, we are necessarily biased in the purportedly objective investigation of biblical evidence. Critics who already assume their conclusion as part of their premise are incapable of dealing logically with the abundant proofs of the supernatural origin and authority of Scripture. Since many architects of "higher criticism" were of deistic or even pantheistic persuasion, like Spinoza, it was impossible for them to approach the Bible as authentic special revelation from a personal God. They were compelled to seek out purely human and naturalistic causes for the phenomena of Scripture. This subjective bias has to be reckoned with through the entire history of the development of higher criticism.

1. Textual criticism of the OT

2. Textual criticism of the NT
3. Higher criticism of the OT
    1. The documentary theory
    2. Deutero-Isaiah
    3. Daniel
    4. Other books
4. Higher criticism of the NT
    1. Gospels
    2. Acts
    3. Pauline Epistles
    4. Hebrews
    5. General Epistles
    6. Revelation
5. Recent developments
    1. Pentateuchal/Hexateuchal studies
    2. The divided monarchy and the prophets
    3. The unity of Isaiah
    4. Higher criticism of the NT: general
    5. Gospels
    6. Acts Pauline Epistles
    7. Hebrews
    8. General Epistles
    9. Revelation

I. Textual criticism of the OT. The textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible began at a very early date, with the activity of the guild of scribes (*sōpĕrîm,* from *sōpēr H6221),* who endeavored to preserve the exact form of the original text of each biblical book. Judging from the faithful correspondence in the consonantal text between the MT and 1QIsa[b] (a MS of Isaiah found among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS), copied down about mid-1st cent. B.C., it is fair to conclude that during the HASMONEAN period an officially sponsored committee of scribes drew up an authoritative text of the books of the OT on the basis of the earliest and best MSS available to them. This carefully edited text, when published (possibly around 100 B.C.), tended to displace the more inexact, unofficial copies then current; at least there

Artistic representation of scribes endeavoring to copy the original text precisely.

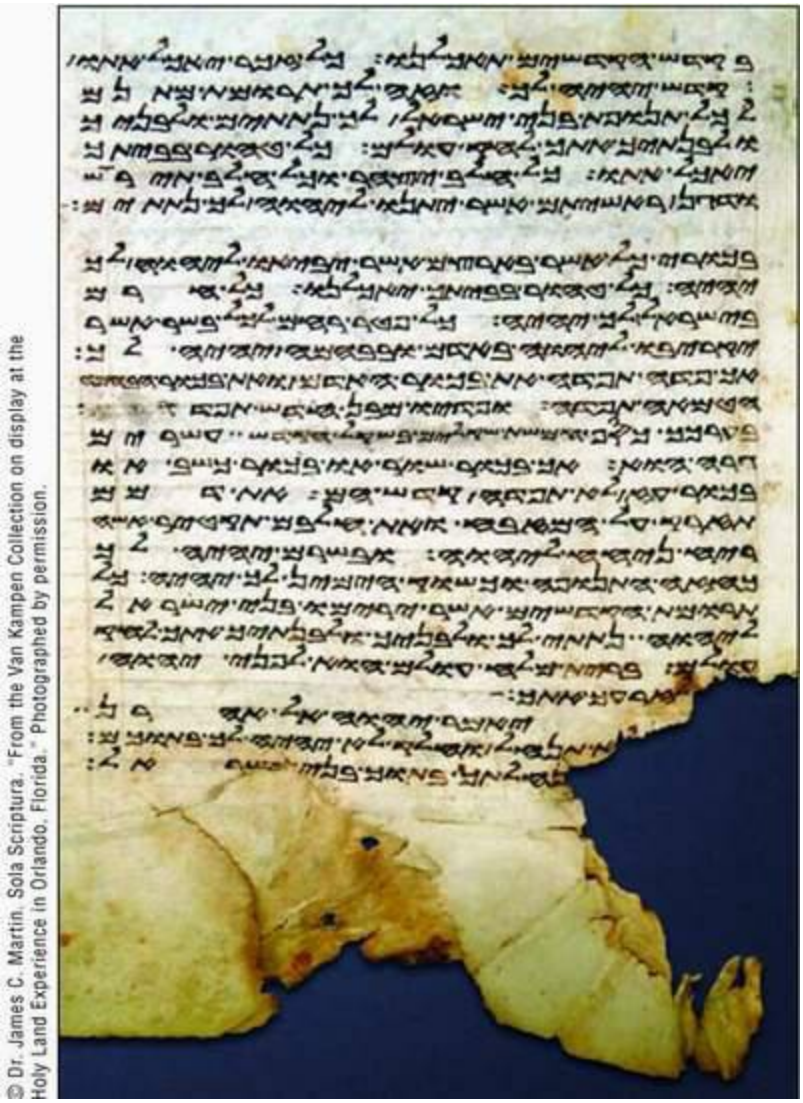
is far less deviation from the MT in the Habakkuk Scroll (c. 75 B.C.) than in the First Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]) of the previous century, even though the Habakkuk Scroll was only a commentary (or PESHER), with verses of text interspersed between interpretive remarks.

The Masoretes (see MASORAH) recorded eighteen "decrees of the scribes" (*tiqqune sopherim)* prescribing emendations of the consonantal text they had received. (Many of these were antianthropomorphic in character; others were quite minor and trivial.) The Masoretes themselves indicated emendations in the text by inserting vowel points belonging to the word they thought should be substituted for the one in the received text, and then writing out the consonants of the emendation off in the side margin. These Masoretic emendations are known as *Qere* readings (from Aram. *qĕrê,* "read!"), whereas the reading indicated by the unpointed original consonants is known as *Ketib* (Aram. *kĕtîb,* "[that which was] written"). These *Qere* readings were fairly numerous, especially if one includes all the substitutions of *Adonay* (Lord) for the sacred name *Yahweh.* This latter type of substitution had nothing to do with correction of the text to some earlier and more authentic reading; it simply represented a pious avoidance of pronouncing aloud the holy name of God. But most of the *Qere* emendations did represent actual correction of what was felt to be an erroneous reading in the *Ketib;* for example, the particle *lō)* ("not") in Isa. 9:3 (MT v. 2) was altered to lô ("for him"), which makes far better sense in the light of the context.

In general the MT may be said to represent a single manuscript family, in contradistinction to

other families such as the Septuagintal and the Samaritan (for which some early examples have been found in the Hebrew fragments exhumed from Qumran Cave 4, for example). Prior to the Dead Sea Scrolls discoveries in 1947 the only witnesses to these other families consisted of the copies of the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH possessed by the medieval and modern Samaritan sect, or by the various and often discrepant copies of the Greek SEPTUAGINT that arose between c. 250 and 100 B.C. in ALEXANDRIA.

In the case of a few books of the OT, notably 1 – 2 Samuel, the LXX seemed to offer a better text



A 13th-cent. MS of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

than the MT, and fortunately the Qumran discoveries have yielded sizable fragments of these books in Hebrew form, showing a tendency to agree with the LXX over against the MT in instances where they diverge. There are also fragments of Deuteronomy that show the same tendency. Yet it still remains true that the great majority of fragments, and even of scrolls such as 1QIsa[a] and the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab) clearly adhere to the Proto-Masoretic tradition. The Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]) is marked by numerous scribal errors and shows a Hasmonean type of spelling (with its proliferation of vowel letters for tone-long or even short vowel sounds); but it has the effect of demonstrating that the MT of Isaiah (the earliest dated copy of which is at least 10th cent. A.D.) goes back to a *Vorlage* or parent text that is older and more accurate than this Qumran scroll from the 2nd cent. B.C.

The science of textual criticism has been greatly enriched by the archaeological discoveries of the last seventy years, which have brought to light thousands of documents in ancient Semitic

languages akin to Hebrew (see LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II). These include Akkadian (TELL EL-AMARNA correspondence with their Canaanite glosses, as well as the MARI and Nuzi tablets), ARAMAIC (notably the ELEPHANTINE papyri from a Jewish military colony in Egypt), and above all, in Ugaritic (a Canaanite language spoken and written at Ras Shamra in the time of Moses; see UGARIT). These discoveries have greatly increased the knowledge of ancient Semitic vocabulary, and have in many cases demonstrated the accuracy of rare words in the Hebrew Bible that textual critics of an earlier generation used to emend away.

Yet it still remains true that occasional scribal errors are encountered in the MT, and they must be dealt with by a systematic and objective methodology, which takes into account the various types of error possible for a copyist (haplography, dittography, fission, fusion, homoeoteleuton, homophony, metathesis, etc.) and applies the various canons of textual criticism in a discriminating way (such as the giving of preference to the earlier reading, the more difficult reading, the reading most widely supported, the reading that best explains the divergent variants, the reading most in accord with the known style or viewpoint of the ancient author, and so on). Unfortunately there has been a tendency on the part of many scholars to emend rather capriciously and recklessly, reshuffling the positions of letters, words, and even entire verses, according to a personal theory of their own as to what the author ought to have said. An inordinate amount of space is devoted to this kind of subjective and unscientific speculation in many OT commentaries. See also TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

II. Textual criticism of the NT. Most of the principles of textual criticism used for the OT apply also to the NT. Unlike the OT text, however, the NT is attested by a large number of MSS that were produced within just a few centuries after the originals were composed. These documents represent several different MS families, notably the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Byzantine (this last one being found primarily in thousands of later MSS). The Textus Receptus (Received Text), which served as the basis for the KJV of 1611, was based largely on the Byzantine family, which most scholars consider to be the least reliable of the three. The RV of 1881 (and its counterpart, the ASV) depended upon the text-critical work of Westcott and Hort, who relied chiefly upon the Neutral Text (as they called it), meaning principally the two great 4th-cent. uncials, CODEX SINAITICUS (ℵ) and CODEX VATICANUS (B). Subsequent discovery of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri in Egypt has added important 3rd-cent. witnesses to support this type of text (P^{45} being the largest of these fragments); the even more recent BODMER Papyrus of the Gospel of John (P^{66}) is dated at about A.D. 200 and shows a marked affinity to Sinaiticus.

Outside of this Neutral group there are also two valuable 5th-cent. MSS: CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A), which shows tendencies toward the Byzantine or Syrian text, and CODEX BEZAE (D), which inclines rather toward the "Western" text. A fourth MS family has been proposed, for the Gospel of Mark at least, called the Caesarean, which was apparently used in part by ORIGEN in the 3rd cent.; but its earliest representative is Codex Koridethianus (Θ) from the 9th cent. It is chiefly supported by two families of minuscule MSS (i.e., written in small letters) from succeeding centuries: Family 1 and Family 13. (Recent scholarship has questioned the integrity of a Caesarean text-type, however.) In addition to the Greek texts, there are many early versions of the NT, including Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, Ethiopic, and Armenian. See also TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

III. Higher criticism of the OT. The first serious attack upon the authenticity of an OT book came

from a Neo-Platonist philosopher named Porphyry, who argued that DANIEL must have been composed in the Maccabean period (c. 165 B.C.; see MACCABEE), since it otherwise would show too much foreknowledge of 2nd-cent. history for a 6th-cent. B.C. author. JEROME devotes much of his commentary on Daniel refuting Porphyry's arguments. Apart from doubts occasionally expressed by Martin Luther concerning the canonicity of books like Esther, James, and Jude on the grounds of theological inadequacy (although on other occasions he referred to them as Holy Scripture), no serious challenge was brought against the genuineness of any portion of Scripture until after the Reformation. Hugo Grotius (1644) raised questions about the Solomonic date of Ecclesiastes and he regarded Job as possibly exilic in date. Benedict Spinoza's posthumous *Tractatus* (1670) suggested that all of the OT books from Genesis to 2 Kings may have been drawn up by EZRA in the 5th cent., although he admitted he could not actually prove it.

A. The documentary theory. The first step toward the construction of the documentary theory of the composition of the PENTATEUCH was made by Jean Astruc, a French professor of medicine, who in his *Conjectures* (1753) suggested that MOSES may have used two prior written sources, an Elohist (Gen. 1 uses the name *Elohim* only in referring to God), and a Jahwist or Yahwist (Gen. 2 usually refers to God as *Yahweh;* see GOD, NAMES OF). This theory he elaborated and buttressed in later writings by alleging the presence of parallel accounts (e.g., in the flood narrative; see FLOOD, GENESIS). Doublets (e.g., the various namings of ISAAC, or the two occasions when ABRAHAM lied about his wife) likewise pointed to these two different sources.

J. G. Eichhorn of Jena was the first professional scholar to adopt and elaborate this same approach, on the dubious assumption that a difference in divine name demanded a difference in authorship. He extended the analysis to much of the rest of the Pentateuch, though not at first surrendering the position that it was Moses who had combined the Elohist (E) and the Jahwist (J). But under the influence of the rampant antisupernaturalism of the late 18th cent., he too surrendered the genuineness of Moses' predictions concerning the future of Israel (notably the foreknowledge of the Babylonian EXILE and the RESTORATION implied by Lev. 26 and Deut. 28), and Mosaic authorship altogether. By the 1790s a fragmentary theory was devised by Alexander Geddes (a Scotch Catholic priest) and Johann Vater, who found that GENESIS was composed of 39 different fragments. Wilhelm de Wette (1805) tried to prove that none of the Pentateuch was earlier than DAVID (1000 B.C.) and that DEUTERONOMY was a pious fraud concocted by King JOSIAH and the high priest HILKIAH in order to centralize all worship (and revenues) at Jerusalem by the reforms of 621 B.C. This established a D-document as the latest of the three: E, J, and D.

In 1853 Hermann Hupfeld in his *Quellen der Genesis* argued that E was composed of two different sources: the later one tended to resemble J in vocabulary and style, but the earlier source showed a much different vocabulary and assortment of interests (systematic arrangement, genealogies, laws, and rituals). This source he called the *Grundschrift,* but it later became known as the Priestly Code (P). At this point, then, the order of these hypothetical documents was: P, E, J, and D. Karl H. Graf gave this newly identified *Grundschrift* a searching analysis, and concluded (in 1866) that while the historical portions may have been early, some at least of the legal portions were as late as the exile (6th cent. B.C.). Abraham Kuenen (1869) insisted that this *Grundschrift* was truly a unity, and could not be subdivided as Graf had done. All of this Priestly Code, both historical portions and legal, had to be exilic or postexilic, dating from Ezra's time. This completed the reshuffling of the order of the alleged "Documents," including the demotion of E to a century later than J. The order was now to be: J, E, D, P.

In order to confirm this sequence and make it completely convincing to an evolution-minded age, Julius Wellhausen (1876) employed as a chronological grid the guiding principle of the natural evolution of Israel's religion. One had only to gauge the religious perspective of each segment of the Pentateuch (which by this time had been enlarged to the "Hexateuch" by the inclusion of Joshua) according to an ascending scale of development from primitive animism and polytheism to monolatry and eventually MONOTHEISM (by the mid-8th cent.), beyond which came the elaboration of the cult and the priesthood to the postexilic stage. Thus Wellhausen felt able to date with accuracy even those passages that lacked a telltale name of God, or any of the specialized synonyms that had been assigned to J, E, and P as their own special preserve. So plausible was his argumentation to the learned public at large that the documentary hypothesis was thought to have attained its final perfection under him and even received his name, as the "Wellhausen Hypothesis." For an analysis of the numerous fallacies and self-contradictions that vitiate this hypothesis see the article on PENTATEUCH.

B. Deutero-Isaiah. On similar antisupernaturalistic grounds J. C. Doederlein, a product of the same deistic age as Eichhorn, published in 1789 a systematic argument for the spuriousness of Isa. 40 – 66, arguing that it was the composition of an unknown exiled Jew living in Babylon c. 540 B.C. rather than an authentic production of the 8thcent. prophet ISAIAH. Since there could have been no genuine revelation from God, the remarkable foreknowledge of the coming fall of Jerusalem and captivity of Judah in 586, as well as the restoration from exile after the fall of Babylon in 539, can be understood only as a pious fraud—prophecy after the event *(vaticinium ex eventu)*.

When conservative scholars pointed out that a similar foreknowledge was shown in First Isaiah (Isa. 1 – 39, esp. chs. 13 – 14) as well as in this hypothetical Second Isaiah (Deutero-Isaiah), champions of the Doederlein theory like Ernst Rosenmueller assigned these also to the later author. (Thus the textual evidence was manipulated to fit the theory; yet even the admittedly genuine Isa. 6:13 also betrays a foreknowledge of the exile and restoration!) After orthodox writers pointed out that the geographical allusions and the trees referred to in Isa. 40 – 66 could not be reconciled with a Babylonian milieu (as Doederlein had alleged), later higher critics such as Bernhard Duhm abandoned the Babylonian theory altogether, and argued that Deutero-Isaiah (who composed only chs. 40 – 55) actually lived in Lebanon. Chapters 56 – 66 were composed by Trito-Isaiah, some unknown Jew living in Jerusalem around Ezra's time (c. 450 B.C.). Subsequently, some leading critics like W. H. Brownlee have resorted to the more flexible theory that Isa. 1 – 66 as we now have it is a literary unity, artistically assembled by some postexilic disciple of the "Isaianic School" who utilized some genuine portions from Isaiah himself. See further ISAIAH, BOOK OF II.

All of these speculations operate on the basis of circular reasoning, assuming the conclusion as their premise; they also run counter to the abundant evidence of the text that the entire prophecy was composed prior to the fall of Jerusalem. For example, the folly and wickedness of IDOLATRY is censured as a current and major problem in contemporary Israel (Isa. 57:4 – 7; 65:2 – 4; 66:17), which was admittedly eliminated from the scene completely by the exile, never to reappear in postrestoration Judah until the 2nd cent. B.C. Moreover, the same conditions of moral degeneracy are denounced in Isaiah II as in Isaiah I: oppression of the poor by the rich (Isa. 10:1 – 2 and 59:4 – 9), even to bloodshed and violence (1:15; 59:3, 7), revolting hypocrisy in religion (1:12 – 15; 29:13; 58:2, 4). The extreme degeneracy corrupting the sick society described in Isa. 59:10 – 14 best fits with the conditions prevailing in the reign of MANASSEH (cf. 2 Ki. 21), when Isaiah met his end.

C. Daniel. For similar reasons the genuineness of DANIEL was contested by antisupernaturalist scholars from the 18th cent. on. It was assumed that the accurate prediction of events to come (esp. Dan. 11) pointed to a pseudepigraph composed c. 165, during the Maccabean revolt against ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes. Some regarded the book as a unity, while others argued (like Eichhorn in 1824 and Meinhold in 1884) that chs. 1 – 6 belonged to the 3rd cent. B.C. or earlier—a position advocated by Sellin, Hoelscher, Noth, Torrey, and Ginsburg in the 20th cent. It is, of course, vital for this theory to deny that any prediction of a later period than that of Antiochus is contained in Daniel. Therefore the 4th empire of NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S vision in ch. 2 has to be construed as the Greek realm established by ALEXANDER THE GREAT c. 330 B.C.; if it is really the Roman empire (which annexed Palestine in 63 B.C.), then the Maccabean date must be discarded.

Nothing can be clearer than that the symbolism of the two iron legs of the statue (which correspond to the fearsome ten-horned beast of Dan. 7, who overcomes the four-winged leopard representing the quadripartite Greek empire of Alexander's successors) points to Rome rather than Greece. Nor could the author of Daniel have regarded the 2nd empire as a Median kingdom separate from and earlier than the Persian empire (as the critical theory demands), since even DARIUS THE MEDE in ch. 6 was said to be bound by the "law of the Medes and Persians," and also because 5:28 (addressed to BELSHAZZAR, a representative of the first empire) explicitly declares that the sovereignty of the Middle East will pass directly from the Chaldeans to the "Medes and Persians"—"Persians" being emphasized by the "PERES" of the supernatural handwriting on the wall. Thus it is very clear that the author of Daniel believed that empire 2 was the Medo-Persian empire. This means that empire 3 had to be the Greek and empire 4 the Roman (which is described as being fiercer and stronger than empire 3—hence Zoeckler's suggestion that empire 4 was the Seleucid rule ushered in by Antiochus III is completely untenable).

The linguistic evidence against the Maccabean date is absolutely conclusive. Although the Aramaic chapters in Daniel show a significant number of Persian loan words, especially those pertaining to government and civil administration (such as might be expected by 530 B.C.), there are no loanwords from Greek (except for three referring to musical instruments, which doubtless were imported into the ANE as early as the instruments themselves—and Greek mercenaries and musicians served in the Assyrian court) even though according to the theory, Greek had been the language of government for 160 years. With the discovery and publication of the GENESIS APOCRYPHON from Qumran Cave One (1956) it became apparent that this incontestable sample of 1st cent. B.C. Aramaic represented a stage of linguistic development centuries later than the (allegedly 2nd cent.) Aramaic of Daniel. Furthermore the LXX translators of Daniel (who must have done their work no later than the 2nd cent. B.C.) found the Aramaic terms for government officials in Dan. 3 so obsolete and forgotten that they had to resort to vague conjectures in rendering them into Greek. Since words do not become so completely forgotten in just a few decades, the Maccabean date is rendered completely untenable on linguistic grounds.

D. Other books. Space will not permit a survey of the treatment of the rest of the OT books by the rationalist critics. Suffice it to say that Zech. 9 – 14 has been assigned to an author in the Greek period because of a reference to Greece in 9:13 (as if the ANE had remained in complete ignorance of Greece after the debacle of Xerxes at Salamis!) and also because of a doctrinaire insistence that everything APOCALYPTIC must be late. As for the Psalms, it has been customary to assign many or most of them to the Maccabean age, and to deny all of them to David. Nevertheless the failure of the LXX translators to understand correctly some terms in the Psalm titles shows conclusively that these titles

themselves, which were admittedly added some time after the Psalms were composed, were already so old by the 2nd cent B.C. that some of their terms were completely forgotten. For this and other reasons some authorities like Ivan Engnell have stated: "Speaking candidly, there is merely one psalm in the whole Psalter of which I am quite convinced that it is postexilic; number 137" *(Studies in Divine Kingship* [1943], 76). (See also separate articles on individual OT books.)

IV. Higher criticism of the NT. As in OT criticism, so also the initial attacks upon the genuineness and reliability of the NT documents were launched during the deistic movement of the "Age of Enlightenment." Thomas Woolston's dictum that Christ's miracles must necessarily have been invented by credulous superstition long after his death was followed up by H. S. Reimarus in the *Wolfenbüttel Fragmenten* published by Lessing in 1774 – 78, in which he insisted that the disciples of Jesus deliberately falsified his true intentions and invented wonder tales to embellish his memory. The influential F. Schleiermacher (1768 – 1834) endeavored to preserve the centrality of Christ even as he subjected the Gospels to rationalistic analysis, by which he deduced that they were artificially constructed from a miscellany of separate, detached fragments of oral tradition (a view somewhat revived in 20th-cent. form criticism).

Under the influence of Hegelian dialectic, D. F. Strauss *(Leben Jesu* [1835]) presented Jesus as an idealistic Jewish sage whose memory was honored by cumulative embellishments on the part of his followers after his death. Following this guideline F. C. Baur (1792 – 1860), founder of the Tübingen School, posited a primitive Jewish-Christian "thesis" headed up by Peter, then followed by a Gentile-Christian "antithesis" under Paul (who introduced the supernaturalistic elements into Christ's portrait, giving him a divine stature). The "synthesis" was provided by the Gospel of John, written about A.D. 170 (difficult to hold now that the Rylands Papyrus 457 [= P^{52}] dating from c. A.D. 130 has been discovered!) to establish a mediating view. Although Baur's neat Hegelian structure was almost universally abandoned by later scholarship, the supposed opposition between Petrine and Pauline elements has persisted in the thinking of most modern critics. Later in the 19th cent. an effort was made by W. Bousset (1892) and Adolf von Harnack (in his celebrated *Das Wesen des Christentums,* 1899) to strip away all the accretions of pious superstition in the apostolic age and get back to the true, historical Jesus, who turned out to be a very respectable Ritschlian, proclaiming no other gospel than the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man.

A reaction against this simplistic modernizing of Jesus came in 1892 with Johannes Weiss's *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes,* in which the author insisted that the documentary data pointed unmistakably to an eschatological, transcendental concept of the KINGDOM OF GOD as central to the message of the historical Jesus. Similar was the thesis of the epoch-making *Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906) by Albert Schweitzer, who exposed the artificiality of the modernist Jesus, and insisted that in point of fact he was a passionate believer in the imminent end of the world and the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. We must in all honesty, urged Schweitzer, recognize that Jesus was completely mistaken in this and that he died in a futile attempt to demonstrate his messiahship. The main tendency of liberal scholarship during much of the 20th cent. was to retreat with Rudolf Bultmann (and his demythologizing) into complete skepticism as to the possibility of rediscovering the historical Jesus; according to this view, even the earliest strata of the Gospels express the faith of the apostolic church in the divine Christ, and there is no getting behind these records. During the second half of the century, however, many critical scholars reacted against this position and insisted that a proper historical methodology can still lead to reliable results.

A. Gospels. Perhaps the foremost problem dealt with by NT higher criticism relates to the Synoptic Gospels, that is, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, which contain such extensive passages in common, showing verbal identity in the original Greek. Thus, 93 out of 100 passages in Mark find close correspondences in Matthew or Luke or both; Matthew by itself shows 58 out of 100, and Luke shows 41 out of 100. Generally speaking, the presence of these identical, or nearly identical, passages has been explained either by oral tradition or by a documentary hypothesis.

The *oral tradition hypothesis* (associated with Westcott, Alford, Godet, and Arthur Wright) sees in the identical passages a crystallization of the oral tradition taught to candidates for baptism both in Palestine and among the DIASPORA. It early assumed such a standardized form that it was quite naturally incorporated by the evangelists as each compiled his own gospel. The dissimilar portions were selected from the larger body of oral tradition still current and utilized by each of the three authors according to the special aspect of Christ he wished to emphasize (Matthew: the Messianic King; Mark: the mighty Servant of God; Luke: the perfect Son of man).

The *two-document hypothesis* has gained the widest acceptance in modern times. It assumes that Mark (or a text underlying this gospel) was the earliest document and served as the written source for Matthew and Luke. Those portions Matthew and Luke possess in common but not found in Mark have been borrowed from a lost source called Q (for German *Quelle* or "Source"), which may possibly be related to the Aramaic *Logia* of which PAPIAS speaks (according to a quotation in Eusebius). Against this theory A. M. Farrer argued that Luke was familiar with Matthew and simply borrowed from him as one of his sources, rearranging the order of events according to his own special purpose.

The *four-document hypothesis* of B. H. Streeter assigns Mark to the Christian center at Rome c. A.D. 60; Q probably came from Antioch c. 50. In addition he postulated a document labeled M (the private source of Matthew) coming from Jerusalem c. 65 and including non-Lukan sayings of Judaistic cast, and another one labeled L (the private source of Luke), coming from Caesarea c. 60 and including those sections in Lk. 3, 6, 9 – 18, 19, and 22 – 24 that do not appear in Mark. The final form of Matthew was then completed in Antioch c. 85, with the inclusion of some narrative material not otherwise accounted for.

Form criticism took up the study of the Gospels from an entirely different perspective, somewhat skeptical of the soundness of the documentary approach. As initiated by Hermann Gunkel and Hugo Gressmann, *Formgeschichte* undertook on the basis of the science of comparative literature to distinguish between the various *Gattungen* (or *genres)* appearing in the text of the Gospels (or the Pentateuch, in the case of OT criticism), and to trace the probable line of development from the original saying of Christ to the anecdote concocted to serve as a framework for it, and then finally the supernatural embellishments of later superstition, as dictated by some definite social situation *(Sitz im Leben)* in the life of the early church. It was Martin Dibelius who elaborated this technique for gospel criticism in *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* in 1919, closely followed by Rudolf Bultmann in 1921 *(Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition).* Although this theory obtained wide acceptance, its influence has waned. It is, after all, quite incredible that the early church lacked any interest in the details of the life of its Founder and simply retained the memory of a few disjointed sayings. A random selection of isolated bits of tradition hardly explains the nearly uniform sequence of events that runs through all three Gospels. Nor is it easy to see why the leaders of the early church could have fallen into the habit of ascribing to Jesus words he never uttered or deeds he never performed.

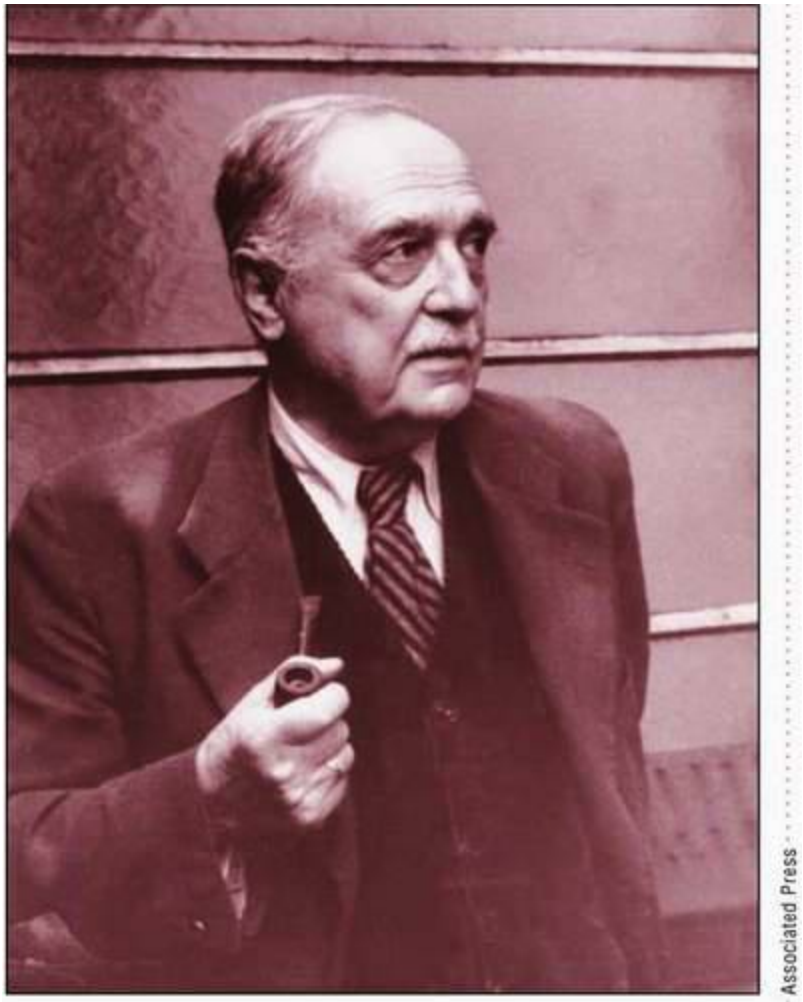
As far as the Gospel of John is concerned, the critics tended to dismiss it as a late production (2nd cent.) containing virtually no authentic information about Jesus, but presenting a cultic

glorification of him as a divine figure. Much of its ideology and terminology was allegedly borrowed from late Hellenistic philosophy (a view seldom expressed any more since the discovery of so many Johannine terms in the literature of the Qumran sectarians). Some authorities, such as P. Gardner-Smith *(St. John and the Synoptic Gospels* [1938]) have contended that John actually antedated the other Gospels and that his sources must have been oral, rather than dependent upon the synoptics (wherever he includes material in common with them). The most reasonable view, however, seems to be that JOHN THE APOSTLE avoided repeating material already familiar to the church from the synoptics, and drew upon his extensive personal recollection of Christ's discourses concerning himself and his redemptive mission.

B. Acts. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of Acts and the Pauline and Catholic epistles. A few summary statements will have to suffice. The Lukan authorship of Acts has been contested by A. C. Clark (1933) on grounds of dissimilarity in the use of particles and prepositions as compared with Luke; but W. L. Knox (1948) effectively answered this argument by showing the inadequacy of Clark's methodology. Despite Moffatt's rejection (1901) of the evidence for an A.D. 63 date of composition, it remains decisive that Acts 28 closes with Paul's appeal to Caesar still unadjudicated in Rome. This points unmistakably to a time prior to the Neronian persecution of Christians, which took place after the great fire in Rome in A.D. 64.

C. Pauline Epistles. As for the Pauline Epistles, the Tübingen School conceded only Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians as genuine, but since the mid-19th cent. the tendency has been to concede all but the Pastorals (1 – 2 Timothy, Titus) and Ephesians to Paul, although some skepticism remains concerning Colossians and 2 Thessalonians. Objections to Ephesians, for example, are grounded on alleged differences in style (a tendency toward long and ponderous sentences) and vocabulary (144 words not found elsewhere in Paul; cf. J. Moffatt, *The Historical New Testament* [1901]). Yet Paul's own name appears twice (Eph. 1:1 and 3:1), and he refers to himself elsewhere (e.g., 3:2 – 8); and as H. Cadbury suggests *(NTS* 5 [1958]: 101), it is no less likely that Paul himself wrote a letter diverging five or ten per cent from his usual style, than that a 1st-cent. imitator composed Ephesians ninety or ninety-five per cent in accordance with Paul's style.

In regard to the Pastorals, they certainly presuppose Paul's release from his first Roman imprisonment and his recent stay in Miletus (2 Tim. 4:20) and Troas (2 Tim. 4:13). But in view of Paul's expressed intention (Rom. 15:24) to go to Spain, the testimony of Clement of Rome in the late 1st cent. is significant that Paul "went to the extremity of the west" (which from the standpoint of the Roman capital could only have meant Spain; see *1 Clem.* 5). As for the alleged reference to a later monarchical type of bishop (Tit. 1:5; 1 Tim. 5:19), this authority to appoint elders may be explained



Rudolf Bultmann (1884 – 1976), a major proponent of form criticism and of demythologizing the Gospels.

as inhering in Titus and Timothy personally only because they were acting as Paul's personal representatives. Some Qumran discoveries (the *Manual of Discipline* and also the *Damascus Document)* refer to overseers or superintendents in the Qumran community who played a role similar to the elders of the Pastorals. Besides, the mere fact that the qualifications for elder and deacon still need to be spelled out points to an early date in the history of the church, rather than to the 2nd cent. A.D.

D. Hebrews. In regard to Hebrews, which does not contain the name of its author, the earlier opinion that it was Pauline is seldom maintained in recent times. The polished literary style is different from Paul's, and the writer seems to place himself outside the circle of the apostles in Heb. 2:3. His emphasis upon the ministry of Christ as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary occurs nowhere in the Pauline writings. Yet he speaks of Timothy as a personal friend and obviously moves in Paul's circle. Luther's suggestion that he was the eloquent and learned Apollos has much to commend it. Since the author fails to point to the fall of Jerusalem (ch. 8) as evidence for the inauguration of the new covenant, and since he refers to the sacrifices as still being offered up at God's altar, the date of composition must be prior to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in A.D. 70.

E. General Epistles. In regard to the genuineness of the epistle of James as the product of Jesus' brother, the head of the Jerusalem church, some objections have been raised on the ground of the high quality of his Greek and of his failure to identify himself as the Lord's brother; but these are easily

met by supposing him to have used a well-educated amanuensis and to have had a modest self-effacement befitting a humble Christian leader. The complete absence of synoptic wording in his references to Christ's teachings argues for an early date; likewise a failure to mention any of the issues raised at the Jerusalem Council of A.D. 50 (cf. Acts 15).

As for 1 Peter, some objections to its authenticity have been raised on the ground of its excellent Greek style; but here again an accomplished AMANUENSIS such as Silvanus (1 Pet. 5:12) may have assisted him to attain this level (whereas 2 Peter might indicate with its less elegant style what Simon Peter was naturally capable of). Those who accept it as genuine date it around A.D. 62 or 63.

Second Peter was disputed as early as the mid-3rd cent., although Origen (who reports this controversy) accepted the epistle as genuine. The early 2nd-cent. *Epistle of Barnabas* quotes from it as Scripture; Irenaeus from the same century cites Noah, Lot, Sodom, and Gomorrah in a clear reminiscence of 2 Pet. 2:4 – 7. Although Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius regarded the status of 2 Peter as doubtful (and the 4th-cent. Didymus rejected it as spurious), yet Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 360) and Athanasius, Jerome, and Augustine all accepted it as genuine. Certainly the author identifies himself as the apostle, both by name and by allusion to the Mount of Transfiguration experience in terms not borrowed from the synoptics (such as a late imitator would surely have employed). His cordial reference to Paul as a "beloved brother" would hardly be conceivable in a 2nd-cent. milieu, when that apostle was held in such high veneration. The second chapter bears a close relationship to Jude, but despite extensive critical analysis it still is unclear whether Jude borrowed from Peter (cf. the respectful reference to the apostles of the Lord in Jude 17 – 18), or whether both derived their material from a common source. Critics who reject Petrine authorship for 2 Peter generally regard Jude as prior in time, and the source of its second chapter. As for the epistle of Jude itself, as a production of a brother of James (and therefore also of Jesus) it should probably be dated c. A.D. 70 or 75. But those critics who date 2 Peter and the Pastorals late tend to place Jude also in the 2nd cent., and on the same questionable grounds.

The three epistles of John abound with terminology and modes of expression similar to one another and to the Gospel of John (cf. the use of such terms as light, truth, love, and righteousness), and the same simplicity and trenchancy characterizes their style. The arguments by C. H. Dodd (1937) in favor of composition by a late imitator of John's gospel have been successfully refuted by W. G. Wilson (1948) as to the linguistic evidence, and by W. F. Howard (1947) as to the alleged difference in theological viewpoint.

F. Revelation. The traditional Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse (or Revelation) is generally denied on linguistic grounds: its grammatical irregularities unmistakably set it apart from the gospel and the epistles attributed to John. Indeed they distinguish it from all the rest of the NT and the church fathers. The most plausible explanation for these peculiarities (such as the use of the nominative case after a preposition, or in apposition to a preceding accusative) has been advanced by C. C. Torrey (*Documents of the Primitive Church* [1951]), who notes that all of these solecisms in Greek can be translated back into perfectly grammatical Aramaic (which lacks any case endings whatever). He makes a convincing case for the proposition that the Apocalypse was composed at first in Aramaic and then was rendered into Greek in a woodenly literal way somewhat like Aquila, who later translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek.

Despite the inevitable differences in vocabulary and style occasioned by the apocalyptic subject matter, there are many remarkable resemblances between Revelation and the Johannine gospel and epistles. For example, LOGOS is used in a Christological sense (Rev. 19:13, cf. Jn. 1:1, 14; 1 Jn. 1:1);

"Lamb" occurs as a title for Jesus (twenty-eight times in Revelation, cf. Jn. 1:29, 36; 21:15); the term "true" occurs ten times in Revelation and thirteen times in John, but only five times in the NT outside of Johannine writings; "to tabernacle" is found four times in Revelation, and elsewhere only in Jn. 1:14.

As to the ideology of the Gospel of John and Revelation, B. F. Westcott declares: "The main idea of both is the same. Both present a view of a supreme conflict between the powers of good and evil…In the Gospel the opposing forces are treated under abstract and absolute forms, as light and darkness, love and hatred; in the Apocalypse under concrete and definite forms, God, Christ and the Church warring with the devil, the false prophet and the beast. But in both books alike Christ is the central figure. His victory is the end to which history and vision lead as their consummation" *(The Gospel according to St. John* [1908], lxxxiv-lxxxv). Among the early church leaders affirming the Johannine authorship of Revelation we may list Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius. The preponderance of evidence definitely points to its composition by the aged Apostle John on the island of Patmos c. A.D. 96, shortly before the death of the Emperor Domitian. (See also separate articles on the individual NT books.)

G. L. ARCHER

V. Recent developments. A great deal has happened since the original edition of the *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible.* In fact, the last thirty years or so could easily be called the most prolific period of publishing in history. An explosion of knowledge has occurred due to discoveries in archaeology and epigraphy, and we can only trace a few contours in this article.

A. Pentateuchal/Hexateuchal Studies. By the mid 1970s the documentary hypothesis was considered an assured result of critical scholarship, especially in the theological approach of Gerhard von Rad and the historical approach of Martin Noth. But in the ensuing three decades things changed drastically. Among those who adhere to the JEDP hypothesis, many have argued that some of the sources like J or E are much earlier, and others believe the Deuteronomic hand is prevalent in Genesis to Numbers contra Noth. The consensus has broken down, and the only general agreement seems to be that we need an entirely new approach. None has emerged with any widespread success.

Instead, two further developments have come about. First, J. Van Seters in his *Abraham in History and Tradition* (1975) and subsequent works takes a historical rather than source-critical approach. He believes the Pentateuch is ideological fiction rather than history and argues that the historical details (customs, names, background items) belong to the 7th – 6th centuries rather than the 2nd millennium B.C. Others have challenged the archaeological background for such things as the life of Abraham or the conquest of Canaan in the Hexateuch. The conquest model has been challenged by some who say there was a gradual, peaceful migration of Israelites into the land (Zertal, Halpern) and others who argue it was due to an internal peasant revolt against the ruling classes (Gottwald). The trend today is to believe that archaeology favors the view that Israel was indigenous to Canaan and emerged gradually; the biblical accounts were postexilic and designed to undergird the Israel of that later period (e.g., W. G. Dever and T. L. Thompson; see the excellent survey by Gordon Wenham in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches,* ed. D. W. Barker and B. T. Arnold [1994], 116 – 44).

Second, there is a growing move to literary approaches due to Brevard Childs's canon criticism and Robert Alter's magisterial *Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981). Interest in the final form of the text rather than speculative source-critical divisions has grown immensely since then. There have been

numerous new approaches: structuralist (decoding the signs of a text), reader response (the centrality of the reader in the interpretive process, e.g., in feminist readings), and deconstructionist (the absence of original or determinate meaning and the necessity of play between text and reader). The general agreement is that all the meaning that exists is in the final form of the text and that apart from that, anything goes. The reading strategy one employs is based on the current needs of the community.

B. The divided monarchy and the prophets. As in Pentateuchal studies, the trend has been away from the biblical texts and toward archaeology and epigraphy as the source of the data for evaluating this period. The incredible volume of material unearthed in the last three decades as well as the emergence of new methods has brought about this shift. In the 1970s there was a general consensus that Samuel and Kings were trustworthy historical works. This is no longer true. Scholars like Van Seter or Rainer Albertz (*A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period*, 2 vols. [1994]) now date these also in the postexilic period. The result of course is a devaluation of their historical trustworthiness and an even greater reliance on archaeology to determine what really happened. Even figures like David and Solomon are viewed as fictional constructs. For instance, many argue that there is little evidence for the Solomonic reconstruction projects or the early emergence of Jerusalem as the central city. Similarly, the biblical account of the divided monarchy is also greeted with considerable skepticism; for example, T. L. Thompson (*Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* [1992]) doubts the very existence of Israel and Judah as political entities at this time (see Gary Knoppers in *The Face of Old Testament Studies,* ed. Baker and Arnold, 207 – 35).

Much of this reworking of Israelite history is due to the rise of the social scientific theories and their impact on biblical studies. This is especially true of the issue of the Hebrew prophets, for sociological analyses center not on the divine call but on the societal impact of groups like the prophets. All agree that the message of the prophets was generally ineffective on the nation, and this has led some to doubt their very existence in the 8th or 7th cent. B.C. and to believe that they were also a postexilic invention. However, the presence of prophets at both Mari and 7th-cent. Assyria leads most scholars to accept the likelihood of prophets in Israel. Their task has more and more been seen as covenant mediators (rather than inventers of tradition).

C. The unity of Isaiah. Little has changed in the scholarly consensus regarding three Isaiahs. If anything, it has gained momentum. Still, two major recent commentaries on this book by John Oswalt (1986, 1998) and J. Alec Motyer (1993) have argued for the essential unity of Isaiah. Both argue for a larger unity of stylistic features (e.g., palindrome is found in all three sections) and language (e.g., "Holy One of Israel" occurs thirteen times in Isa. 1 – 39 and 16 times in chs. 40 – 66) and motifs (e.g., Zion, the sovereign control of Yahweh, Davidic presence). This does not prove unity but does provide a strong caution. Is it simpler to posit a single author or to assume an "Isaianic School" that preserved certain features for the decades or even centuries it would have taken to produce such a complex multi-stage document?

D. Higher criticism of the NT: general. The radical skepticism of Bultmann and his disciples has declined in the last thirty years and been replaced with a cautious optimism in historical research. Two major schools have developed. First, sociological approaches have mushroomed. Building on studies like John Gager's application of millenarian cults in Micronesia to early Christianity *(Kingdom and Community* [1975]) and Gerd Theissen's description of the Jesus movement as

wandering charismatics (*Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* [1978]), social-scientific approaches have sought to delineate the social framework behind the early church. There are two aspects, social description (studying the social factors behind events like the cleansing of the temple or the house church movement) and sociological interpretation (applying current sociological theories to explain the impact of Jesus or Paul on their societies). While excesses abound (e.g., turning Jesus into just another itinerant cynic philosopher), the school on the whole has been helpful in uncovering the sociological matrix of early Christianity.

Second, literary criticism has developed in the 1980s and 90s and turned the attention away from the scissors-and-paste approaches of form criticism to the text as a whole. The tendency to break the text into isolated units was counterproductive, and narrative studies demonstrated that meaning centered on the whole work rather than just in the separate segments. There are two inherent dangers in the movement: the radical break with history, assuming the Gospels are fictive creations; and the postmodern break with original meaning, turning the biblical books into playgrounds for modern readings. However, these are not necessary correlations, and many narrative critics are making insightful contributions to NT studies.

E. Gospels. The emphasis has shifted away from source-critical considerations (Markan priority still dominates) to literary and historical studies. Life of Jesus research has exploded, as have sociological studies of every aspect of Jesus and his disciples. The amount of literature is astounding. The gradual shift to a more optimistic approach to the historical Jesus has been balanced by the Jesus Seminar, although its influence has not been nearly as great as the media has assumed.

Redaction criticism. In reaction to the fact that form criticism neglected the gospel authors, several of Bultmann's pupils launched this school in the mid-1950s—G. Bornkamm on Matthew, W. Marxsen on Mark, and H. Conzelmann on Luke. They centered on the final stage of the text and asked how the evangelists altered their sources in producing their works (e.g., how Matthew used Mark and Q). The accumulation of these changes determines the theological purposes of each evangelist. They study the pattern of changes and determine the nuances of meaning for the individual story and for the themes of the book as a whole. For instance, Bornkamm studied the stilling of the storm and concluded that Matthew reinterpreted Mark into a paradigm of discipleship centering on their "little faith" as a metaphor for the "little ship of the church." In the 1970s this approach moved into composition criticism, combining the tradition used by the evangelist as well as the redactional changes to determine the thrust of the book as a whole. Most redaction critics accept the traditioncritical conclusions of the form critics and have the same spectrum of views regarding the historical worth of the material.

Historical Jesus studies. Well into the 1970s, the radical bifurcation between the Gospels and history continued. Redaction critics for the most part believed the Gospels were the theological product of the evangelists rather than telling the life of the historical Jesus. In the 80s and 90s, however, things radically changed. Two major precursors led to a reappraisal. First, Ben Meyer's *The Aims of Jesus* (1979) said that history is determined not just by events but by the aims of the people who perform those events. He argued that the methodological skepticism of the past must be reversed and the gospel records studied as historical documents. Second, A. E. Harvey's *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (1982) argued that Jesus acted within his times and interacted with the historical figures and forces of his day. Therefore the Gospels must be studied as historical documents in their own right. This led to the "Third Quest" for the historical Jesus (after the ones associated with Albert Schweitzer in the early 1900s and Ernst Käsemann in the 1950s), a movement

that has produced numerous works, all with the assumption that the gospel material is open to historical enquiry and that especially centers on Jewish background regarding his life. The radical skepticism that controlled scholarship for so long has virtually disappeared and been replaced by greater openness to the text. To be sure, there are those who tend to be skeptical (e.g., E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* [1985]), but the Third Quest scholars treat the Gospels seriously as source material. For instance, John P. Meier *(A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* [1991]) states that while historical enquiry cannot state with certainty that a miracle happened, it can affirm that Jesus performed extraordinary deeds that those around him interpreted as miracles. This new era shows no signs of abating.

The Jesus Seminar. The one exception to this positive new era is the Jesus Seminar, begun in 1985 by Robert Funk. Members of this group seek to delineate layers of tradition from the historical Jesus to the later church and then to the evangelists, believing that much of the Gospels fails to relate the historical Jesus but rather stems from the faith of the later church. They use colored marbles to determine what goes back to the historical Jesus (red), what may possibly be authentic (pink), what is extremely doubtful (gray), and what definitely is not authentic (black). Their methodology is to discuss a Gospel passage and then vote phrase by phrase, using the colored marbles. For instance, the only element of the LORD'S PRAYER (Matt. 6:9 – 13) that definitely goes back to Jesus is the term "Father"; every other element is doubtful to some extent. They believe that the earliest material is not any of the canonical Gospels but the *Gospel of Thomas* and a reconstructed Q source (in fact, their major work is entitled *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* [1993] because Thomas is the fifth). Several of them have produced very skeptical lives of Christ, like John Dominic Crossan and Marcus Borg. However, mainstream gospel scholars, including nonevangelicals, have tended to label their approach anachronistic and reductionistic. Theirs is a return to the radical skepticism of the 50s and 60s.

F. Acts. Arguments over authorship and historicity have coalesced on several fronts. First, the "we" passages (i.e., places where the author uses "we" in the narrative—Acts 16:10 – 17; 20:5 – 15; 21:1 – 18; 27:1—28:16) are seen as evidence the author was an associate of Paul. Attempts to interpret the use of "we" as evidence of a separate source interpolated into the book or as a rhetorical device are unconvincing in light of the placement of the passages in Acts (see Colin Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* [1989], 316 – 21). Second, historical discrepancies are alleged. The Paul of Acts and the Paul of his epistles are considered contradictory portraits, as in the claim that the apostle is zealous for the law in Acts but rejects it in his epistles (P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert,* ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn [1966], 33 – 50) or in the comparison of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) with the Pauline literature, especially Galatians (C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994 – 98], 2:xxxvii-xxxix). Third, the date of writing is generally believed to be in the 80s due to the dating of Mark and Luke, although several have argued for an early 60s date (F. F. Bruce, D. Guthrie, C. Hemer, J. A. T. Robinson). In addition, there have been many advocates of the general historical trustworthiness of Acts (C. Hemer, M. Hengel, J. Fitzmyer).

G. Pauline Epistles. The most widely known issue is the "New Perspective on Paul." Previously, it had always been thought that Paul was fighting against a Jewish legalism centering on the works of the law. Then in 1977 E. P. Sanders wrote *Paul and Palestinian Judaism,* arguing for what he calls

"covenantal nomism." According to this view, the Jewish people believed they were saved by virtue of their being the covenant people, and keeping the law was the means of staying in the covenant, not getting in. This approach, which necessitates a shift in understanding Paul and his opponents, was later modified by J. D. G. Dunn, who said the "works of the law" should be understood as the "boundary markers" that differentiated a Jew from a Gentile. Therefore, the reason Paul rejected the "works of the law" was that it centered salvation on the Jews alone and excluded the Gentiles. Others, however, while acknowledging Sanders's point regarding the centrality of the covenant, have maintained that legalism was a problem for many Jews in the first century, and that when Paul says we are justified by faith *not works,* that should be taken seriously (e.g., Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* [2003], and the recent commentaries on Romans by D. J. Moo [1996] and T. J. Schreiner [1998]).

Debates over the Pauline Epistles still have not changed much. On Ephesians, the commentaries by Andrew Lincoln (1990) and E. Best (1998) deny Pauline authorship, while those by Peter O'Brien (1999) and H. W. Hoehner (2002) affirm it. The doubts are caused by four considerations: (1) Language and style—the lengthy sentences of the book and the non-Pauline words, but Colossians also has lengthy sentences, and there are actually fewer *hapax legomena* than are found in 2 Corinthians and Philippians. (2) Theology—the cosmic war with the forces of darkness (Eph. 3:10; 6:10 – 18), the developed ecclesiology (with Christ the head and the apostles and prophets the foundation, seen as early catholic and therefore late), and a realized eschatology with no mention of a parousia (but these can also be seen as natural developments of his thinking and very Pauline in a larger sense). (3) The use of Colossians—there is such a close correspondence that many believe the same author could not have written both; rather, a later disciple used Colossians to construct a pseudonymous work; however, there seems little reason why Paul could not have sent Ephesus a letter a short time after Colosse with much the same material.

On the Pastoral Epistles, I. H. Marshall (1999) denies Pauline authorship while his research assistant P. Towner (1994) affirms it. These are more widely doubted than Ephesians for the following reasons: (1) Language and style—there are even more *hapax legomena* (over twice as many) and a style that differs quite a bit from his other letters, but an amanuensis (secretary) like Tychicus or Luke and the use of creedal traditions could account for most of the differences. (2) The historical setting—the situation reflected in these books cannot be placed within the data of Acts or other Pauline literature, and there is no outside evidence for a second imprisonment; Paul had intended to go to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28; cf. Acts 20:25), and there is no place for movement back to the province of Asia. However, a reason for such a development is hinted at in Phil. 1:25 – 26; 2:19: problems in Philippi made him change his mind and plan to return; then other problems in Ephesus and Crete led to the situation in the Pastorals. (3) The false teachers—many believe the Gnostic parallels (salvation via esoteric knowledge) demand a 2nd-cent. date, but the Jewish features are even more numerous (asceticism, abstinence from food, the law), and there is nothing there that would not fit the time of Paul. (4) The ecclesiastical situation—many see an even more developed church order here than in Ephesians, with ordained leaders (elders, bishops) who pass on tradition and judge harshly. Yet the situation is not really that different than the "bishops and deacons" of Phil. 1:1, and it is clear that elder, bishop, and pastor are the same office rather than a hierarchy of offices. (5) Theology—there is an absence of characteristic Pauline themes like the fatherhood of God, union with Christ, the work of the Spirit, and the cross, along with an exaggerated concern for sound doctrine and creeds. But these are occasional, short epistles centering on problems in a community rather than systematic theology treatises. The atmosphere of the whole is quite Pauline.

H. Hebrews. Recent scholarship has isolated the genre of Hebrews as *paraclesis* or a "word of exhortation" (Heb. 13:22), a form developed in Hellenistic synagogues for moral and ethical homilies (see William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1 – 8,* WBC 47A [1991], lxx-lxxv). The author uses this to challenge the sluggish (5:11; 6:12) Jewish Christians not to apostatize back to Judaism. In addition, the use of the OT in Hebrews has drawn considerable attention. There are over thirty quotations, over thirty allusions (scholars differ in their numbers), and numerous other echoes of OT material. The general opinion used to be that the epistle employs similar allegorical methods as Philo (J. Moffatt, C. Spicq), but the emerging consensus is that it uses Jewish typology (W. L. Lane, G. Guthrie; see Lincoln Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background and Thought* [1990]).

I. General Epistles. Several recent commentaries (P. Davids, R. Martin, D. Moo, R. Wall) have reconfirmed the strong possibility that James was written by "James the Lord's brother" (Gal. 1:19). Other issues that have occasioned discussion are: (1) whether this epistle is an artificial collection of isolated homilies (Dibelius) or a more unified composition (Davids, Moo, Wall); (2) whether James was written in two stages, with a later disciple adding further sayings after his death (Davids, Martin, L. Johnson); (3) whether the social setting of James reflects a Palestinian milieu in which impoverished Jewish Christians were oppressed by a wealthy farmer-merchant class and thus were tempted to join the revolutionary proto-Zealot movement (with James cautioning them to trust God rather than turn to violence; so Martin, Wall).

Again, several recent commentaries have accepted the apostle Peter as the author of 1 Peter (R. Michaels, P. Davids, I. H. Marshall, S. Mc Knight, K. H. Jobes), usually arguing that the elegant Greek style is the product of an amanuensis, perhaps Silvanus (1 Pet. 5:12). Older theories regarding redactional stages are rarely suggested any more. The major area of discussion today is the social situation behind the letter. Many have followed J. H. Elliott *(A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* [1981]) that the readers felt themselves alienated and estranged from society due to both religious and economic persecution. Second Peter continues to be widely doubted (R. Bauckham, J. Neyrey) on the basis of its relation to Jude and the difference in literary style from that of 1 Peter (for Petrine authorship, see D. A. Carson and D. J. Moo, *Introduction to the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [2005]).

The letters of John have recently been placed with the Gospel of John as derived from a Johannine circle or community (see esp. R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* [1979]), in which the works were composed in a series of redactional layers originating with John but completed by his disciples. This has been widely accepted and approaches the status of consensus. However, as Brevard Childs comments *(The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* [1984], 482 – 83), the whole edifice is a speculative reconstruction with few historical controls.

J. Revelation. The authorship issues are much the same, with some recent commentaries (L. Morris, R. Mounce, G. Beale, G. Osborne) arguing for Johannine authorship. There is nearly unanimous agreement that the book was written in the mid-90s during the reign of Domitian but disagreement over the social situation behind the letter. Some (A. Collins, L. Thompson) have challenged the traditional view regarding an official Roman persecution and argue for a "perceived crisis" constructed by the apocalyptist to call the church out of the secular community to a closer walk with God. Others (D. Aune, Beale, Osborne) agree that Domitian did not order a persecution but believe there was a limited yet very real anti-Christian movement in the province of Asia engendered by

pressure to participate in the Imperial Cult (the worship of the emperor as a god).

(For bibliography, see the separate articles on individual biblical books.)

G. R. OSBORNE

biblical theology. A scholarly discipline in which an attempt is made to state systematically the faith affirmations of the Bible. This definition acknowledges that the Bible is a book of faith, that is to say, it records the redemptive meanings of the encounter of God with man. The term "systematically" by no means suggests that the categories of systematic theology are to guide the exercise. Rather it indicates that the task of the biblical theologian is to express the faith affirmations of the biblical writers individually and collectively according to the patterns of expression discernible in the Bible itself. Furthermore, an effort is made to present not only an orderly statement, but hopefully a unified description of the faith of the Bible. According to an alternate definition, biblical theology is a historical discipline that focuses on the development of divine revelation throughout redemptive history; as such, it highlights the distinctive teachings that characterize different epochs and different writers.

1. History of biblical theology
    1. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
    2. Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries
    3. Twentieth century
        1. Old Testament
        2. New Testament
2. Relation to other disciplines
    1. Exegesis
    2. NT introduction
    3. Dogmatic or systematic theology
3. Methodology in biblical theology
    1. Unity of the Bible
    2. Salvation history
    3. Christ the key to Scripture
    4. Confessional and kerygmatic

History of biblical theology

A. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to O. Betz (in *IDB,* 1:432), the Reformation laid the groundwork for biblical theology. Luther's radical attack upon the authority of tradition, as well as his struggle against the scholastic method in theology and the dominance of Aristotelian thought in the church's thought, provided the opportunity for the development of a biblical theology. His great concern for solid exegesis of the Scripture and his personal tendency to employ biblical ways of thinking created a demand for a theology based radically upon the Bible. Thus, the Reformation with its distinguished biblically oriented scholars (e.g., Melanchthon and Calvin) gave full recognition to the self-sufficiency of the Scriptures, and this fact was felt in the writing of theology.

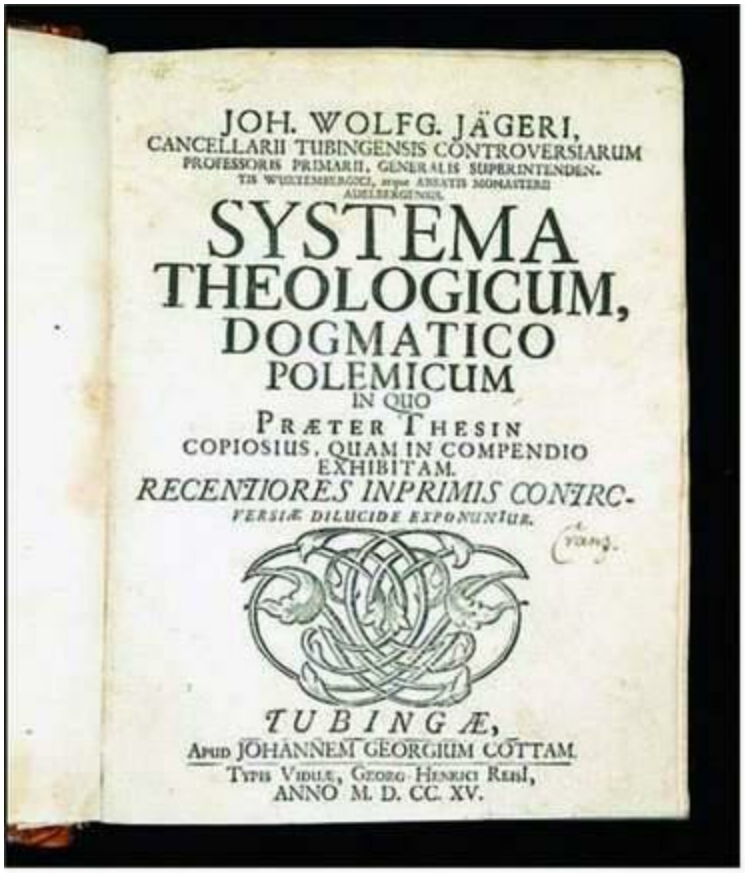
Tragically, in the period following the Reformation, a Protestant scholasticism developed in which the maintenance of dogmas took precedence over the right of the Bible to stand as a judge of all doctrinal statement. Largely the Bible was used as a mine from which to glean supporting blocks for

the various tenets of the church. The assumption prevailed that the Bible contains a single doctrinal system and upon investigation it can be demonstrated that it accords with the church's creed. This new scholasticism differed from the old Catholic brand at the point of external authority. There was no single church authority to determine the dogmas for which to find support and which interpretation of the Scriptures should prevail.

B. Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Students of the history of biblical theology see pietism with its strong emphasis on biblical exegesis as the promulgator of this new discipline. G. Ebeling (in *JTS* 6 [1955]: 215) notes that the struggle was between systematic theology, which tended to turn to "the wisdom of the world," and a theology bound to the Scripture. There was no denial of the orthodox foundations by systematic theologians; there was only a disturbing movement toward the scholastic methodology. In the opinion of the pietists, notably P. J. Spener in his *Pia Desideria* in 1675, orthodox theology became "unscriptural" primarily in its form. But, Ebeling comments, this apparently quite innocuous criticism had far-reaching consequences greater than conceived at that time.

In the 18th cent., several scholars sought to move theology back to "biblical simplicity." C. Haymann (1708), a pietist, was the first to produce a biblical theology, and he has been credited with the first technical usage of this term. He was followed fifty years later by A. F. Büsching, who published in 1758 a monograph entitled *Advantage of Biblical Theology over Scholasticism.* A colleague of Büsching, the eminent J. S. Semler, joined in insisting that biblical theology be considered a separate discipline. In 1772 G. T. Zacharia wrote a biblical theology, the core of which was an explanation of the church.

While the foregoing writers were within the "pietistic" orbit in this struggle, J. P. Gabler, who more carefully delineated the role of biblical theology, was a rationalist. In his inaugural address as professor at Altorf, *Oratio de justo discrimine theologiae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus* (1787), Gabler insisted that biblical theology must not be a subsidiary discipline to systematic theology but rather a completely independent exercise. He wrote: "Biblical theology is historical in character and sets forth what the sacred writers thought about divine matters; dogmatic theology, on the



JOH. WOLFG. JÄGERI,
CANCELLARII TUBINGENSIS CONTROVERSIARUM
PROFESSORIS PRIMARII, GENERALIS SUPERINTENDENTIS WURTEMBURGICI, atque ABBATIS MONASTERII ADELBERGENSIS.

SYSTEMA
THEOLOGICUM,
DOGMATICO
POLEMICUM
IN QUO
PRÆTER THESIN
COPIOSIUS, QUAM IN COMPENDIO
EXHIBITAM,
RECENTIORES INPRIMIS CONTRO-
VERSIÆ DILUCIDE EXPONUNTUR.

TUBINGÆ,
APUD JOHANNEM GEORGIUM COTTAM.
TYPIS VIDUÆ, GEORG. HENRICI REISI,
ANNO M. D. CC. XV.

The discipline of biblical theology began in part as a reaction to such works of systematic theology as this one produced by J. W. Jäger (1715).

contrary, is didactic in character, and teaches what a particular theologian philosophically and rationally decides about divine matters, in accordance with his character, time, age, place, sect or school, and other similar influences." The effect of Gabler's approach was to focus attention on what the biblical writers were saying to the people of their day. Literary and historical matters therefore became immensely important in the presentation of the thought of the Bible.

The 19th cent. saw the production of a number of works in this field. The insistence upon the discipline as a historical science prevailed, but along with it came the *Lehrbegriffen* approach, a modified topical systematization that acknowledged the variety of religious consciousness in the Bible. G. L. Bauer, a colleague of Gabler, issued four volumes of biblical theology (1800 – 1802) in which he distinguished between the religion of the Jews before Christ, the religion of Jesus, and the religion of the apostles. In 1813 and 1816, W. M. L. de Wette published a *Biblische Dogmatik* in two volumes. He discerned two "historically evident steps of revelation" in the OT, namely, the religion of Moses and the religion of the Jews. In the NT he isolated two levels also, the teaching of Jesus and the interpretation of it by the apostles.

The German philosopher Hegel affected biblical theology in that century. In the OT field, W. Vatke published his *Die Religion des Alten Testamentes* in 1835 in which he applied Hegel's threefold analysis of history. Vatke distinguished three periods in OT thought: the preprophetic, the prophetic, and the postprophetic. These three divisions corresponded to Hegel's scheme of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. In the NT field, F. C. Baur of Tübingen applied Hegelian principles to the study of early Christianity. The "thesis" was the religion of Jesus; the "antithesis," the theological reflection of Paul; and the "synthesis," the Old Catholic Church. Both Vatke and Baur produced a host of followers.

Through most of the 19th cent., some scholars in both OT and NT took seriously historical criticism and environmental factors; others bypassed them. In the OT field, for example, B. Bauer in his *Die Religion des Alten Testaments* (1838 – 39) turned aside from criticism of sources and focused on the OT material itself, whereas the conservative scholar H. Schultz, in his *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1869), maintained a historical orientation but at the same time took full note of literary problems. In the NT area, two conservatives, Bernard Weiss (1868) and W. Beyschlag (1891) published NT theologies that recognized systems of thought in the NT but attempted to harmonize them (teaching of Jesus, views of the first apostles, etc.). These men also gave attention to the environment of Judaism and Hellenism as well as the findings of historical criticism. Both of these scholars were subjected to severe criticism by H. J. Holtzmann in his *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1897). Holtzmann employed the *Lehrbe-griffen* approach, but he was confident that the harmonizations of Weiss and Beyschlag were utterly superficial and artificial. At a later time even Holtzmann was subjected to criticism by some of his own liberal camp who rejected his analysis of the thought of the NT into distinct systems of doctrine, such as the theologies of Jesus, Paul, Peter.

In the more pietistic circles, a strongly biblicistic and uniquely historicistic view developed. The attempt was made to keep a unity between the OT and the NT. Such is reflected in E. W. Hengsten-berg's *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (1892) and especially in J. C. K. von Hofmann's *Der Schriftbe-weis* (1825 – 55), where the entire Bible is viewed as recording God's saving action in behalf of mankind. Both the OT and the NT are linked together in this "salvation history." Rightly therefore von Hofmann can be called the father of *die heilsge-schichtliche Schule.*

Near the end of the 19th cent., liberal biblical scholars rejected biblical theology as a legitimate, biblical discipline. In its place it substituted "the religious history of Israel and the church," "the religion of the OT and NT," "Hebrew Religion," or "the religious ideas of the Bible." The rapid growth of literary and historical criticism forced theology out of exegesis and left nothing but human evaluation of biblical materials in the light of literary principles and archaeological and historical findings. Some of the books arising out of this movement, which reaches well into the 20th cent., are A. Duff's *Old Testament Theology* (1891), H. Wheeler Robinson's *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (1913), H. P. Smith's *The Religion of Israel* (1914), Albert C. Knudsen's *The Religious Teaching of the Old Testament* (1918), and W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson's *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development,* 2nd ed. (1937). E. W. Parsons' *The Religion of the New Testament* (1939), though appearing late in this movement, shows much the same commitments.

Such works are part of what has become known as *die religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (the history of religions school), which took as a fundamental premise that biblical religion is not unique but one among the many religions of mankind. According to this movement, the proper study of the Bible necessitates the comparison of biblical concepts with those of surrounding religious movements. One must also acknowledge wholesale synthesis between OT and NT religion and the prevailing philosophical and religious movements contemporaneous with them. Quite obviously, therefore, OT and NT religion was the result of the quest of man alone in his naturally religious state. The Bible gives us the record of the religious strivings of one group of people. But as O. Betz comments, this approach "failed to evaluate the material theologically. The question of truth was overlooked; the claim of revelation by witnesses in the OT was disregarded" (*IDB,* 1:432).

The thrust for this movement in the OT field came from Vatke, who had significant influence on K. H. Graf and A. Kuenen (1870). These scholars in turn influenced J. Wellhausen, whose study of Israel in 1895 gave primary place to the critical study of the OT. A plethora of monographs appeared

holding to this view, all inspired by Graf and Wellhausen. The definitive work that gave impetus to this movement in the NT area was that of W. Wrede, entitled *Über Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten neutestamentlichen Theologie* (On the Task and Method of So-called New Testament Theology), published in 1897. In this pamphlet Wrede called for the displacement of NT theology with the religion of primitive Christianity. His reasoning, according to Betz, was that the essence of Christianity could not be determined by the study of the canonical books alone but also from the study of surrounding religious and philosophical cults and concepts. H. Weinel's *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1911) and J. Kaftan's *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (1927) are fair samples of this approach. In projecting his views, Wrede had help from two deft scholars, Wilhelm Bousset and W. Heitmuller, both of whom were outstanding students of the environment of early Christianity, the mystery religions, and the religious philosophies.

C. Twentieth century. The early part of this period saw the dominance of the history of religions school in the exploration of the Bible and its religious thought. However, several scholars clung rather tenaciously to a concern for the theological understanding of the Bible. In his excellent monograph, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (1904), A. B. Davidson emphasized that the KINGDOM OF GOD concept controls both the religious consciousness of biblical man and his cultic and liturgical practices. Another *Old Testament Theology* appeared in 1922 from the pen of E. König, who sought to give attention to Israel's faith as basic to understanding the OT. NT scholars were at work too, especially the more conservative ones. G. B. Stevens produced his *New Testament Theology* in 1904, developing it along *Lehrbegriffen* lines. A Catholic scholar, Paul Feine, published his *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* in 1913, in which he gave expression to von Hofmann's *Heilsgeschichte* theme.

The important years in this century were 1910-20, during which radical criticism in biblical studies reached a point of saturation and sterility. Revolt set in. Bible scholars realized that the historical method had been made a sacred cow. It had become an "end in itself" rather than a means for explicating the truth of the Bible. It was thus creating relativism and skepticism in biblical studies. On the basis of its presuppositions, the best that one could hope for in the study of biblical problems was "a set of probabilities." One could not expect to find that which was normative in biblical faith. As one writer has commented, analytical historicism killed the soul but retained the corpse.

It was the comparatively unknown Swiss pastor Karl Barth, with his publication of a commentary on the epistle to the Romans in 1918, who brought about the reentry of theology into biblical studies. Terribly upset over the failure of "social Christianity" and evolutionary views of biblical truth, as well as distraught over the church's role in World War I, Barth "turned back to the Bible" to let it speak to him. He discovered, in the words of Stephen Neill, "that the Bible is not a collection of the pious meditations of man upon God, but the clarion tones in which God speaks to man and demands his response" (*The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1961* [1964], 206). Barth saw the Bible as the Word of God. He did not repudiate historicism; he simply called for an empathetic study of the Bible, that is, a coming to it with full acknowledgment of its faith character and permitting it to speak to us. A full and new appraisal of the theological statements of the Bible was eventually demanded by the Barthian return to the Bible. Since Barth's *Romans*, the whole field has been under intense investigation, and out of this fresh look has come a number of theological studies of the Bible. Space will not permit the mention of all the works or an extensive annotation on them. It will be sufficient to list them with brief notes.

1. Old Testament. W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 3 vols. (1933-38); its basic theme and unifying element is the COVENANT of God with Israel. E. Sellin, *Alttestamentliche Theologie auf reli-gionsgeschichtlicher Grundlage, 2* vols. (1933); Sellin still operates in the history of religions school but finds a major theme in the HOLINESS of God. L. Köhler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1936), which focuses on the thought of God as Lord. W. Vischer, *Das Christuszeugnis des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. (1934); he led the way in showing the Christological focus of the OT. T. C. Vriezen (1949), E. Jacob (1955), and O. Procksch (1956) follow through with the same emphasis. Procksch, however, gives large place to the concept of "saving history." A leading figure in OT theology is G. von Rad, whose two-volume work, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, appeared in 1957 and 1960. Following the cultic emphasis of the Scandinavian scholars, von Rad has concluded that the theological thinking of Israel "arose with the task of gathering, arranging, and interpreting different documents of traditions." An attempt was made by Israel's theologians to relate the material in these documents to God's mighty deeds.

Among the English writers are H. W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament* (1946), and H. H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* (1956). These two books are relatively brief, presenting general positions on the OT material, and representing commitments to liberal views on criticism but at the same time acknowledging the need to see the faith of Israel. In America, G. E. Wright's *The Challenge of Israel's Faith* (1944), J. Bright's *The Kingdom of God* (1953), and P. Minear's *Eyes of Faith* (1949) follow the above-mentioned English writers in their general views on, and the analysis of, OT materials. M. Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology* (1946), employs a topical rather than a chronological scheme and seeks to demonstrate the unity of the two testaments theologically. For O. Baab, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (1949), the key to OT thought is the keen awareness of the presence of God on the part of OT men. The contention of G. A. F. Knight, *A Christian Theology of the Old Testament* (1959), is that the OT must be read and understood, at least for the Christian, in the light of Christ. The OT is Christ-centered.

Three strongly conservative OT theologies are worthy of note. G. Vos, *Biblical Theology* (1948), unfortunately, is not complete, for it breaks off with the incarnate ministry of Jesus (however, we also have his *Pauline Eschatology* [1930]). The two completed portions divide the OT into Mosaic and prophetic parts. Vos combines historical and theological analyses in each part, with major emphasis on the latter. P. Heinisch, *Theology of the Old Testament* (1940), is a Roman Catholic work that is sound on basic Christian truth but gives large place to distinctive Roman views. J. B. Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* (1962), organizes the religious thought of the OT around his special understanding of the word "testament." For a bibliography of more recent publications, see OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY (end of section I).

2. New Testament. It is virtually impossible to note all the works that have been published in the field of NT theology. We can list only representative ones. Three continental works are noteworthy. E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1941), is oriented to the "salvation history" analysis. Beginning with creation and the Fall, he moves through the law and promise to the great deed of God in Christ with its consequences and promise for man. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols. (1951-55), emphasizes the historical development of the preaching (KERYGMA) of the early church as reflected in the NT. The *Sitz im Leben* of the church at given times controlled the nature of the preaching. NT theology strictly, however, is the attempt to clarify the new understanding of self which the believer has whenever confronted with the gospel. The NT gives us the new self-understandings of the particular writers.

J. Bonsirven, *The Theology of the New Testament* (1963), comes from a French scholar who has produced the most significant Catholic NT theology. The object of NT theology is "to bring together the revealed truths contained in the NT, to define their meaning as the authors understood it, and to attempt to classify these truths in order of importance, so as to provide a basis for Christian dogma" (pp. xii-xiii). Methodologically, Bonsirven pursues a historical pattern beginning with Christology and the theme of Jesus' preaching. From there on he employs a chronological scheme, in which he deals with the primitive community, Paul, and the maturing church.

The British have produced two main NT theologies, though they have a host of outstanding thinkers in the field who have written widely on a variety of themes related to this field. A. M. Hunter, *The Unity of the New Testament* (1957), fully recognizes the problem of unity in diversity, but decides that NT thought can be correctly presented under the *Heilsgeschichte* scheme with three main divisions: Christology, a Savior; soteriology, a way of salvation; and ecclesiology, a saved people. A. Richardson, *An Introduction to New Testament Theology* (1959), uses a moderate conservative stance and approaches NT theology on a thematic basis, in effect predetermining the areas of thought that control and unify the NT. Richardson begins with biblical categories such as "belief" and "knowledge" and seeks through careful and thorough penetration of the biblical material to delineate their meanings.

American NT scholars have worked diligently in this field and the fruit of their labors is abundant. It will be sufficient to mention three or four of the more widely circulated NT theologies. F. C. Grant, *Introduction to the Thought of the New Testament* (1950), gives full attention to the environmental factors relating to the development of the church and her theology. Grant identifies "areas of thought" in the NT that are not basically chronological nor geographical but that overlap. Among these "areas," for example, are the doctrines of God, man, and Christ. Grant's great hope, however, is to demonstrate a synthesis of thought in the NT. J. W. Bowman, *Prophetic Realism and the Gospel* (1955): by "prophetic realism" Bowman means that the governing thought of the whole Bible as well as the NT is that in prophetic understanding God dialogs with man and as a result man really comes to know God and purposes in his heart to do God's will. The theme of prophetic realism is the gospel, and the content of it is Jesus Christ. F. V. Filson, *Jesus Christ, the Risen Lord* (1956), finds the resurrection of Christ as the "central interpreting fact" of the thought of the NT. All the writers of the NT wrote from a postresurrection stance, asserting that the risen Christ constituted the great saving reality for them. The earliest preaching centered on the resurrection. NT theology must start from this "rock-bottom fact" and move out into the varied dimensions of its meaning for the early Christians.

Two conservative theologies worthy of note are F. Stagg, *New Testament Theology* (1962), and C. C. Ryrie, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (1959). The former is developed according to a thematic pattern, beginning with "The Plight of Man as Sinner" and ending with "Eschatology," a typically systematic form, whereas the latter is developed according to the historically topical form, "the synoptic theology," "the theology of Acts," etc. For a bibliography of more recent publications, see NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

II. Relation to other disciplines. It is most natural to ask how biblical theology relates to other forms of biblical study. Is there a distinct province for biblical theology?

A. Exegesis. The task of exegesis is to determine as accurately as possible through grammatical and historical analysis what the biblical writer said at the time that he wrote. Textual and philological

problems are to be resolved by the exegetical procedure. The exegete need not go beyond this function, but the biblical theologian takes what is determined through exegesis and seeks to unfold the whole pattern of thought of the biblical writers. Because his primary material is the Bible, the biblical theologian must have some proficiency in the exegetical discipline, too.

B. NT introduction. Questions such as, Who wrote this book? When was it written? To whom was it written? are sometimes determinative of the thrust of any particular biblical passage. For example, to conclude that Paul did not write the Pastoral Epistles but that they were composed decades after his day is to raise serious questions as to the development of church life during the 1st cent. What, therefore, was the normative view of church structure during Paul's day? What form did the church take in those early decades? Biblical theology will depend upon such "introductory studies" for its development of the varied areas of NT thought.

C. Dogmatic or systematic theology. The relationship of these two disciplines has remained unclear for several centuries. As G. Ebeling has noted, biblical theology "was originally conceived only as a reform of systematic theology" but has become a separate discipline with far-reaching consequences. In fact, the relationship has been dominated by three "self-contradictory tendencies." (1) Biblical theology "rejects any directions laid down for its work which come from dogmatics." (2) "The more 'Biblical theology' as a historical discipline derives its vitality from its detachment from dogmatics, the less it can be indifferent to the utterances of dogmatics." It must have the respect of dogmatic theology and it must function as a norm for dogmatics, for "dogmatics must render account of its use of Scripture before the judgment seat of historical study of the Bible." (3) While granting the detached status and the normative functions, biblical theology remains "dogmatically interested to a high degree." The issue here is simply the personal theological stance of the biblical theologian. How does he view the Bible? What is his conception of the Christian faith? While Ebeling is not altogether sure that biblical theology has a province of its own, he does not say that it should be eliminated. He sees biblical theology and systematic theology as always keeping an open conversation between themselves (see *JTS* 6 [1955]: 218-25).

Speaking from the standpoint of NT theology, the Catholic scholar Rudolf Schnackenburg sees dogmatic theology as an attempt to understand revelation with the help of rational philosophy, but biblical theology as an attempt to understand it strictly from the Scriptures themselves. Methodologically they differ somewhat, but "they are one at a deeper level, for biblical theology, too, is led by the 'sense of faith' and goes forward *kata tēn analogian tēs pisteōs*" (Rom. 12:6). He goes on to assert that there is no opposition between them, either in their content or in their outcome: "They simply probe into, and light up, the same Revelation from two different standpoints; what is more they are the complement of each other" (*New Testament Theology Today* [1961], 18).

C. C. Ryrie's resolution of the problem of relationship is much more explicit and cogent. He notes the similarities between the two exercises. Both are based upon the Bible and are systematic. "It is farthest from the truth to think of Systematic Theology as unbiblical or Biblical Theology as unsystematic." The differences, according to Ryrie, are four in number. (1) *As to precedence*, biblical theology is foundational to systematic theology. The order of study "ought to be introduction, exegesis, historical backgrounds, biblical theology, and finally Systematic Theology." (2) *As to purpose*, "Biblical Theology is to discover what the writers of Scripture themselves regarded as truth not only from what they wrote but from that which their writings reflect of their theological thinking. The purpose of Systematic Theology is to set forth not only the truth but the reasons why it is truth."

(3) *As to perspective*, biblical theology is shaped from the point of view of the biblical writers, whereas systematic theology has the perspective of today. (4) *As to content*, biblical theology investigates particular parts of the Bible but systematic theology "is based on all of the Bible as a whole." "Systematic Theology is as a blossom, each petal of which Biblical Theology has examined separately and in detail" (*Biblical Theology of the New Testament* [1959], 17-18).

One significant point in Ryrie's discussion needs enlargement. He acknowledges that systematic theology may use sources of knowledge other than the Bible, but he does not give proper emphasis to this fact. Systematic theology, if it is to be vital to the church's life and ministry, must engage in a constructive presentation of the meaning of the Christian faith with full use of any information beyond the Bible that will elucidate the faith to the current situation. The insights of secular history, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and science can aid in creating a viable view of Christian truth that will speak to people of the particular day in which it is composed. Biblical theology, on the other hand, will function to correct any aberrations in this constructive effort, since it moves primarily within the boundaries of the biblical record. (Cf. P. S. Watson in *ExpTim* 73 [1962]: 200.)

K. Stendahl's view (in *IDB*, 1:418-19) that biblical theology is a descriptive science, limited to "what the Bible meant" at the time of composition, has some merit. It reserves "what it means" for systematic theology, presumably. However, this dichotomy can be unmanageable and distorting. What of the universal and authoritative nature of the Bible? "What it means" is a form of "translation" of "what it meant" and need not therefore be far removed from the latter. The Bible must function as a corrective to systematic theology, and biblical theology aids in this work.

III. Methodology in biblical theology. Biblical theology takes many forms today, and this fact highlights the disagreement among biblical theologians as to methodology. It seems wise therefore not to attempt a suggested method for biblical theology but rather to note some of the areas of study that are germane to a valid approach.

A. Unity of the Bible. Any attempt at systematization of biblical thought raises acutely the problem of unity. For one thing, the immense range of literary material in both the OT and NT confronts one immediately. There are histories (1-2 Kings, Acts); hymns (Psalms); prophetic and apocalyptic writings (Isaiah, Daniel, Revelation); letters (Pauline Epistles); gospels (Matthew, etc.); wisdom writings (Proverbs, James). Moreover, the history during which this literature was composed covers many centuries. This diversity raises the question of the norm for these books. Should we follow liberal views of the OT and assume the prophets to represent normative Hebrew religion? With regard to the NT, should we seek the norm in the synoptics, in Paul, or in John? It seems reasonable to assert that the diversity must be admitted but seen as falling under a common witness to the redemptive activity of God in behalf of sinful mankind. Furthermore, this unity must bridge the testaments, at least for Christians, who claim that Jesus as the risen Christ was the Messiah to whom the OT witnessed. The OT represents promise, and the NT, fulfillment; and this is supported by the words of Jesus (Matt. 5:17; Jn. 5:39; cf. also Gal. 4:4). Thus, a biblical theory must give attention to that which binds the book into a unit historically and theologically.

B. Salvation history. Stendahl is correct when he states that in biblical theology "history presents itself as the loom of the theological fabric" (*IDB*, 1:423). The uniqueness of biblical faith rests in the revelation of God through events in history. The Hebrew-Christian faith stands apart from all the religions of mankind precisely because it was not founded upon mythologies or cycles of nature.

Neither did it spring out of philosophical exploration or mystical experiences. Eldon Ladd comments, "It arose out of the historical experiences of Israel, old and new, in which God made himself known" (in *CT* 3 [1961]: 18). The God of Israel was the God of history, the *Geschichtsgott*, as the Germans say.

Even a cursory review of the Bible will clarify this fact, for it takes us along a historical path—a series of events—from creation, the call of Abraham, the exodus, the settlement in Canaan, the establishment and conduct of the kingdoms, the exile, the return to Palestine, the life of Christ, and the establishment of the church. These events are not just accidental happenings in history; they are acts of the living God who possesses a redemptive concern for his people. Thus, this history is *die Heilsgeschichte*, "salvation history," and in it God shows his redemptive nature and brings into existence and sustains his redeemed people. Von Hofmann, von Rad, G. E. Wright, O. Cullmann, J. Danielou, E. Rust, and a host of other OT and NT theologians have emphasized the centrality of history in Hebrew-Christian faith. This being true, biblical theology to be valid in its methodology must show this salvation history because God's revelation of himself in history is one of the fundamental categories of biblical thought.

C. Christ the key to Scripture. For Christians, as Rust points out, Christ is "the Lord of Scripture as he is Lord of history and of life" (E. C. Rust, "The Nature and Problems of Biblical Theology," *RevExp* 50 [1953]: 463-87, esp. p. 474). The OT presents an unfinished picture of God's redemption without the NT. It is promise without fulfillment. Significantly, the early church did not repudiate the old Scriptures, not only because their Master did not do so, but because the OT provided the only basis for their understanding and verification of their existence in the sacred history of Israel. The key to this necessary interpretation was the coming of Christ.

Three events in particular, recorded in the Luke-Acts history, sharpen this fact. (1) The walk to EMMAUS (Lk. 24:13-35). Concerning the Master's conversation, Luke records, "And beginning with Moses and all the Prophets, he explained to them what was said in all the Scriptures concerning himself" (24:27). (2) STEPHEN'S defense (Acts 7). Quite obviously, if Stephen had been permitted to finish his speech, he would have demonstrated the role of Christ in this history. Indeed, Christ was not only the key but also the redemptive climax. (3) PHILIP and the ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH (Acts 8:26-39). Amazingly, the eunuch was reading Isa. 53. When the eunuch admitted that he did not understand what he was reading, "Philip began with that very passage of Scripture and told him the good news about Jesus" (Acts 8:35). Christ is the fulfiller of the promises to the people of Israel, and this fact governs the NT.

To assert that Christ is the key to biblical theology is easy; but to demonstrate it raises the hermeneutical question: How is Christ related to the OT? Are we to look for types? Is there a historical typology that will legitimately acknowledge the uniqueness of the faith of OT saints but at the same time maintain the promise-fulfillment equation? The task of biblical theology is very exacting at this point.

D. Confessional and kerygmatic. The Bible has a witnessing dimension. The Bible is not just a recording of so many events and facts from a people of a distant day, but rather a lengthy statement of their faith in a God who acted savingly in their behalf. Hebrews and Christians "confess" God as their Savior and preach through these Scriptures that he is the Savior of all mankind, and in particular through Jesus Christ in the NT faith. For biblical theology this means several things methodologically:

(1) Some of the statements of the Bible are not to be taken primarily as theological statements

with logical and reasoned support behind them. They indeed have theological significance, but they are first of all statements of faith. This puts them in certain instances beyond full and explicit analysis.

(2) As far as this is possible, the confessional and kerygmatic elements should be evident in the systematization of the thought of the Bible. One cannot go as far as G. E. Wright to say that "Biblical theology is the confessional rehearsal of history together with the inferences from it." However, the confessional nature of the biblical material must be demonstrated if biblical theology is to be truly biblical. To settle for philosophical and theological abstractions is to present a truncated view of the faith, and indeed to miss its vibrant nature.

(3) A "reading between the lines" in "doing biblical theology" is important too. For example, while Paul's letters are for the most part written to deal with local problems of one kind or another and do not have the highly reasoned character of theological treatises, they do give expression implicitly, if not explicitly at times, to a general theological stance on his part. The NT theologian, therefore, will have to draw some inferences from Paul's statements and then relate them to the whole of the Pauline corpus and the whole NT.

To reiterate, biblical theology is a definitive study of the Bible, assisted by all the other biblical disciplines, in which an attempt is made to demonstrate by some biblically suggested system God's revelation of himself through Christ for the express purpose of redeeming sinful mankind.

W. TAYLOR

biblical theology of the OT. See OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

biblical theology of the NT. See NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

Bichri, Bichrite bik'r*i*, bik'r*i*t. See BICRI.

Bicri bik'r*i* (בִּכְרִי ***H1152***, "firstborn" or "youthful"). Also Bichri; TNIV Bikri. Father of SHEBA, the Benjamite who rebelled against DAVID (2 Sam. 20:1-22). Because the name has a gentilic form, some scholars believe that Bicri refers to a clan rather than a person. Moreover, the name BERITES (v. 14) is thought by many to be a textual corruption of "Bicrites" (cf. NRSV, "Bichrites"), which in turn may be associated with Benjamin's son BEKER. If so, Sheba and most who supported his rebellion were Bekerites.

Bidkar bid'kahr (בִּדְקַר ***H982***, possibly a shortened form of בְּדֵקַר ***H1206***, "son of Deker [piercing]"). A military officer who sided with JEHU in his revolt and who assisted him at the slaying of King Joram (2 Ki. 9:25; see JEHORAM).

bier. This term is used in English Bibles in the accounts of the funerals of ABNER and King ASA (2 Sam. 3:31; 2 Chr. 16:14). It is also used by the NRSV in the story of the raising of the widow's son in NAIN (Lk. 7:14; NIV, "coffin"). The bier was an open bed or litter set in a bedroom where the

Tomb painting of the open bed of Ramses III. From the Valley of the Kings, Karnak.

body was placed for public viewing, while around the room hired mourners kept up lamentation. The body was carried to the grave on the same open stretcher, just as in poorer Muslim funerals the corpse is carried on boards. According to A. Edersheim (*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols. [1899], 1:555-56), there was a horn to which the body was lashed, and a different bier was used for rich and poor, the former having a pretentious conveyance called a *dargash*, while the poor had a framework of wicker.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

bigamy. See MARRIAGE.

Bigtha, Bigthan, Bigthana big'thuh, big'thuhn, big'thuh-nuh (בִּגְתָא ***H960***, בִּגְתָן ***H961***, בִּגְתָנָא ***H962***, possibly from Pers. *bagadâ* or *bagadâna*, "gift of God"). The name of one or two EUNUCHS or officers in the court of XERXES (Ahasuerus). The three names occur respectively in Esth. 1:10; 2:1; 6:2. In the last two references, Bigthan and Bigthana are certainly one and the same (the NIV uses "Bigthana" in both passages); in them he and Teresh are described as "two of the king's officers [*lit*., eunuchs] who guarded the doorway" and who had conspired to assassinate the king (they were subsequently hanged, 2:23). In the first reference, Bigtha, who may be the same person, is listed as one of the seven eunuch chamberlains instructed by the king to bring Queen VASHTI to the royal feast. (On the etymology of these names, see A. R. Millard, *JBL* 96 [1977]: 481-88.)

Bigvai big'v*i* (בִּגְוַי ***H958***, possibly from Pers. *baga*, "God" [but see BDB, 94]). An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7; the name is missing in 1 Esd. 5:8, but RSV inserts it before "Mordecai"). Presumably the same Bigvai (but possibly an ancestor) is then listed as the head of a family that numbered more than 2,000 (Ezra 2:14; Neh. 7:19; 1 Esd. 5:14 [KJV, "Bagoi"]). Some members of the family came later with EZRA (Ezra 8:14; 1 Esd. 8:40 [KJV, "Bago"]). The name Bigvai also occurs in the list of leaders who signed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:16); this may be the same person or a representative of the clan. It is possible that two or three different individuals are intended in these passages. (The

governor of Judea in 410-407 B.C. bore what is apparently the same name, *bgwhy*; see BAGOAS.)

Bikri bik'r*i*. See BICRI.

Bildad bil'dad (בִּלְדַּד ***H1161***, possibly "Bel has loved" or "Bel is friend"; cf. ELDAD). One of the three friends of JOB who came to comfort him but who really added to his grief (Job 2:11; 8:1; 18:1; 25:1; 42:9). He is called a "Shuhite," which may mean that he was descended from a son of ABRAHAM and KETURAH named SHUAH (Gen. 25:2); thus Bildad was possibly a member of an Aramean tribe of nomads who lived SE of Palestine (Gen. 25:6). See ARAM (COUNTRY). Three chapters (Job 8; 18; 25) are filled with Bildad's speeches, in which he shows himself blustering and relatively kind as he emphasizes the justice of God. In his first speech he maintains that since Job's children were killed, it must have been for their sins. If Job would repent, God would restore his prosperity. Antiquity shows that God destroys the wicked and supports the upright. In his second speech Bildad declares that sinners receive nothing but misery in this life and dishonor after death. In his third speech he upholds the majesty and perfection of God over against the imperfection of all created things.

S. BARABAS

Bileam bil'ee-uhm (בִּלְעָם ***H1190***, meaning uncertain; cf. BALAAM). One of the Levitical cities given to the descendants of KOHATH in the territory of the tribe of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 6:70; many scholars emend GATH RIMMON to Bileam in the parallel passage, Josh. 21:25). It is probably the same as IBLEAM, identified with modern Khirbet Bel(ameh, 12 mi. SE of MEGIDDO.

Bilgah bil'guh (בִּלְגָּה ***H1159***, "gleam, cheerfulness"). (1) The head of the fifteenth division of priests in the time of DAVID (1 Chr. 24:14).

(2) A leader among the priests who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL and who served in the days of JESHUA (Neh. 12:5; cf. v. 7). It is possible that he gave his name to the priestly family headed by Shammua (v. 18). In addition, Bilgah is probably to be identified with BILGAI, who affixed his seal to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (10:8).

Bilgai bil'g*i* (בִּלְגַּי ***H1160***, "gleam, cheerfulness"). One of the priests who sealed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:8); probably the same as BILGAH #2.

Bilhah (person) bil'huh (בִּלְהָה ***H1167***, possibly "carefree"). A slave girl given by LABAN to his daughter RACHEL (Gen. 29:29). Because Rachel was barren, she became jealous of her sister LEAH, and in order to build her own family she gave Bilhah to JACOB as a concubine (later, Leah also gave her maidservant ZILPAH to Jacob). Bilhah bore Jacob two sons, whom Rachel named DAN and NAPHTALI, thus claiming them as her own (Gen. 30:1-8; 35:25; 46:25). Nuzi marriage contracts from the 2nd millennium B.C. show that it was the custom for a childless wife to provide her husband with a slave concubine (cf. C. H. Gordon in *BA* 3 [1940]: 1-12; but see R. Frankena in *Oudtestamentische studiën* 17 [1972]: 53-64). Bilhah later engaged in incest with REUBEN (Gen. 35:22).

Bilhah (place) bil'huh (בִּלְהָה ***H1168***, possibly "carefree"). One of the towns inhabited by the clan of

SHIMEI, descendant of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:29). Its location is unknown, but it is often identified with BAALAH (Josh. 15:29) and BALAH (19:3).

S. BARABAS

Bilhan bil'han (בִּלְהָן ***H1169***, possibly "foolish"). (1) Son of EZER and grandson of SEIR the HORITE; he probably became the progenitor of a clan in EDOM (Gen. 36:27; 1 Chr. 1:42).

(2) Son of JEDIAEL and grandson (or more distant descendant) of BENJAMIN; he was also the father of seven men who became warriors and heads of families (1 Chr. 7:10-11).

bill. This English term is used by the KJV and other versions to render Hebrew *sēper* ***H6219*** ("writing, document") in the expression "bill of divorce(ment)" (Deut. 24:1-3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8; cf. also Mk. 10:4 KJV). The NIV uses the term "certificate." DIVORCE consisted of placing such a document in the hands of the rejected wife. The term "bill" is also used by most versions to render the collective plural of Greek *gramma* ***G1207*** ("writing") in the parable of the unjust steward (Lk. 16:6-7; cf. the extensive discussion by A. Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 2* vols. [1889], 2:264-75). The document referred to was of varied detail, given by the recipient of goods or property in acknowledgment of debt and obligation; it was a receipt. The rascally steward of Jesus' parable handed the documents back to the debtors and secured, in their own handwriting, a note of diminished obligation (Lk. 16:1-13). Latin in similar significance had the word *scriptio*.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Bilshan bil'shan (בִּלְשָׁן ***H1193***, perhaps "inquirer" [BDB, 119, but see *HALOT*, 1:135]). An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7; in 1 Esd. 5:8 he is called "Beelsarus").

Bimhal bim'hal (בִּמְהָל ***H1197***, perhaps "son of circumcision" [BDB, 119]). Son of Japhlet and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:33). He is listed among the tribal "heads of families, choice men, brave warriors and outstanding leaders" (v. 40).

binding and loosing. The Greek verbs *deō* ***G1313*** and *lyō* ***G3395*** are found individually throughout the NT in a general sense, but when used together they refer to the act of being put under the power and control of SATAN or of being released from that power through the dawning of the KINGDOM OF GOD.

I. Historical background. The Greek terms are used in the NT in ways that reflect the influence of the thought patterns of rabbinical literature, which uses the corresponding Hebrew verbs *)sr* and *htyr* (hiphil of *ntr*; in Aram., *)sr* and *šr)*). Three distinct contexts emerge from a study of the relevant texts (see Str-B, 1:738-47): (a) In the vast majority of cases, the terms occur in a *doctrinal* sense: to "prohibit" or "permit" by means of legal rules as interpreted by a teacher of the law. (b) Less frequently the terms are used in a *disciplinary* sense: to "expel from" or "receive back into" the congregation. (c) The terms are used also in a *magical* sense: to "come under" or "be freed from" the power of a sorcerer, god, or spirit. Most scholars caution against too sharp a distinction between the doctrinal and judicial senses, noting that in JUDAISM the same person exercised both functions.

II. NT usage. An exegetical study of *deō* and *lyō* in the NT will lead to a number of generalizations. The terms occur more often in Matthew than in all the other Gospels combined and consistently relate to evil powers, the grave, death, and hell (Matt. 5:19; 12:29; 13:30; 14:3; 16:19; 18:18; 21:2; 22:13; 27:2). Throughout the NT they occur usually in an eschatological context, with "binding" associated with "this age" and "loosing" with "the age to come." Bondage is characteristic of those under Satan's power and loosing of those in the eschaton because they have been freed from Satan's control. "Binding" always involves a limitation of freedom and a violation of the individual will, and thus occurs with words like "imprisonment." "Loosing" involves releasing people from defects that make them less than what God intended. Bondage is static, whereas loosing is dynamic. Since release from physical bondage usually requires a KEY, this term is also used in a figurative sense as the means of release to spiritual freedom.

Two passages in Matthew demand more detailed treatment: Matt. 16:19 and 18:18. In the former verse, PETER, who has confessed his faith that Jesus is the MESSIAH and has been told that he is the rock on which Christ's church will be built, hears Jesus say, "whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." Most scholars reject the idea, expressed by A. Dell (in *ZNW* 15 [1914]: 1-49 and 17 [1916]: 27-32) and others, that "binding" and "loosing" refer to the power to enchant or free by MAGIC, and agree that both doctrinal and disciplinary meanings are possible

Considerable debate continues to occur in connection with the *Sitz im Leben* of the saying. Some, emphasizing the fact that at least in its present context it is peculiar to Matthew, see the verse as an example of "early Catholicism" and its need to legislate the morals of a church that is already a *corpus mixtum*; they take the verse as emerging from the Palestinian church. Others, emphasizing Matthew's tendency to connect sayings on the same theme, see the evangelist as taking what was originally a passion or postresurrection saying of Jesus (cf. Jn. 20:23) and joining it to sayings on building and doors (Matt. 16:18).

The record of Matthew states that Peter's authority to teach and discipline is extended to all the disciples (Matt. 18:18). In this passage no reference is made to a confession of faith, the foundation of the church or the keys, so it is probably legitimate to conclude that Peter in Matthew's gospel is *primus inter pares*, without, however, in any way suggesting a monarchical episcopate for Peter. (Cf. O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 2nd ed. [1962], esp. 165-167, 210-11; B. P. Robinson in *JSNT* 21 [1984]: 85-104; R. H. Hiers in *JBL* 104 [1985]: 233-50.)

III. Patristic period. During the patristic era, organizational and juridical concerns soon played an increasingly important role, particularly in the Western church. In the first two centuries, however, there are few references to binding and loosing in efforts to defend the church against heresy and schism. Since IRENAEUS makes no reference to Matt. 16:19 in his comments on that chapter, it has been suggested that some versions of Matthew did not even contain the verse. In the succeeding period binding and loosing play a larger and larger role in the struggle to ground papal claims on Scripture (cf. Tertullian and Cyprian) until by the beginning of the Middle Ages it has become one of the main planks in the platform of papal authority.

L. R. KEYLOCK

Binea bin'ee-uh (בִּנְעָא ***H1232***, perhaps "son of ANATH"). Son of Moza and a descendant of King SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:37; 9:43).

Binnui bin'*yoo-i* (בִּנּוּי ***H1218***, possibly short form of בִּנְיָהוּ ***H1226***, "Yahweh has built" [see BENAIAH]; in the textual tradition sometimes confused with בָּנִי ***H1220***). See also BANI. (1) Father of NOADIAH; the latter was a Levite appointed to the job of supervising the weighing of the gold and silver vessels that EZRA had brought from Babylon (Ezra 8:33; 1 Esd. 8:63 NRSV [Gk. v. 62, *Sabannos*, thus KJV "Sabban"]).

(2) Son (or descendant) of HENADAD; he repaired a section of the wall of Jerusalem and was among those who sealed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:24; 10:9). Binnui was probably also the ruler of one of the half-districts of KEILAH (3:18 NIV, NRSV; the MT has B AVVAI, likely a scribal error).

(3) The ancestor or head of a family that returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 7:15; called Bani in Ezra 2:10; 1 Esd. 5:12).

(4) The ancestor of some Israelites who had married foreign wives (Ezra 10:38; he may be the same as the man called Bani in v. 34; cf. 1 Esd. 9:34 [KJV, "Bannus"]).

(5) One of the Levites who returned from the exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:8; some scholars believe he may be the same as the man called Bani in 9:4-5).

(6) One of the descendants of PAHATH-MOAB who had married foreign wives (Ezra 10:30; called "Belnuus" [KJV, "Balnuus"] in 1 Esd. 9:31). Some identify this man with #4 above.

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bird. See FAUNA and separate articles on specific birds.

bird migration. Several biblical passages seem to refer to bird migration. This is not surprising, for in spring it is an obvious natural phenomenon of the whole region. The clearest reference is Jer. 8:7, "Even the stork in the sky / knows her appointed seasons, / and the dove, the swift and the thrush / observe the time of their migration [*lit*., coming]." All these are birds of passage, though the precise identity of swift and thrush (NRSV, "swallow" and "crane") may be argued. The migratory habit of the QUAIL made it of great importance to the Israelites, for this edible bird flew NE across their exodus route on its spring passage (Exod. 16:13).

Palestine's position, running more or less N and S at the E end of the Mediterranean, makes it a main route for migrants passing between E and Central Africa, where they winter, and a great area of Central and E Europe and W Asia, where they nest. Birds wintering in W Africa normally cross into Europe at Gibraltar. Along the N African coast are five or six regular take-off areas, but the greatest single concentration flies N down the broad, fertile NILE Valley, from which the most natural route is over Palestine. A more direct line to Turkey, even via Cyprus, involves a minimum sea crossing of 300 mi.; a more easterly course takes birds over the extensive deserts of Jordan and Syria, with a stretch of at least 500 mi. where there may be oases but little available water at most seasons. The long belt of country between the JORDAN Valley and the coast offers several advantages, especially in spring when much of the land is still green. For many species the return migration in autumn follows a somewhat different pattern, the birds being spread out over a broader front, largely because of the prevailing winds, while their departure from their breeding grounds may take place over a period, the adults of some species leaving perhaps weeks before the young birds.

For large birds this route lets them ride the thermals that are a feature of the desert and the Rift Valley. For great numbers of smaller birds it offers both food and water at fairly frequent intervals. The recent spread of cultivation, often irrigated, has much increased the facilities available to the

birds, especially in the NEGEV. On the Israeli side of the passage route, where irrigation is most widespread, these small birds and most larger ones pass unmolested, whereas in most adjoining countries many of the small birds are trapped for food.

Many birds are found among the migratory species. While the approximately 350 species cannot all be put into precise categories, for many would come into more than one, these birds may be called resident, summer breeder, winter visitor, or passing migrant. Less than seventy are classed as resident, so some eighty percent are migratory in greater or lesser degree; since these latter include some of the more numerous kinds, the proportion of resident individuals is even less. About fifty are birds that breed farther N, some inside the Arctic Circle, and winter in Palestine. Some members of these species fly right through before stopping off and so are also passage migrants, which comprise the biggest class—at least 130. For these Palestine is merely a country on their route. More than thirty are listed as stragglers, mostly migrants that normally use other flight lines and are seen in Palestine only when blown off course. The remaining, about fifty, are the summer breeders, which have wintered to the S; for them Palestine is a breeding ground.

In the past 2,000 years there have been widespread changes in FLORA and FAUNA, but the large mammals have been most affected. Since the early 1950s the status of certain resident birds has changed, most for better and some for worse, but for migratory birds this tract has long been a major route, and there is no reason to suggest that the pattern observed today is basically different from what it was in the days of the Lord and for many centuries before that. Jeremiah's list included small, medium, and large birds of different families. He did, in fact, quote a true sample, for almost every family found in this area includes some migrants.

A distinction needs to be made between low-flying and high-flying migrants. The former are commonly seen. It is hard to be in Palestine during March and April without quickly being conscious of the passage of birds, especially along the roads, where telegraph lines, electricity supply cables, and trees make convenient resting places. Brilliantly colored European rollers, bee-eaters, and turtle doves are perhaps the most evident, and this is the season when "the cooing of doves is heard in our land" (Cant. 2:12). Every oasis in the desert is alive with birds, especially small members of the Passerine family, the perching birds. Warblers are found mostly on the bushes and crops, searching for aphids and other insects; commonest are lesser whitethroat and blackcap. At least four races of yellow wagtail, each using different nesting areas in Europe and Asia, are busy hunting on the ground, together with red-throated pipits, which are more or less midway between their winter home in Africa and nesting sites in Lapland, within the Arctic circle. The pattern may be different in other sections of their route, but at this point these birds mostly move N in a series of short stages, drinking and feeding as they go.

The casual visitor is less certain of seeing the large, high-flying migrants. They come through less regularly, traveling in longer hops and being more dependent on weather conditions. A cloudy spell, with some rain, may occur even in March and April, especially in the northern part of the Rift Valley, and this interrupts the formation of thermals, on which these birds depend. The use made of thermals is most easily seen over the desert. In spring the night temperature drops, and it may be well into the morning before an area heats up enough to start a column of warm air rising. Meanwhile large birds of prey—kites, buzzards, and eagles—cruise around in a rather haphazard way trying to get started, but soon give up and search elsewhere if the life is not enough. When a real thermal starts its presence is quickly seen; birds stream toward it and as soon as they enter the column of rising air they set their wings for maximum climb and spiral up to perhaps 7,000 ft. before gliding N, losing just enough height to maintain speed. With a favorable wind they travel many miles with hardly a wing

beat before having to find a further thermal. The more precise pattern depends on the food habits of the various families, but this type of movement (gliding) involves little effort and therefore minimum use of food reserves. Large migrants through Palestine include three main groups.

(1) BIRDS OF PREY. Being flesh-eaters, these go for long periods without food and probably take little on some stretches. However, some have suffered severely from eating poisoned corpses, especially in the Jordan Valley.

(2) PELICANS. These are specialized water birds returning from the lakes of Central Africa, especially Uganda, and in earlier times their main, perhaps their only, stopping places were the swamps, in particular the Huleh Lake through which the Jordan flowed. This has now been drained, as well as the coastal marshes, and wide areas of fertile arable land, flanked by complexes of fishponds, take its place. A lake of some 400 acres, part of a nature reserve, is now the only open water suitable for pelicans (which seldom seem to use the Lake of Galilee), and if a break in the fine weather occurs when they reach this point, they must sit it out in safety either on the small lake or in the center of one of the vast arable fields. At this season the ponds are carefully guarded, for a flock of 400 pelicans could take over one ton of edible fish daily.

(3) STORKS. Both black and white storks pass through Palestine, taking different routes for most of the way. The former are scarce and travel in small numbers; the latter go N in flocks of many hundreds, affording most spectacular sights, and it is likely Jeremiah drew his hearers' attention to such a flock as he told them that "Even the stork in the sky / knows her appointed seasons" (Jer. 8:7). Storks eat small animals, ranging from snakes, frogs, and mice to worms and grasshoppers; they feed regularly when on migration and today the large flocks mostly find space and food in safety in the upper Jordan Valley, but from February to early May white storks may be seen in greater or lesser numbers following the plow, drawn by either tractor or beast of burden, in many parts of Palestine. In autumn the wind pattern makes it easier to take a course farther inland, and the stork migration is less conspicuous.

More details about these birds are given in their individual articles, while many other biblical species are to some extent migratory. It is not surprising that few of the smaller birds of passage find mention, for even today these are virtually unrecognized and unnamed by the ordinary countryman, but there is little doubt that these birds have been passing this way since long before Abraham's time. (See further P. Arnold, *Birds of Israel* [1962]; R. T. Peterson et al., *A Field Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe*, 4th ed. [1983]; H. Shirihai, *The Birds of Israel: A Complete Avifauna and Bird Atlas of Israel* [1996].)

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birds of prey. Palestine is rich in day birds of prey, and the following are mentioned in one or other version of the Bible: BUZZARD, EAGLE, FALCON, GIER EAGLE, HAWK, KITE (glede), NIGHTHAWK, OSPREY, OSSIFRAGE, and VULTURE. The following general points are relevant in attempting identification.

(1) Although some are resident and may be seen occasionally at all seasons, most are birds of passage and are common and conspicuous in spring, when the large kinds travel N using the thermals. See BIRD MIGRATION. Sometimes scores or even hundreds may be seen in an hour. The most common today is the lesser kestrel, which is sociable on

Limestone figurine of a falcon; from Egypt, c. 600 B.C.

migration and roosts in flocks of several hundreds as they slowly make their way N, feeding as they go.

(2) Even for field naturalists these birds are hard to name. They are usually seen only on passage, often at a height where details of plumage cannot be discerned. Some, such as the buzzards, have light and dark phases. The larger species take as much as four years to assume adult plumage, in gradual stages. It is thus pointless to look for precise identification by nonnaturalists, among which most biblical writers must be included.

(3) By definition these birds are carnivorous and therefore fall into the class of forbidden food. The smaller hawks and falcons rarely take other than living prey. The vultures take only carrion and dying animals, and the big eagles can more easily catch sick and injured rather than fit animals. Although the prohibition may have been due in part to the ritual defilement conveyed from the prey which would have been killed other than in the prescribed manner, the basic reason was a more important and practical one. Such birds are always liable to carry infection, especially carrion feeders, and the ban was sound on grounds of hygiene.

The variation of renderings into English both among the versions and within individual versions is such that all variants cannot always be listed. The most useful work on these birds, and others, is by G. R. Driver (in *PEQ* no vol. [1955]: 5-20), who examines the Hebrew names in great detail. His findings, which differ almost entirely from the renderings in the KJV, are based on philology and natural history. It is a definitive study, though one to be accepted with caution.

OWLS are night birds of prey, with some four resident and four migratory species. Although they may be seen at rather closer quarters than the raptores, their nocturnal habits make identification

difficult and most owls are seldom named accurately except by experts. Owls confine themselves strictly to living prey.

Although they belong to a quite separate family, the scavenging and predatory habits of RAVENS and crows bring them into the same general category as the birds of prey. Apart from young rooks, the most vegetarian of the family, whose killing and eating is an annual custom in parts of Europe, the larger members of the crow tribe are seldom used for food in any part of the world.

G. S. CANSDALE

Birsha bihr'shuh (בִּרְשַׁע ***H1407***, possibly "in [*or* son of] wickedness"). King of GOMORRAH who, with his allies, rebelled against KEDORLAOMER and was defeated (Gen. 14:2).

birth. This word, or the concept to which it refers, is used in the Bible both in its literal, physical meaning and in a figurative, spiritual sense (for the latter, see REGENERATION). The Bible offers more than a hint that the physical experience of giving birth is far more painful than originally intended (Gen. 3:16). The spiritual FALL has marred both the human being's physical body and the natural CREATION (Rom. 8:22). It is not necessary to believe that there would have been no pain in the childbirth of unfallen humans, since a sacrificial experience would increase the bond between mother and child. Even with women who have easy births, there must be some stretching of the tissues of the birth canal to allow the passage of the baby's head, and wherever tissues containing nerves are stretched there must be pain. However, some women with a well-shaped pelvis and an efficiently contracting womb can have an easy labor even with a first child. This was apparently true of the ancient Hebrew women (Exod. 1:19). It may be postulated that these women's experiences are close to what was intended. Just as the fall has produced deformities and inefficiencies in the body, so could it be used to account for the unfavorably shaped pelvis, abnormally large babies, and inefficiently contracting wombs, all of which can lead to difficult and abnormal births. So universal is the experience of difficult childbirth that the Bible can speak of the pain and travail involved in producing spiritual creation (e.g., Gal. 4:19).

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

birth, new. See REGENERATION.

birth, untimely. The KJV rendering of Hebrew *nēpel* ***H5878***, "miscarriage, still birth," which occurs three times in the OT (Job 3:16; Ps. 58:8; Eccl. 6:3) and refers to the fetus which comes lifeless from the mother's womb (NIV, "stillborn child"). The same idea is expressed differently in AARON'S plea that the leprous MIRIAM may not be "as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb" (Num. 12:12 KJV; NIV, "like a stillborn infant").

In addition, the phrase "one untimely born" is used by the NRSV to render Greek *ektrōma* ***G1765*** in 1 Cor. 15:8, where PAUL, as the last to whom the risen Lord appeared, likens himself to "one abnormally born" (NIV; KJV, "one born out of due time"). The Greek term (used by the LXX in Num. 12:12; Eccl. 6:3; and Job 3:16) refers to "a birth that violates the normal period of gestation (whether induced as abortion, or natural premature birth or miscarriage…or birth beyond term)" (BDAG, 311). The meaning therefore is not "late-born," or late in becoming an apostle, which is expressed by the earlier phrase in the verse (*eschaton pantōn* "last of all"), but rather suggests "abortive birth." Paul means, as is evident from his explanation in v. 9, that because he persecuted the

church of God he was an apostle inferior to, and less worthy than, the other apostles, as the abortive child is behind the one born mature. Paul's sense of high privilege for the honor of seeing the risen Christ makes him painfully aware of his unworthiness for having once persecuted the church. What he is and has accomplished is attributable not to himself, but to God's grace (v. 10).

G. STOB

birth, virgin. See VIRGIN BIRTH.

birthday. The celebration of the anniversary of a person's birth appears to be a universal practice, for in most human societies the privileges and responsibilities of life are attached to the attainment of a certain age. Surviving census documents, dating back to A.D. 48, carefully record the age of those described and enrolled according to the requirements of the Roman census law, which implies an observance and counting of birthdays. The birth of a child, according to Lev. 12, occasioned certain rites and ceremonies. Under the Mosaic law, age was the chief qualification for authority and office. The blind man's parents declared that their son was "of age" (Jn. 9:21). There was significance in Jesus' visit to the temple at twelve years of age. In spite of the absence of documentary material, it seems obvious that birthdays held their annual importance.

Scripture speaks specifically of two birthdays only, both of them royal. It is recorded that PHARAOH declared an amnesty on his birthday (Gen. 40:20; *yôm hulledet H3427 + H3528*, the latter being a pass. inf. of *yālad*). References to this practice in Egypt can be traced back to the 13th cent. B.C., and to the Greek successors of the pharaohs, such as PTOLEMY V (205-182 B.C.). The Persians had a similar practice. Reference is made to the birthday (*genesia G1160*) of Herod Antipas (Matt. 14:6; Mk. 6:21; see HEROD V). The king with his armed forces at the eastern fortress of MACHAERUS was involved, thanks to his liaison with HERODIAS, in a tribal border war. It was in the midst of the carnal revelry of this occasion that JOHN THE BAPTIST was murdered. A. Edersheim (*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols. [1889], 1:672 n. 1) asserts without valid reason that the celebration was to mark the anniversary of Herod's accession. "It is not likely," he says, "that the Herodians would have celebrated their birthdays." In point of fact, it is no more unlikely than that Pharaoh should have celebrated his.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Birth of Mary, Gospel of the. See MARY, GOSPEL OF THE BIRTH OF.

birthpangs. See TRAVAIL.

birthright. The Hebrew word *bĕkōrâ* ***H1148*** (from *bĕkōr H1147*, "firstborn") refers to the rights of the FIRSTBORN, the due of primogeniture. The ancient custom was that the family name and titles passed through the line of the eldest son. The appropriation of the birthright of ESAU by JACOB, who then inherited the COVENANT and continued the line of ABRAHAM, is the first and most important biblical use of the term (Gen. 25:31-34). Within a long line of sons or heirs there was a further division of birthright privilege according to age. Because of his incest, REUBEN was deprived of his usual position (Gen. 49:3-4), which was given to his nephews, the sons of JOSEPH (1 Chr. 5:1). The figure of the firstborn and his birthright is used commonly in the OT (2 Chr. 21:3; Jer. 31:9; et al.). In the NT the corresponding Greek term, *prōtotokia* ***G4757***, appears only once in an allusion to the birthright of Esau (Heb. 12:16; NIV, "inheritance rights as the oldest son"). The SEPTUAGINT uses the same term in Genesis. The birthright was more than a title to the family inheritance; it involved a spiritual position. The place of the individual in the covenant status of Israel was part of the birthright, and it was this aspect which made the foolishness of Esau so profound. See also FAMILY.

W. WHITE, JR.

birthstool. This English term is used in some versions of the Bible to render Hebrew *)obnayim* ***H78***, lit., "double stones," in one passage (Exod. 1:16; NIV, "delivery stool"). It apparently refers to a type of bench on which women sat while giving birth. The Hebrew word implies that it consisted of a pair of stones. (The same word is used with reference to the two disks of a potter's "wheel" in Jer. 18:3.) Each stone would support a thigh, and the gap would allow the midwife to effect the delivery. Giving birth in this position is preferred by some, since gravity adds to the natural powers effecting the birth. According to a number of scholars, however, the word refers to the genitalia, which the Hebrew midwives were told to look at to determine the sex of the baby; if it was a boy, they were to kill him.

Birzaith bihr-zay'ith (בִּרְזָיִת ***H1365***, "well of olive oil" [*Ketib* ברזות]). KJV Birzavith (based on the *Ketib*). Son of Malkiel and great-grandson of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:31). Some scholars, however, believe that the expression "father of Birzaith" means "founder [*or* leader] of Birzaith," in which case the name refers to a town, presumably modern Bir Zeit, about 13 mi. N of JERUSALEM, and possibly the same as Berzetho, the village where Judas MACCABEE pitched his last camp (Jos. *Ant*. 12.11.1). If so, Malkiel was this town's founder or ruler. (Cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, rev. ed. [1979], 244, who takes this information as evidence that Asherite clans had connections with the Ephraimite hill country.) It is also possible that Birzaith was indeed a person, but that a town was named from him or populated by his offspring.

Birzavith bihr-zay'vith. KJV form of BIRZAITH.

Bishlam bish'luhm (בִּשְׁלָם ***H1420***, perhaps "son of peace"). One of three Persian officials who wrote a letter of complaint against the Jews to King ARTA-XERXES (Ezra 4:7; 1 Esd. 2:16 [KJV, "Belemus"]). The syntax in this passage is a little unusual, and the SEPTUAGINT (cf. also Syriac) renders the word not as a name but as the phrase "in peace," suggesting to some scholars that the term should be understood in the sense, "with the consent of." Others emend the text to read "in Jerusalem" (*byrwšlm*) or "concerning Jerusalem" (*bšm yrwšlm*), but most scholars prefer to follow the MT in understanding the term as a proper name (cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC 17 [1985], 54).

bishop. This English term usually refers to a church leader who has spiritual or ecclesiastical supervision over other clergy. In some communions, such as the Roman Catholic Church, it is applied specifically to the head of a diocese (a district that includes several churches). The KJV and other versions use this term to render Greek *episkopos* ***G2176,*** which simply means "overseer."

I. Source of the term. In classical writings, the Greek term was used more commonly in a general sense, and less frequently as an official title. It could designate commissioners sent to govern new colonies or subject cities. In later Greek it was used of officers and inspectors responsible for various municipal and commercial matters. The word is frequent in the SEPTUAGINT. It is used to signify superintendents or taskmasters over building operations (2 Chr. 34:12, 17; Isa. 60:17) as well as captains of small groups (Neh. 11:9, 14, 22). In Num. 4:16 it is used of ELEAZAR, the son of AARON, who was to be responsible for the oversight of the TABERNACLE. In 1 Macc. 1:51 it refers to the commissioners ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes appointed to enforce idolatrous sacrifice. The feminine *episkopē* ***G2175*** also occurs frequently, meaning either the work or the office of an *episkopos* (e.g.,

Num. 4:16, cf. also Ps. 109:8, quoted with reference to Judas in Acts 1:20 [KJV, "bishoprick"]).

In the *Manual of Discipline* and the *Damascus Document*, found among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, an officer of the community is frequently called a *mbqr* (from *bāqar* ***H1329***, piel "to examine"), which roughly corresponds to *episkopos*. He was responsible for examining and preparing candidates for membership, teaching the masses the works of God, caring for them as a father for his children or as a shepherd for his flock, supervising commercial transactions, and matters of litigation (1QS VI, 12-20; CD IX, 18-22; XIII, 13:5-19; XIV, 11-13). The extent to which the Qumran sectaries may have influenced the developing Christian church is as yet a matter of conjecture.

Because in the NT the term *episkopos* seems to be interchangeable with *presbyteros* ***G4565,*** some discussion of ELDER is necessary. Authority in the conduct of local affairs is in many societies given to a body of older men (cf. the council of Sparta, called *gerousia* ***G1172*** [from *gerōn* ***G1173,*** "old man"], or English *aldermen* [from Old English *eald*, "old"]). The designation *presbyteros* was used for officers of various Greek cult organizations, and also for village magistrates in Egypt.

The use of the word for an office in the Christian church undoubtedly has a Jewish origin. The authority of elders was recognized early in Israel's history. MOSES was commissioned to give God's message to the elders of Israel (Exod. 3:16), and they represented the people at important phases of the exodus (12:21; 17:5; 24:1). It was out of the elders that a council of seventy officers was appointed to assist Moses in judging disputes (Num. 11:16; cf. Exod. 18:12-26). Elders had a continuing responsibility in Israel's life, both on a local and a national level of administration from the time of Joshua to that of Ezra. In the Qumran covenant community, the elders enjoyed a place second only to the priests in their General Council (1QS VI, 9). A council of the "especially holy," composed of three priests and twelve laymen, bore responsibility to maintain the standards of truth and righteousness. They were set apart after a two-year preparation (1QS VIII, 1—IX, 2).

In the NT, particularly the Gospels, one finds frequent reference to Jewish elders. Each Jewish community had its council of elders who bore responsibilities in regard both to civil and ecclesiastical affairs. They were elected by the community and in a solemn rite were appointed for life. The most important of these councils was the SANHE-DRIN of Jerusalem, which acted as a supreme court of the Jews. While elders were not responsible for the worship of the synagogue, they were allotted seats of special honor, and often the synagogue rulers were elected from their number. The chief function of the elders was to study and teach the law, and apply it against offenders. They had amassed a vast body of precedents in interpretation of the law, called "the tradition of the elders" (Mk. 7:3-5) or the "oral law" (see MISHNAH).

II. Use in **the** NT. The word *episkopos* is once applied to Christ (1 Pet. 2:25); elsewhere it refers to human leaders of the church.

A. Development of ministry in the early church. The first recognized leaders of the Christian church were the apostles, who were responsible not only for preaching (Acts 2:14), teaching (2:42), and discipline (5:1-11), but also for the distribution of food and money (4:34-37). See APOSTLE. With the growth of the Jerusalem church, there came the need for officers to take charge of these practical affairs, and so seven were chosen and appointed to "serve tables" (6:1-6). These most likely constituted the first DEACONS, referred to subsequently (Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:8-13). Later in the church at Jerusalem there was a recognized group of elders (Acts 11:30) who are mentioned with the apostles as the group to whom the questions of the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM were taken, and who offered their judgment (Acts 15:2, 4, 6, 22-23; 16:4).

PAUL and BARNABAS, during the so-called first missionary journey, appointed elders in every church (Acts 14:23). Later, Paul writes of a wide range of ministries based on the gifts of the HOLY SPIRIT: apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, miracle-workers, healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in tongues, and interpreters (1 Cor. 12:28-30; Eph. 4:11). It would seem that "apostle" in these lists refers to function rather than official position. PROPHETS were of particular importance in continuing the work of the apostles in proclamation of God's message and in exhortation and encouragement of Christians. Their ministry might be itinerant (Acts 11:27) or local (1 Cor. 14). In the local churches it seems probable that prophets, pastors, and teachers were all appointed to the single office of elder. The helpers and administrators may have been included in the ranks of the deacons.

B. The identity of bishops and elders in the NT. The evidence of the NT for identifying the office of bishop or overseer with that of elder is substantial: (1) Paul calls the elders of the church at EPHESUS to meet him (Acts 20:17). When he addresses them he says that the Holy Spirit has made them "overseers" (v. 28). (2) In Phil. 1:1 Paul addresses "all the saints…together with the overseers and deacons." If, in fact, there were three separate grades of office, it seems incredible that the second order of elders or presbyters should be passed over. (3) Paul describes the qualifications for a bishop/overseer (1 Tim. 3:1-7) and then continues immediately to describe those for deacons (vv. 8-13) without mentioning elders, though there were elders in Ephesus (5:17). (4) Paul writes to Titus, "The reason I left you in Crete was that you might…appoint elders in every town, as I directed you. An elder must be blameless…Since an overseer is entrusted with God's work, he must be blameless" (Tit. 1:5-7). This passage seems conclusive. The term *episkopos* is never used of an itinerant preacher, but only of a fixed leader of congregational life. The fact that the term is used only in Greek churches may argue for a Greek origin of the term, being more familiar to them as a term for an official than the typically Jewish *presbyteros*.

C. The qualifications and responsibilities of a presbyter-bishop. The qualifications of a bishop are listed in 1 Tim. 3:1-7; Tit. 1:5-9. His personal character must be upright, above reproach either within or without the church. He must be thoughtful, dignified, and self-controlled, not a drunkard, nor violent, quick-tempered, quarrelsome, arrogant, or avaricious, but one gentle in his dealings with others, and holy in his life before God. His home life is important; he must be married once only (or to one wife only) and have a well-ordered home and disciplined children. He must be hospitable, and an apt teacher, who has matured in his knowledge of the faith, who holds firm to sound doctrine and is able to impart it to others, and to refute those who oppose the truth.

These qualifications also indicate the areas of responsibility of the bishops. They exercised in the main a twofold ministry—as rulers and instructors. These two functions may be compared with the work of pastors and teachers. They are indicated in 1 Tim. 5:17, "The elders who direct the affairs of the church well are worthy of double honor, especially those whose work is preaching and teaching." It has been argued from this verse that while all elders rule, not all preach or teach. This is doubtful, however. Paul may be saying that those who work hard at this side of their responsibility are especially worthy of honor. Even if it be allowed that some elders may not have exercised a teaching ministry, there is no basis in this verse for supposing that the work of governing and the work of teaching were performed by separate members of the council of elders. The elders also had pastoral responsibilities, such as praying over and anointing the sick (Jas. 5:14).

D. The appointment of presbyter-bishops. The NT does not make clear the method of choice of office-bearers. In the case of MATTHIAS it was by casting lots between the two nominees (Acts 1:26). In the case of the seven, it was evidently by popular vote (6:3-5). The choice of elders (14:23) would seem to have been made by Paul and Barnabas, though local opinion may have been consulted (16:2). This may have been so also in EPHESUS and CRETE, where the final appointment seems to lie solely in the hands of TIMOTHY and TITUS (1 Tim. 5:22; Tit. 1:5).

Where any mode of ordination or appointment is mentioned, it is by the imposition of hands, but one cannot give a simple answer to the question, "Whose hands?" In the case of the seven, it was the apostles' hands. In the case of Paul, the hands laid on him in a ceremony that may have involved appointment as well as healing and confirmation were those of a humble disciple ANANIAS (Acts 9:15-17). When Barnabas and Paul were sent out on their special missionary task, the hands laid on them were those of their fellow prophets and teachers in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (13:3). In the case of Timothy, Paul refers to the gift of God within him through the laying on of Paul's own hands (2 Tim. 1:6) and also the laying on of the hands of the presbytery (1 Tim. 4:14). The laying on of Paul's hands may have been at confirmation, but the context urges ordination. If so, most likely the two represent one and the same event, and Paul laid his hands upon Timothy in company with the elders. (See also HANDS, LAYING ON OF.)

Bishop C. Gore (*The Church and the Ministry* [1910], 236) argues that the function of laying-on of hands as a bestowal of the HOLY SPIRIT for Christian life or ministerial office belonged in the apostolic age normally to apostles alone, but this conclusion is hardly warranted. The NT may be cited fairly as providing precedents for the right to ordain being exercised either (1) by apostles, or their delegated representatives, as Timothy and Titus, or (2) by the presbyterial college, or (3) by special divine calling, as that to Ananias or the prophets and teachers in Antioch. (Cf. J. K. S. Reid, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Ministry* [1955]; L. Morris, *Ministers of God* [1964].)

III. The development of the monarchical episcopate

A. The apostolic age. In the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) James the brother of Jesus acts as president (see JAMES II). He takes precedence over Peter and John in Paul's mention (Gal. 2:9), receives missionary visitors (Acts 21:18), and in the council sums up with some degree of authority (v. 19). EUSEBIUS refers to James as the first bishop of the Jerusalem see. Some claim that the pastoral epistles show Timothy and Titus in the position of monarchical bishops over Ephesus and Crete. The angels of the seven churches (Rev. 1-3) have been regarded as the bishops of the churches, but it is more likely that they symbolize the heavenly counterpart of the churches. See also CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

B. The subapostolic age. Clement of Rome, writing about A.D. 96 (see CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF), makes no clear distinction between bishop and presbyter, but IGNATIUS, writing early in the 2nd cent., urges the need of obedience to the bishop, the chief officer of each local congregation, who is supported by presbyters and deacons, to maintain the unity of the church. The cause of this development cannot be stated with certainty. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA quotes a tradition that JOHN THE APOSTLE authorized and developed the episcopal system in ASIA MINOR. Gore and others see episcopacy as springing thus out of the apostolic office by apostolic authority. It seems more likely that it arose out of the presbyterial office through the need for one elder to assume responsibility in the local church, for presiding at the EUCHARIST, or for deciding which prophets and teachers should

speak, or for maintaining relationships with other churches. JEROME states that it was in order to avoid schisms that the universal practice of electing one of the elders to be placed over the rest, responsible for the care of the church, was evolved. (Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians* [1868], 93-97, 179-267; E. Hatch, *The Organization of Early Christian Churches* [1881].)

C. Later development. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the concept of the function of the bishop was modified. Whereas to Ignatius the bishop was the center of unity of the local church, to IRENAEUS he was the one who by virtue of his apostolic descent could guarantee the continuance of the true apostolic faith. By the time of Cyprian, however, a sacerdotal view of the ministry had developed, and to him the bishop is the vicegerent of Christ, God's representative to the congregation, the indispensable channel of divine grace. This view has dominated subsequent thought in the Roman Church. (Cf. K. M. Carey, ed., *The Historic Episcopate* [1954].)

IV. Modern systems of church government

A. Episcopalian. The church is governed by bishops, who have charge, not of a single local congregation, but of a diocese of many churches. Only the bishop has the right to ordain, and he may ordain to any of the three orders of ministry: bishop, priest (presbyter), and deacon. Roman and Anglo-Catholics would insist that bishops trace their succession right to the apostles. Others would claim a historic episcopate tracing back many centuries. Some make no claims to historic succession, but refer to their elected leading ministers as bishops.

B. Presbyterian. The term *bishop* is not used, but a distinction is made between teaching and ruling elders (1 Tim. 5:17). The teaching elder/presbyter is the minister of a congregation, responsible for its oversight, for preaching the Word, and for administering the SACRAMENTS. The teaching elder is ordained by the laying on of hands of other teaching elders, for the service of the whole church. The ruling elder is chosen by the local congregation, and ordained to office by the presbytery. There is parity among teaching elders, and some would insist that this parity extends also to ruling elders.

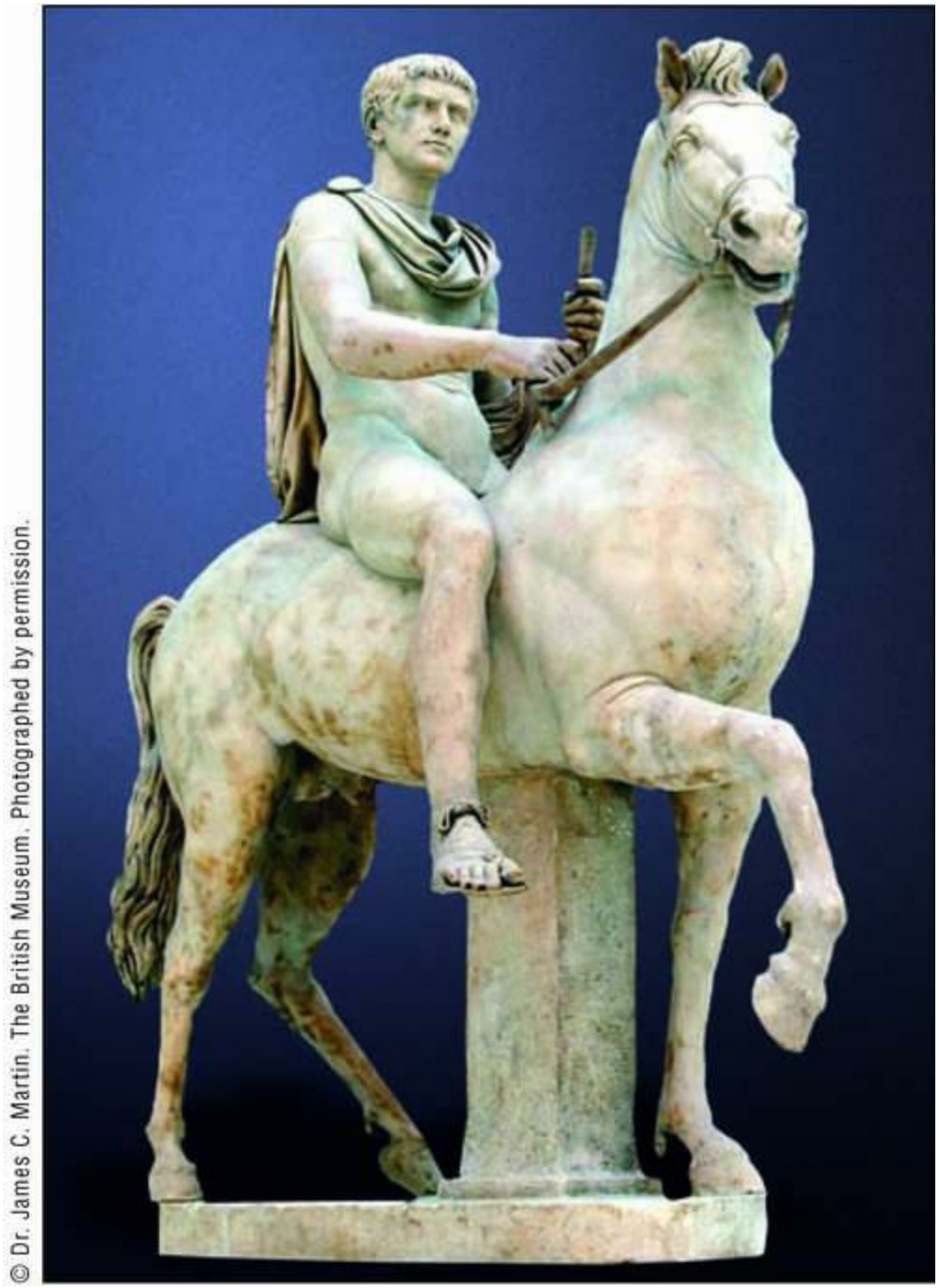
C. Congregational. The only officers recognized are pastors and deacons. In general, authority lies in the hands of the local congregation. Ordination of pastors does not convey any special endowment of grace, but is a recognition of the divine call and gift to spiritual oversight in a local congregation.

D. G. STEWART

Bishops' Bible. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ENGLISH.

bit and bridle. This expression is used in English versions to translate the Hebrew words *meteg H5496* and *resen H8270* in Ps. 32:9 (the Hebrew text includes a third term, *ʿâdî* ***H6344,*** "trappings," usually left untranslated in this passage). Both terms seem to include the whole controlling harness of the animal's head and thus may be translated "bridle," but "bit" is used by most versions to render the former in 2 Ki. 19:28 = Isa. 37:29, and by the NIV to render the latter in Isa. 30:28. See also METHEG AMMAH.

In the NT the term *chalinos* ***G5903*** undoubtedly means "bit" in Jas. 3:3 (cf. 1:26) but "bridle, reins" in Rev. 14:20. (Greek also has the more specific terms



This marble statue of a youth controlling his horse with a bridle possibly depicts a prince from the Julio-Claudian dynasty. From Rome, possibly 1st cent.

hēnia for "bridle" and *stomion* [lit., "small mouth"] for "mouthpiece, bit.") The Roman *frenum lupatum,* or saw-toothed bit, could be a cruel and damaging piece of harness. The Jordanian Archaeological Museum has a bit of Syrian origin, from the 2nd millennium B.C., with spiked rings, the spikes turned inward at each end. It was designed to prick the outside of the animal's mouth. There is a jointed bit of modern form from the same era. Note that several of the biblical references listed above use the terms fonish self-coiguratively to admntrol and submission to God.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Bithiah bi-th*i*'uh (בִּתְיָה ***H1437***, "daughter of Yahweh"). A daughter of PHARAOH who married MERED, a descendant of JUDAH through CALEB (1 Chr. 4:18; NRSV, v. 17). It is not certain whether "Pharaoh" here was an Egyptian king. Some understand "Pharaoh's daughter" to mean simply

"Egyptian lady"; it has also been suggested that "Pharaoh" in this verse could be a Hebrew proper name.

Bithron bith'ron (בִּתְרוֹן ***H1443***, "ravine" or "forenoon"). The KJV, as well as the NIV and other versions, treats "Bithron" as a place name, referring to a valley leading E from the JORDAN to MAHANAIM. Here ABNER, commander of the army of ISH-BOSHETH, marched with his men after crossing the Jordan, following initial defeats by JOAB, DAVID'S commander (2 Sam. 2:29). Some scholars prefer to translate the term as a common noun, either "ravine" or "morning" (cf. NRSV, "the whole forenoon," opposite "all that night"; see W. R. Arnold in *AJSL* 28 [1911-12]: 274-83).

Bithynia bi-thin'ee-uh (Βιθυνία ***G1049***). A region in NW ASIA MINOR. Bithynia was a mountainous, well-watered territory, endowed with fertile valley plains, good timber, building stone, fruit, and grain together with excellent harbor facilities. It fronted the Black Sea on the N, the Bosporus and Propontis (Sea of Marmara) on the W; on the S it was bounded by PHRYGIA and GALATIA, and on the E by Paphlagonia. The Bithynians were Thracian in origin, a vigorous stock that entered history in the 6th cent. B.C. (see THRACE). Thanks to their cohesion and isolation, the Bithynians maintained a measure of independence even under the Persian regime and their Seleucid successors. In 297 B.C. a dynasty was founded which endured for two centuries, until the last of the Thracian royal line bequeathed his kingdom to ROME (74 B.C.).

Progress had been real under the kings. Cities, commerce, and a measure of Hellenistic culture marked the land. POMPEY united Bithynia with PONTUS when he sought to organize the bequeathed territory in 64 B.C. as part of his settlement of the E. In early imperial days Bithynia was a senatorial province, but was early a sphere of personal control by the emperor. The financial difficulties of the cities, perhaps too prominent in Pompey's organization, and the strategic significance of the region with its important harbors and road communications, account for this imperial interest. Under MARCUS AURELIUS (A.D. 121-80) the area formally became an imperial province.

One of the imperial legates who governed Bithynia was PLINY the Younger, who functioned as governor from A.D. 110 to 112. The governorship of Pliny is notable for the surviving volume of correspondence with the emperor TRAJAN in which there is information on Bithynia, its problems and administration, together with an account of the Christian minority and the problems the enforcement of anti-Christian legislation involved (Pliny, *Letters* 10. 96-97). It is unknown how Christianity was established in Bithynia. PAUL was prevented from visiting the area (Acts 16:7), but PETER knew of a church there (1 Pet. 1:1), and in Pliny's day it was a powerful group. (See further H. A. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 6; C. Marek, *Pontus et Bithynia: Die römischen Provinzen im Norden Kleinasiens* [2003].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

bitter, bitterness. These English terms usually render Hebrew *mārar* ***H5352*** and derivatives, and Greek *pikrainō* ***G4393*** and derivatives. Israel was commanded at the Feast of PASSOVER to eat BITTER HERBS with the roast lamb and UNLEAVENED BREAD (Exod. 12:8). The observance was meant to symbolize the bitterness and agony of their Egyptian servitude (12:8; modern rabbis have allowed the eating of horseradish as the fulfillment of this commandment). A technical use of the word *mar* ***H5253*** is found in the ceremony of the bitter water, which was a ritual test (or ordeal?) for a woman's faithfulness in the case of a jealous husband (Num. 5:18-27). The Scriptures record no

instance when this test was carried out (see BITTER WATER).

In speaking of the moral corruption of the nations in Canaan, MOSES refers to bitter clusters of grapes (Deut. 32:32), a figurative use to express their ethical nature. The sacred writer records the mental attitude and stern disposition of dethroned DAVID and his followers as "bitter of soul" (2 Sam. 17:8, lit.; NIV, "fierce"). Jeremiah describes Judah's wickedness as bitter, so much so that it overwhelms the heart (Jer. 4:18). Amos, in his denunciations of Israel's sins, predicts the loss of their feasts and music with the replacement by sackcloth and mourning, all of it constituting a bitter day (Amos 8:10). God foretells that his people will be punished by the Babylonians, a "bitter and hasty nation" (Hab. 1:6 KJV; NIV, "ruthless and impetuous people"). The reference is to their inconsiderate and cruel treatment of subject peoples, whom they considered much as the fisherman does his catch.

At SAMARIA the apostle PETER was constrained to rebuke SIMON MAGUS sternly when he attempted to buy the gift of the HOLY SPIRIT. He accused Simon of being "in the gall of bitterness" (Acts 8:23 NRSV; NIV, "full of bitterness"), an expression intended to awaken the offender to the depth of his depravity and ungodliness. Throughout the epistle to the Hebrews the sacred penman writes against the background of possible apostasy on the part of professing Jewish believers. They are warned against the "bitter root" (Heb. 12:15), which may refer to any sin which could develop into APOSTASY (cf. also Rom. 3:14; Eph. 4:31; Jas. 3:14). The "waters that had become bitter" (Rev. 8:11) may describe figuratively any disasters yet to befall sinful humanity.

C. L. FEINBERG

bitter herbs At the PASSOVER, the children of Israel were invited to eat the meal with some type of bitter food (*mārōr* ***H5353,*** Exod. 12:8; Num. 9:11). These "herbs," as usually translated, are probably not culinary herbs at all, but salad greens like chicory, endive, sorrel, dandelion, and even old types of lettuces. All these were found widely distributed in their natural state in Egypt. Watercress is included by some experts as a bitter herb. In Europe, at modern Jewish Passover feasts, horseradish is allowed, but this certainly could not have been used in the time of Moses.

Botanists point out that endive (*Cichorium endivia*) was an Indian plant, and so not known in Egypt in Bible days. But in some countries, endive is called chicory (*Cichorium intybus*). The original lettuces (*Lactuca sativa*) were quite bitter to eat when unblanched, and are quite different from the crisp, ready-to-eat lettuces of today. The dandelion used as a salad is *Taraxacum officinale*, and the sorrel, *Rumex acetosella*.

Orthodox Jews say that it is necessary to eat five different kinds of bitter herbs with the lamb at the Passover. Today, these five could be chicory, endive, sorrel, lettuce, and mint. As a matter of fact, some commentators have insisted that the bitter herbs mentioned in Exodus and Numbers are mints and mints only. Ancient writings show that the Egyptians in the days of the pharaohs regularly ate salads or bitter herbs with their meat.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

bitter water. A drink consisting of holy water, dust from the TABERNACLE floor, and the ink of a written curse and designed to be used as an "ordeal" to establish the guilt or innocence of a suspected adulteress and, if guilty, to mete out punishment (Num. 5:11-31). As such it seems to have been peculiar to Israel among ANE peoples, though ordeals of various kinds are common enough in primitive societies.

The husband who suspected his wife of ADULTERY but had no proof was to bring her to the priest

along with a cereal offering. The priest would set the woman "before the LORD," unbind her hair, and place in her hands the cereal offering. The priest would hold an earthen vessel containing holy water into which dust from the floor of the sanctuary had been mixed. The priest would then declare a lengthy and frightening oath to which the woman would reply "Amen, Amen." The priest then wrote the curse out and washed the ink off into the water of bitterness. The woman was made to drink the aqueous mixture of dust and ink, and the cereal was offered up to Yahweh. If the woman had been unfaithful, the bitter water would cause great pain and distortion of the lower body, and she would be considered accursed by her people. If, on the other hand, the woman was innocent, she would be free to bear children. Whether such a test is explainable in terms of the chemical properties of the ink and/or the dust is uncertain. The modern medical profession appears to know of no comparable test for adultery, however. (See R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 157-58.)

The rite was evidently carried on until the early days of our era. The SEPTUAGINT refers to the holy water as "pure" and "living" (Num. 5:17), and JOSEPHUS indicates that the rite was practiced in the temple with, perhaps, some slight modifications (*Ant*. 3.11.6). The MISHNAH has an entire tractate on "The Suspected Adulteress" (*Soṭah*). It indicates that, in later times, the woman was seated at the E gate of the temple and that she was clothed in black with her bosom bared (*m. Soṭah* 1:5-6). The *Protevangelium of James* 16 suggests that the test was applied to both Mary and Joseph and that both passed the test successfully (see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF). According to *m. Soṭah* 9:9, Rabbi Johannan ben Zakkai (1st cent. A.D.) abolished the rite when adultery became too frequent; Hos. 4:14 is given in support of this abolition.

H. G. ANDERSEN

bittern. A wading bird that frequents the fish ponds of northern Israel. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *qippōd* ***H7887***, which occurs in three passages (Isa. 14:23; 34:11; Zeph. 2:14). Possibly from the verb *qāpad* ***H7886*** ("to roll up, bunch up"), the term has also been rendered "porcupine" and "hedgehog," but the contexts (esp. the reference in Zephaniah) suggest a deserted place and a bird rather than a mammal. G. R. Driver (in *HDB* rev., 108; see also *FFB*, 66) suggests ruffed bustard, one of three species found in the area, but this is the last bird that would favor such a place. The NIV and NJPS understand the term as a reference to the OWL (cf. *HALOT*, 3:1117, "(short-eared) owl, *Asio flammens*," at least for the reference in Zephaniah).

G. S. CANSDALE

bitumen. This English word is used by the NRSV to render the Hebrew noun *hēmār* ***H2819,*** which occurs three times in the OT (Gen. 11:3; 14:10; Exod. 2:3). The NIV translates this noun with English "tar" (KJV, "slime"). A similar term, "pitch," is used in most versions to translate both *kōper* ***H4109*** (Gen. 6:14) and *zepet* ***H2413*** (Exod. 2:3; Isa. 34:9).

Bitumen is a general term for naturally occurring (or pyrolytically obtained) petroliferous substances ranging from crude oil through the so-called mineral tars to asphaltite. They are dark to black color, consisting almost entirely of hydrogen and carbon with very little oxygen, nitrogen, and sulfur. Asphaltic-base oils at seepages yield natural bitumen, such as asphalt, rock asphalt, pyro-bitumens, and related compounds. They are probably formed primarily by evaporation of the lighter and more volatile constituents. Asphalt (or asphaltum) is a semisolid mixture of several hydrocarbons. It is amorphous, of low specific gravity, with a black or brownish-black color and pitchy luster. Well-known localities for asphaltum are Asphalt Lake, covering 114 acres on the Island of Trinidad, and the Dead Sea region. It is from the latter that Lacus Asphaltites were long known to

the ancients. A similar lake exists in Venezuela. Asphalt also occurs as a natural cement in sandstones, forming bituminous or asphaltic sandstones.

Akkadian boat model from Ur made of bitumen and dating to 2400-2200 B.C.

Abundant petroleum deposits are known in the Middle E from several geologic periods, namely, Iran and Iraq (Tertiary), Kuwait and Bahrain (Cretaceous), Saudi Arabia (Jurassic), and Egypt (Carboniferous to Eocene), especially along the Gulf of Suez. In the latter, oil seeps and heavy asphalt are known. Today asphalt is used for road and roofing materials, water-proofing, blending with rubber, briquetting, pipe coatings, molding compounds, and paints. (Cf. A. M. Bateman, *Economic Mineral Deposits*, 2nd ed. [1950], 732.) HERODOTUS and others described the use of asphalt as a cement for bricks at Babylon (cf. Gen. 11:3), and it still may be seen in the ruins of the wall of Media near Babylon.

W. AULT

Biziothiah biz'ee-oh-th*i*'uh (בִּזְיוֹתְיָה ***H1026***, perhaps "booty [*or* contempt] of Yahweh"). KJV Bizjothjah. According to the MT, a town in the NEGEV district of JUDAH (Josh. 15:28). Many scholars, however, following the SEPTUAGINT (*kai hai kōmai autōn*, "and their villages") and the parallel passage in Neh. 11:27, emend the Hebrew to read *ûbĕnōtĕhā*, "and her daughters," that is, the settlements around BEERSHEBA.

Bizjothjah biz-joth'juh. KJV form of BIZIOTHIAH.

Biztha biz'thuh (בִּזְתָא ***H1030***, possibly "eunuch" or "bound"). One of the seven EUNUCH chamberlains instructed by XERXES (Ahasuerus), king of Persia, to bring Queen VASHTI to the royal feast (Esth. 1:10).

black. This English term translates various Hebrew and Greek words. Hebrew *šāḥōr* ***H8839*** is applied to horses (Zech. 6:2, 6, here signifying death and famine), to the suitor's locks (Cant. 5:11), and to the sunburnt look of SOLOMON'S beloved (1:5 [NIV "dark"]; also *šĕḥarḥōr* ***H8842*** in v. 6); the absence of black hair in leprous skin infections indicated an unhealthy state (Lev. 13:31, 37). The cognate verb *šaḥar* ***H8837*** describes the state of JOB'S skin as it peeled off under the ravages of the boils (Job 30:30). Another verb, *qādar* ***H7722***, is used to describe storm-black clouds (1 Ki. 18:45; Jer. 4:28); metaphorically it refers to mourning (Jer. 8:21; Joel 2:6; Nah. 2:10) and is used of Job's unfaithful friends (6:16). Greek *melas* ***G3506*** describes the color of hair (Matt. 5:36) and horses

(Rev. 6:5), the obscuring of the sun (v. 12), and ink (2 Cor. 3:3). Blackness or intense darkness are denoted by *gnophos* ***G1190*** and *zophos G2432* (Heb. 12:18). See also COLOR; DARKNESS.

H. G. STIGERS

blacksmith. See SMITH.

blasphemy. This English term and the verb *blaspheme* are used to render various Hebrew words, of which the most common is *gādap* ***H1552*** (piel, "to revile, hurl insults"; cf. 2 Ki. 19:6); note also *nāʾaṣ* ***H5540*** (piel, "to treat disrespectfully"; cf. 2 Sam. 12:14). Blasphemy is one of the most serious of all spiritual iniquities in the OT, because it denies and makes sport of the overwhelming biblical concept of the sovereignty of the Creator. More than any other act of man, it eradicates the fundamental Creator-creature distinction upon which all the cosmic law orders are based. So horrible was this crime considered that numerous passages of the OT containing the names of pagan deities and making mention of speeches and actions against Yahweh were edited to give some less provocative circumlocution that would not be construed as irreverent. The name of God in the OT was the personal revelation of his character and so to defame or defile the sacred name of Yahweh was to reject the mercy and power of God. See GOD, NAMES OF.

In the NT, the Greek verb is *blasphēmeō* ***G1059,*** from which the English term derives. In classical literature it could mean "to slander, injure someone's reputation," but it could also refer to speaking lightly of sacred things. In heathen cults this was not only an act of impiety, but also of treason against the state, as in the case of Socrates. In the SEPTUAGINT this term is extended to the OT terms and given a purely religious intent. In the NT not only the Almighty can be blasphemed (Rev. 16:11), but also the MESSIAH, Christ (Jas. 2:7), the Spirit of God (Mk. 3:29; see HOLY SPIRIT III.B), the name of God (Rom. 2:24), the messengers of God (2 Pet. 2:10), and the redemptive acts and possessions God bestows upon his people (Rom. 14:16). The English versions are not consistent in their handling of these terms. The noun *blasphēmia* ***G1060*** is used also in regard to all railing and slandering of both people (Rev. 2:9) and the devil (Jude 9) as well as God. All such condemnatory statements are prohibited in Scripture for the basic reason that judgments of this type belong to God alone (Matt. 5:33-37). See also CURSE.

W. WHITE, JR.

blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. See HOLY SPIRIT III.B.

blast. This English term is used in various senses in the English versions to translate several Hebrew words. It may refer to a sound, such as a trumpet blast (e.g., *tĕrûʿâ* ***H9558,*** Num. 10:5), or to the destructive force of the WIND, especially with reference to God's power (e.g., *rûaḥ* ***H8120,*** Exod. 15:8). The KJV uses "blasting" in a number of passages as a translation of *šiddapôn* ***H8730*** (e.g., Deut. 28:22; NIV, "blight"), which refers to the scorching effected by the *sirocco*, a hot wind coming off the deserts of Africa and Arabia periodically; it is exceedingly destructive of all plant life and very harmful to all types of wooden buildings and artifacts, as well as to all animal and human life. (Cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 25th ed. [1931], 62-66, which includes interesting excerpts from the author's diary; see also Denis Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* [1957], 67-70.)

R. D. CULVER

Blastus blas'tuhs (Βλάστος ***G1058***, "bud, sprout"). The chamberlain of Herod Agrippa I (see HEROD VII), mentioned only once (Acts 12:20). When the king in hot anger cut off the export of food to their cities, a delegation of Tyrians and Sidonians came to Caesarea asking peace. They "persuaded" Blastus, doubtless with a generous bribe, to induce Herod to give them a hearing. As the officer in charge of Herod's private quarters, a position involving high honor and intimacy, he was in a position to influence the king favorably.

blaze. See BURN; FIRE.

blemish. This English term is used, along with "defect," to translate the frequent Hebrew noun *mûm* ***H4583,*** found especially in the Pentateuch's ritual prescriptions concerning physical defects in man and beast (e.g., Lev. 21:17; Num. 19:2). In Prov. 9:7 it refers to a physical injury, while in Job 11:15 apparently it is used of moral defect or blame-worthiness. In the NT the Greek term *mōmos* ***G3700*** is used only once (with reference to reprobate persons, 2 Pet. 2:13), but the related *amōmos* ***G320*** ("blameless") is employed to designate the sinlessness of Christ, who "offered himself unblemished to God" (Heb. 9:14; cf. 1 Pet. 1:19), as also the blamelessness of good disciples of Christ (Eph. 5:27).

R. D. CULVER

bless, blessing. These English terms are used to render Hebrew *bārak* ***H1385*** and Greek *eulogeē* ***G2328*** and their derivatives.

I. God's blessing. While blessing can refer to human praise and worship to God in acknowledgement of his provision (Gen. 24:48; Deut. 8:10), a more specific emphasis is on the blessings

According to Deut. 28 – 31, the Israelites were instructed to remember God's covenant by proclaiming God's blessings from Mount Gerizim (left ridge) and potential curses from Mount Ebal (right ridge). (View to the W.)

themselves, the gracious character of God in giving them, and also on the identification of those who receive God's favor. While God himself may announce his favor (as in the creation account in Gen. 1:22, 28; 2:3), it may also be proclaimed through his official representatives, as by the father of a household (Gen. 27; 48; 49), by the priestly Aaronic blessing (Num. 6:22-27), through the king (2

Sam. 6:18), or the apostle (the introductions and closings of the NT epistles).

II. Covenantal blessing. God's favor extends to every aspect of life (Deut. 28:3-6 and the blessings of the aspects of creation) but is ratified and announced in the establishment of a definite relationship of blessing (COVENANT); "general" blessings come in the setting of God's people remembering the exodus and the covenant it reflects (Deut. 28-31). God's blessings are frequently presented as dependent upon OBEDIENCE, in contrast with cursings, which result from disobedience (Deut. 30:15-20); nevertheless, God's blessings are ultimately gracious and cannot be referred to anything but his mercy and kindness.

III. Not magical but gracious. This gracious character is apparently the major factor in the liberal rejection of the Bible's understanding of blessing. The irrevocable, effectual character of blessing (as in the case of JACOB rather than ESAU, Gen. 27:35; cf. Num. 22-23 on the similar character of CURSE) is understood by liberals as representing a primitive MAGIC, which was replaced later by a more personal religion. However, it must be noted that the OT does not consider the word of blessing to have some independent force, but instead as always under God's control (Deut. 23:5). A proper understanding of the permanent character of the word of blessing must come from an appreciation of the faithfulness of the covenant-keeping God; to attempt to understand it in terms of appropriateness would be to contradict its basic gracious character. A further factor is the long-range, family character of God's blessings, and their extension through the covenant FAMILY (Gen. 49).

IV. The blessed obey. The NT makes clear the relation of blessing to commandment. The BEATITUDES precede the call to obedience in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (Matt. 5-7; cf. the blessing-cursing contrast in Lk. 6:20-26), and this order indicates that obedience is the response to blessing, not the means of obtaining it (perhaps the gracious prologue to the Sinai law in Exod. 20:1 is analogous). Much the same stress is seen in the introductory blessings of Paul's epistles (esp. the extended blessing of Eph. 1:3-14) that precede instruction to the churches. See also BLESSEDNESS.

D. C. DAVIS

blessedness. The supreme joy produced by divine blessing (see also BLESS).

I. Material and spiritual blessedness. God's blessing is from the beginning of his entire CREATION, seen especially in his blessing of the SABBATH, marking the completion of his work (Gen. 2:3; Exod. 20:11; cf. the refrain "it was very good" of Gen. 1). The divine CURSE resulting from the FALL touches not only human beings, but also the whole created order (Gen. 3:16-19). Divine blessing in restoring personal fellowship is the heart of the COVENANT promise (17:7), but this is not in isolation from God's favor through his creation. OBEDIENCE to God results in general material prosperity, including supremacy over Israel's neighbors, economic prosperity and flourishing families, while disobedience results in just the opposite (Deut. 27:3).

Material blessing must not be understood as having no spiritual application: Israel's role as witness to the world of the might and love of the Lord depends upon the evidence of the Lord's favor to her; the promise of numerous descendants rests upon agricultural and military success; the very worship of the Lord is to be centered in Jerusalem, to which exile (military defeat) is the antithesis. God's personal choice and blessing of his people inevitably involves his blessing of the details of their lives. What is true of Israel as a people is true of the individual believer, and his happiness and

blessing also rests in obedience. Proverbs especially indicates how happiness consists in finding wisdom (Prov. 3:13), hearing the Lord (8:34), trusting in him (16:20), and keeping his law (29:18).

II. The blessedness of Christ. Jesus Christ is "the Son of the Blessed One" (Mk. 14:61), which means that he is to be praised with the same praise due to the Father; both Christ's accomplished salvation and his return reflect the glory of that blessed Father (1 Tim. 1:11; 6:15). His birth is a blessing (Lk. 1:42, 48); his death is remembered by the cup of blessing of the LORD'S SUPPER (1 Cor. 10:16), reflecting his own blessing of the meal (Mk. 14:22; cf. 6:41). See BLESSING, CUP OF. He blesses his disciples as he ascends, having promised his return (Lk. 24:50). His continued ministry to his people is a "greater" kind precisely because of its character as a blessing (Heb. 7:1, 6). His return blesses his people who are awake, are keeping his words, have washed their robes, and so may enter and rest, being invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb (cf. the doxologies of Rev. 14:13; 16:15; 19:9; 22:7, 14).

III. The blessedness of grace. Christ's blessing comes to his people especially as they confess Christ as Lord and suffer for his sake (Lk. 6:22; Jn. 20:29; 1 Pet. 3:14; 4:14). They are blessed in ABRAHAM, as people of faith like him, in receiving the promised HOLY SPIRIT (Gal. 3:8, 14). The believer's blessing centers in his JUSTIFICATION in Christ (Rom. 4:7); blessed is he whose conscience is clear in his service to his Lord (Rom. 14:7). Christians in turn bless those who revile and persecute them (Rom. 12:14; 1 Cor. 4:12; cf. Matt. 5:10-12). The ministry of believers to each other is a ministry of blessing; for example, as Paul brings money to needy Christians, he brings also the blessing of Christ himself (Rom. 15:29).

D. C. DAVIS

blessing, cup of. This expression is found only in 1 Cor. 10:16 (NIV, "cup of thanksgiving"), and is best understood in light of the ancient Jewish custom of concluding meals with a prayer of thanksgiving over a CUP of wine. This ritual act acknowledged God as the Giver of all good gifts, and consecrated the meal to the one who ate. Noteworthy is the fact that the third cup of the Jewish PASSOVER feast was also called the "cup of blessing" (Str-B, 4:41-76). Borrowing this expression from Judaism, Paul applied it to the cup of the LORD'S SUPPER. He meant by it, therefore, not the cup that imparts blessing, but the cup over which the Christian gives his thanks to God for the death of Christ, and by which he sets apart the entire Eucharistic meal (the Christian's Passover?) as spiritual food for his soul.

G. F. HAWTHORNE

blight. See BLAST.

blindness. See DISEASE.

blood. In its literal sense—the fluid essential to life that circulates throughout the body—this word is found frequently in Scripture, whether of animals (Gen. 37:31; Exod. 23:18; et al.) or humans (2 Sam. 20:12; 1 Ki. 18:28; Lk. 13:1; et al.). Because of its fundamental importance for individual existence, blood was frequently used as a synonym for LIFE itself, as with the blood of ABEL (Gen. 4:10). In a figurative sense it was employed of murder (Hab. 2:12; Matt. 27:24), and in a metaphorical sense of the NILE (Exod. 7:17) or the MOON (Joel 2:31) being turned into blood, but frequently in Scripture it

was used to describe the blood shed in SACRIFICES intended for the EXPIATION of sin. In the NT the blood of Christ was regarded as central to the implementing of the new covenant (see COVENANT, THE NEW).

In the OT the word *dām H1947* occurs 362 times, of which 203 point to DEATH by violence and 103 to sacrificial blood. While the word was thus associated closely with death, there are times when the OT specifically relates it to life (Gen. 9:4; Deut. 12:23). The most direct statement of this kind (Lev. 17:11) speaks of the life of the flesh being in the blood, and of ATONEMENT being achieved by blood "by reason of the life" (RSV). This variation raises the question as to whether the use of "blood" points basically to life or to DEATH. Some authorities have thought of life as somehow inherent in the blood, so that when an animal was sacrificed, its life remained in the blood. The offering of the blood in the ceremonial rites would then indicate that a pure life was being surrendered to God. According to this view, the death of the victim would have little significance, although some have understood it as pointing to the penal consequences of SIN. In any event, the significance would lie in the presentation of life, not death. From this viewpoint, therefore, the NT expression "the blood of Christ" would mean little more than "the life of Christ presented."

From OT usage the predominant association of blood is with death rather than life, and the "life of the flesh" (Lev. 17:11 RSV) can mean life yielded up in death just as readily as life set free for surrender to God. The sacrificial rituals consistently pointed to the seriousness of sin, and the shedding of blood in sacrifice was prescribed as an acceptable substitute for the life of the sinner and an act of atonement by which he could be restored to fellowship with God. Most of the narratives that mention sacrifice include some reference to the death of the victim but say nothing about its life. The shed blood of the animal implies life given up in death on behalf of the sinner so that he might live and not suffer the penal death of the ungodly. The OT, therefore, indicates that atonement for human sin was obtained by the death of an acceptable substitute rather than by its life, and this emphasis, which is basic to the old covenant, is carried over into the NT with specific reference to the work of Jesus Christ in the new covenant.

In the NT the word *haima G135* is used to indicate kinship (Jn. 1:13) and human nature (Matt. 16:17; 1 Cor. 15:50; et al.), and it particularly describes violent death, of which there are twenty-five examples apart from the sacrifice of Christ. There are twelve references to the blood of animal sacrifices (Heb. 9:7, 12, et al.), all of which point to death rather than life. Where the blood of Christ is mentioned (e.g., Col. 1:20), it indicates in the most obvious fashion the DEATH OF CHRIST. The justification achieved by the blood of Christ (Rom. 5:9) is paralleled by the statements that speak of the sinner being reconciled to God "by the death of his Son" and being "saved by his life" (Rom. 5:10). Other references to men being redeemed by the blood of Christ clearly indicate atonement through the death of a victim (cf. Acts 20:28; Eph. 1:7; et al.).

Since the death of Christ is sometimes considered in terms of a sacrifice (cf. Rom. 3:25; 1 Pet. 1:2), where the "sprinkling of blood" indicates a sacrificial ritual and continues the OT concept of the "blood of the covenant," the emphasis is still upon the death of the victim that secured atonement for the sinner. The sacrificial blood is associated with the death of the Savior (Heb. 9:14), and the author of Hebrews makes it plain that the blood is associated with death rather than life (12:24). It seems evident, therefore, that sacrifices were efficacious through the death of the victim, and that blood indicates life given up in death, not life set free. (See L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* [1955]; A. M. Stibbs, *The Meaning of the Word 'Blood' in Scripture* , 3rd ed. [1962]; W. K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible: Meaning and Power* [2004]; *NIDOTTE*, 1:963-66; *NIDNTT*, 1:220-24.)

blood, avenger of. See AVENGER OF BLOOD.

Blood, Field of. See AKELDAMA.

blood, flow of. See DISEASE (under *hemorrhage*).

blood, issue of. See DISEASE (under *hemorrhage*).

blood and water. At the CRUCIFIXION, "one of the soldiers pierced Jesus' side with a spear, bringing a sudden flow of blood and water [*kai exēlthen euthys haima kai hydōr*]" (Jn. 19:34). It is noted in the passion narrative as a most unusual event, which is followed by the evangelist's affirmation of the statement: "The man who saw it has given testimony, and his testimony is true. He knows that he tells the truth, and he testifies so that you also may believe" (v. 35).

Over the centuries, commentators have offered all sorts of explanations for this passage. In the ancient church, much was made of the fact that it was blood (signifiying the birth and the passion) and water (signifying baptism) that flowed from the Savior's side. The writers of the time also maintained that the Lord was already dead and did not then die of the fresh wound, as some ancient heretics proposed. In the medieval tradition, each aspect of the story was embellished with layers of cause, symbol, and effect, in accord with the dominant Aristotelianism of the time. The soldier who delivered the thrust was identified (by a popular etymology of the Greek for "spear," *lonchē* ***G3365***) as a certain *Longinus*, and his tomb was located at the Chapel of St. Mary in Lyons, France, where his epitaph was reported to have stated, *Qui salvatoris latus cruce cuspide fixit Longinus hic iacet*, "Here lies Longinus, who the Savior's side on the cross, with a spear pierced."

In the Reformation period many expositors rejected the miraculous view of the narrative and sought to see in it some fulfillment of the Savior's ATONEMENT as though a final sign had been given with the comingled elements. In the 18th cent., when rationalistic tendencies became dominant in the wake of the deists, elaborate quasimedical explanations were given for the event. Many medical examiners thought that some extreme emotional or physical strain had caused the condition. In the 19th cent., the romanticists went to the extremity of deducing the cause of death as "a broken heart," while a few critical philosophers assumed some dialectical antithesis was meant. The most probable interpretation is that, on the basis of the words that follow, this was a miraculous event testifying to the completion of the messianic ATONEMENT, beyond any natural explanation, justification, or denial.

Some scholars, however, taking into account the purpose and characteristics of the Gospel of John, argue that this verse alludes to an additional and important theological theme (see JOHN, GOSPEL OF). The evangelist makes emphasis on Christ as the one who meets human thirst by offering the WATER of eternal life (Jn. 4:10-14; 7:37-38). Just as Yahweh met the needs of his people in the wilderness by providing them manna and water, so Christ gives to them his flesh and blood (6:32-35, 48-58). It is also clear that "water" alludes to the HOLY SPIRIT, whom Christ would grant to believers at the time of his being "lifted up," an expression that points to the crucifixion as his glorification (3:5-8, 14-15, 34; 4:23-24; 7:39; 8:28; 12:23, 28-33; 15:26; 16:7, 13). The unusual language with which John describes Jesus' death (lit., "he delivered the spirit," 19:30) may be a subtle allusion to the fulfillment of these promises.

It is also possible that the incident of the spear alludes to the time when MOSES smote the rock (a

frequent metaphor for God) so that water might flow out to meet the desperate needs of a rebellious people (Exod. 17:6). John is the only evangelist who records the detail about blood and water flowing out of Jesus' side. By mentioning it and emphasizing its importance (Jn. 19:35), he probably intended to remind his readers of what Jesus had promised: the CRUCIFIXION, which seemed to be the lowest degradation, proved to be Jesus' glorification, making it possible for believers to experience streams of living water, so that they might never thirst again. (Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* [1953], 434-35, 438; J. P. Heil, *Blood and Water: The Death and Resurrection of Jesus in John 18-21* [1985].)

W. WHITE, JR.

bloodguilt. This term (KJV, "bloodguiltiness" in Ps. 51:14) is sometimes used as a rendering of the Hebrew word for BLOOD, *dām* ***H1947,*** in its plural (intensive) form, *dāmîm*. It occurs only twice in the NIV (Ps. 51:14; Joel 3:21), but more frequently in the NRSV (e.g., Exod. 22:2; Deut. 19:10; 1 Sam. 25:26). In these instances guilt incurred by bloodshed is denoted. The Hebrew term can also be used where other crimes—robbery, bloodshed, adultery, oppression of the poor, dishonesty, idolatry, taking of interest—are in view: "he will surely be put to death and his blood will be on his own head" (Ezek. 18:13). Where there is guilt worthy of bloodshed, bloodguilt has been incurred (this may be the meaning of Ps. 51:14). Not only bloodshed but all sin worthy of death, or for which death was the punishment in Israel, may also be intended (cf. Ps. 39:8).

In Israel bloodshed was said to pollute the land (Num. 35:33-34), and this bloodshed which defiles is said to have been "innocent blood" (Deut. 19:10; 21:8; 1 Ki. 2:5) that must be avenged (1 Ki. 2:31-33). "The guilt of bloodshed," "the guilt of innocent blood," and "guilt for blood" are mentioned. Yahweh informs his people that he will not listen when they offer their frequent prayers, because their hands are full of blood (Isa. 1:15). Judicial execution, killing in self-defense, and unintentional murder are excluded in the above considerations. (Cf. Exod. 22:2; Lev. 20:9; et al.) In the instance of the latter an ASYLUM must be provided for the person guilty of accidental homicide (Num. 35:9-34). If he leaves the asylum before the death

Subsurface basin used for catching blood during the Samaritan celebration of Passover on Mount Gerizim.

of the high priest, he may be killed by the AVENGER OF BLOOD, who in such an instance is not guilty of murder (Num. 35:27). If a place of refuge is not provided for the unintentional killer and his blood is

shed, the people are "guilty of bloodshed" (Deut. 19:10). Killing a thief in the night does not bring bloodguilt because he cannot be distinguished from a more dangerous person, but he may not be punished without process of law in broad daylight. If he is killed in the daytime, bloodguilt has been incurred (Exod. 22:2-3).

Whenever homicide occurs, there is a sense in which the people corporately are guilty of bloodshed until justice has been satisfied (Deut. 21:1-9; Num. 35:33). If the guilty party is unknown, the elders and judges of the people shall determine which city lies closest to the place where the person was slain so that the priests and elders of that city may offer sacrifice and declare the innocence of their people. As they wash their hands over the sacrificed heifer they are to say: "Our hands did not shed this blood, nor did our eyes see it done. Accept this atonement for your people Israel, whom you have redeemed, O LORD, and do not hold your people guilty of the blood of an innocent man" (Deut. 21:7-8).

Bloodguilt is taken so seriously in the OT that, when it is not atoned for according to law, God steps in to avenge the wronged party (Gen. 4:10-12; 9:5-6; Isa. 26:21; Ezek. 24:6-9). Guilt must be expiated (2 Sam. 4:11), and it may be exacted of one's descendants (2 Sam. 3:28-29; 21:1-9; 1 Ki. 21:29; 2 Ki. 9:6-10; 24:3-4; Hos. 1:4; Matt. 27:25). (Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* 1 [1926], 420-37.) See also CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS I.B.

M. E. OSTERHAVEN

bloody flux. See DISEASE (under *hemorrhage*).

bloody sweat. While praying in GETHSEMANE, according to the Gospel of Luke, Jesus was in anguish and "his sweat was like drops of blood falling to the ground" (Lk. 22:44). There has been disagreement as to what Luke means. Are these words merely a figurative way of describing Jesus' suffering? If literal perspiration is in view, are we to think that the sweat was the color of blood? Or is Luke drawing a comparison based on the size of the drops of sweat and/or the way they were falling, that is, his perspiration was like the shedding of blood (cf. I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC [1978], 832-33)? Or does Luke mean that the sweat was actually blood-tinged?

Those who argue for the latter point to a phenomenon called *hematidrosa*, which has been rarely described in medical literature. It occurs in "very special conditions: great physical debility, accompanied by violent mental disturbance following on profound emotion or great fear" (Dr. Le Bec, quoted in Pierre Borlet, *The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* [1952], 160). When a person is under stress, the body chemical processes are speeded up, producing excess heat that is lost via the sweat. The sweat can only reach the sweat glands as fluid passing into them from the blood stream, and so the blood vessels just under the skin around the sweat glands become markedly dilated. In hematidrosa the dilatation of these blood vessels is so intense that blood ruptures into the sweat glands and sweat and blood run intermingled onto the body. This explanation gives a glimpse of the intensity of Jesus' mental suffering.

The significance of the statement is complicated by questions that have been raised against the authenticity of Lk. 22:43-44. These verses are missing from the oldest surviving Greek MS, P^{75}, and from other significant witnesses (including CODEX ALEXANDRINUS and CODEX VATICANUS). For a number of reasons, many scholars believe it is more likely that the passage was added to the text (in the first half of the 2nd cent.) than that it was omitted by different scribes in various regions (see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, AB 28-29, 2 vols. [1981-85], 2:1443-44; Bart D. Ehrman,

The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament [1993], 187-94; B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. [1994], 151). Other scholars continue to argue for the originality of the passage (e.g., M. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 2 vols. [1989], 2:741-42; D. L. Bock, *Luke*, BECNT, 2 vols. [1994-96], 2:1763-64).

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

blot out. This English expression is a common rendering for Hebrew *māḥāg* ***H4681,*** which can also be translated "wipe (out)." The Hebrew verb is used especially to describe the removal of impious persons and tribes from the rolls of God's redeemed (e.g., Deut. 9:14), but it is also applied to the gracious erasure of transgressions (e.g., Ps. 51:1). The SEPTUAGINT renders this word with *exaleiphō* ***G1981*** ("to erase, wipe away, remove"), and this Greek verb is found in the NT in both of the special OT uses (e.g., Acts 3:19; Rev. 3:5).

blue. A COLOR extracted from the mollusk *Helix ianthina*. PLINY the Elder (*Nat. Hist*. 21.45) calls it *amethyst*, but this represents some confusion on his part (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 8 vols. [1955-64], 4:119). It is a color derived by varying the process of extraction (ibid.). No specifications of intensity by which to define colors are or were available, most of the dyes being secrets of individual families (ibid., 100). The exact color on the fringe of every Hebrew garment thus cannot be defined (e.g., Num. 15:38, *tĕkēlet* ***H9418,*** possibly "blue" or "violet"). There is also no indication of how the dye was made. However, the *usu bablah* or *bulah* (sunt blue) is found from Egypt to India, and no doubt the Israelites during the bondage had learned to make the blue extract from the bark (ibid., 112).

Apart from the "hyacinth" shade (Gk. *hyakinthinos* ***G5610;*** cf. Rev. 9:17, "dark blue" [NRSV, "color of…sapphire"]), there were others, such as woad (Class. Gk. *isatis*), indigo, sunt blue, turnsale (from the juice of the *Crozophora tinctoria*), purple (Heb. *)argāmān* ***H763,*** possibly *Murex trunculus*), and whortleberry (the *Vaccinia myrtillus L*). (See Forbes, 109.)

Woad (an herb of the mustard family) was used by 2500 B.C. in India, but became common only in Hellenistic times. It was cultivated in Syria, but not in Palestine, until after A.D. 589, when it received the name *nil*. True indigo came from India, described by Pliny as an import, and extracted from the *Indigofera*. The *tĕkēlet* blue is of the family of blues derived from the mollusks of the Phoenician coast. Wool dyed by this color is mentioned in the tablets from UGARIT C. 1500 B.C. Cretan dealers of the Middle Minoan II era also traded in it. Modern tests have been developed to identify positively this dye. The use of it in Rome dates from earliest times. The center of the PURPLE or blue dye industry was TYRE (2 Chr. 2:7, 14), and here were produced the most beautiful of these dyes, facilitated by ample supplies of supporting materials. In Roman times Diocletian established Dorotheus as superintendent of the dye works. Mollusk shell heaps at SIDON reveal another important source of this purple dye.

For decorative uses, threads were dyed and then woven into cloth (Exod. 25:4; 26:1; et al.) with other colored threads, as today in the Near East. Occasionally "print" cloth was produced by brushing on color or by block application. The TABERNACLE required extensive use of it for the hangings, and it was used for the priests' garments (28:5); the EPHOD (v. 6) was held with bands woven with blue (v. 28). It was employed also in Solomon's TEMPLE (2 Chr. 2:7, 14) and in the VEIL (3:14). Hangings (drapes) of blue were found in the enclosed garden of the Persian king's palace (Esth. 1:6); in that setting, robes of white and blue designated royal honor (8:15).

"Worth" is the basic meaning symbolized by cords of blue, for they were compared with bonds of wisdom (Sir. 6:30), and Judas MACCABEE deemed blue and purple cloth worthy as plunder (1 Macc. 4:23). Moreover, it figures in the battle dress of the Qumran priests (1QM VII, 10; cf. Exod. 39:28-29).

H. G. STIGERS

Boanerges boh'uh-nuhr'jeez (Βοανηργές ***G1065*** [with variant spellings], possibly from Heb. בְּנֵי רֶגֶשׁ ***H1201*** + ***H8094***, "sons of commotion"). A surname interpreted as meaning "Sons of Thunder" and given by Jesus to James and John, the sons of ZEBEDEE, at the time they were chosen apostles (Mk. 3:17). See JAMES I; JOHN THE APOSTLE. The derivation of the name is debated, and Mark translates it without stating why the term was appropriate. JEROME thought it referred to their fiery eloquence; others have taken it as referring to their fiery dispositions. It may be that they were at one time ZEALOTS or revolutionaries. Perhaps the epithet reflects the ancient mythology about the DIOSCURI (Heavenly Twins), the Sons of ZEUS or Thunder. S. BARABAS

boar. The wild forebear of the domestic pig. In the OT the Hebrew word *ḥazîr H2614* covers both wild and domesticated SWINE. Only one context definitely requires the rendering "boar" (Ps. 80:13, "Boars from the forest ravage it [the vine]"). It is generally agreed that "the beast among the reeds" in Ps. 68:30 is a pictorial reference to the boar, for forest and reeds are its two typical habitats. The first two uses of the term are in the Mosaic food laws (Lev. 11:7; Deut. 14:8), and this prohibition applies equally to both the wild boar and the domesticated pig. Pigs had been brought into domestication early in human history and were kept in Egypt in predynastic times (i.e., before 3000 B.C.). The range of the wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) once extended from Britain across Europe and through northern Asia. It became extinct in Britain early in the 17th cent. It is now more scarce everywhere, but it still survives in Palestine, especially in the thick scrub along the Jordan River, partly because its flesh is unclean to the practicing Jew and Muslim, so that there is little incentive to hunt it unless it causes serious damage. (Cf. F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* [1963]; *FFB*, 80-81.)

G. S. CANSDALE

board. This English noun is used a few times in modern translations to render the Hebrew terms *lûaḥ H4283,* "tablet, plank" (e.g., Exod. 27:8), and *ṣēlāʿ H7521,* "rib, side, plank" (1 Ki. 6:15-16). The KJV uses it frequently to render *qereš* ***H7983,*** which usually refers to the "frames" of the TABERNACLE (Exod. 26:15-29; 36:20-34; et al.). In the NT, the word is used once by the KJV as a translation of Greek *sanis* ***G4909,*** describing the flotsam and jetsam of a shipwrreck (Acts 27:44; NIV, "planks").

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boast. This English term is used to translate various Hebrew words, especially the verb *hālal* ***H2146*** (piel "praise," hitp. "boast"; Ps. 10:3; 34:2; et al.). In the NT, it is primarily a rendering of the Greek verb *kauchaomai G3016* and its derivatives; this word group is used mainly by PAUL, especially in 2 Cor. 10-12 (e.g., 10:13-17). The idea of boasting may convey both a good (e.g., Ps. 44:8; 2 Cor. 7:14) and a bad sense (e.g., Ps. 10:3; Rom. 2:17; 2 Tim. 3:2). The fundamental biblical principle is expressed by God's declaration, "Let not the wise man boast of his wisdom / or the strong man boast of his strength / or the rich man boast of his riches, / but let him who boasts boast about this: / that he

understands and knows me, / that I am the LORD, who exercises kindness, / justice and righteousness on earth, / for in these I delight" (Jer. 9:23-24; summarized by Paul in 1 Cor. 1:31). (See S. J. Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting? Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul's Response in Romans 1—5* [2002].)

boat. A craft for navigating the water, small enough to haul ashore or on board a ship. The boats employed on the Sea of Galilee were used

Remains of a 1st-cent. wooden boat discovered near Kibbutz Ginnosar in Israel.


Boaz met Ruth in the vicinity of the fields and threshing floors located on the E side of Bethlehem. (View to the N.)

primarily for fishing (Matt. 4:21, *ploion* ***G4450),*** but also for travel and trading between towns on the lake (Jn. 6:17-24; the diminutive *ploiarion* ***G4449*** is used in vv. 22-24). Big enough to hold ten or twelve persons, they were propelled by sail (Lk. 8:23) or oar (Jn. 6:19), and were in danger of being swamped by the sudden squalls that can suddenly whip up the waters (Mk. 4:37). The "boat" (*skaphē* ***G5002***) mentioned in connection with the ship on which Paul traveled to Rome (Acts 27:16, 30, 32 KJV) was a lifeboat, which in good weather was towed behind. See SHIPS.

Boaz (person) boh'az (בֹּעַז *H1244*, possibly "quick [of mind]" or "in him is strength" [see also next entry]; Βόες; ***G1067*** [Matt. 1:5] and Βόος ***G1078*** [Lk. 3:32]). A wealthy farmer of BETHLEHEM, the kinsman of ELIMELECH and NAOMI, and the great-grandfather of DAVID. He is best known in the Bible for his treatment of RUTH the Moabitess (former wife of ELIMELECH'S son, MAHLON). Naomi had gone to MOAB with her husband and two sons at the time of a severe famine (during the period of the JUDGES). While in Moab the two sons married Moabite women, but subsequently both the sons and the father died. Naomi encouraged her daughters-in-law to return to their own people but Ruth refused. When Naomi returned
to Bethlehem, Ruth accompanied her. The pair arrived in time for the fall harvest, whereupon Ruth took advantage of an Israelite custom and went out to glean. It was her good fortune to begin in the fields of Boaz, where she was instructed to remain for the duration of the harvest.

Naomi instructed her daughter-in-law in the custom of the LEVIRATE LAW, which made the provision of a *gōʿēl* or "kinsman-redeemer" to protect the dead man's name and inheritance (the Heb. term is a ptc. from the verb *gāʾal* ***H1457***, "to loose, set free, redeem, vindicate, deliver as kinsman"; see GOEL; REDEMPTION). The rite was initiated by the woman's lying at the feet of the kinsman, and the appeal was made to Boaz, who proved to be second in line. On the next morning he arranged for the matter to be settled in the city gate, where such matters were resolved. The older man refused "to endanger [his] own estate" marrying a Moabitess (Ruth 4:6). Boaz, thereupon, purchased all the property belonging to Elimelech and his sons and took Ruth in marriage.

Boaz is set forth as a model of piety and graciousness, Ruth as a model of virtue and devotion. Despite the prohibition against a Moabite entering Israel for ten generations, Ruth accepted Israel's religion and customs in following Naomi. Boaz, while really a kinsman of Elimelech, therefore responsible to marry Naomi, sees the extension of the responsibility to Mahlon and marries his widow. The happy aftermath of the story is that the couple were the grandparents of David, who found a ready shelter in Moab when he fled from Saul. Boaz finds a place in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:5; Lk. 3:32).

Boaz (pillar) boh'az (בֹּעַז *H1245*; for possible meanings, see *HALOT*, 1:142 [cf. also previous entry]). The name of a bronze pillar SOLOMON placed in front of the TEMPLE (1 Ki. 7:21; 2 Chr. 3:17). See JAKIN (PILLAR).

J. J. EDWARDS

Boccas bok'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of BUKKI (1 Esd. 8:2).

Bocheru boh'kuh-r*oo*. See BOKERU.

Bochim boh'kim. See BOKIM.

Bodmer Papyri of John. A group of early Christian papyri from the collection of M. Martin Bodmer of Geneva began to be published in 1954, and other texts stemming from the same find are at the University of Mississippi, and in one case in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Two texts are classical; the rest are Christian in both Greek and Coptic. These include biblical documents and also

apocryphal writings, such as the *Nativity of Mary*, the apocryphal correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians, and the eleventh *Ode of Solomon*, together with a second copy of Melito, *On the Passover* (the latter is also included in the CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI). Among the biblical documents in Greek are two MSS containing the Gospel of John: Papyrus Bodmer II (P^{66}) and XV (P^{75}).

Papyrus II was originally published in 1956 as containing only the first fourteen chapters of the gospel. Two years later the remaining part also appeared, in some instances much more fragmentarily preserved. The whole was eventually made available in photographic reproduction. It consists of seventy-five leaves in all and is to be dated, on grounds of its paleography, about the year A.D. 200. It presents a number of features of binding that add to the knowledge of this aspect of early papyrus codices. Divisions of the text into chapters or sections are indicated by projecting the first letter into the margin while leaving the latter part of the previous line blank. This feature is also paralleled in the other Bodmer papyrus of John. In both cases the system of division is akin to the more developed systems found in Codex Bezae (D) and the Freer Codex of the Gospels preserved in Washington.

The text of the Gospel of John in Bodmer Papyrus II presents the experts in this field with a number of hitherto unparalleled problems that do not yet have a complete explanation. In this gospel there are two main ancient text-types to be discerned in Greek MSS: one similar to the text of CODEX VATICANUS (B), and one similar to that of CODEX BEZAE (D) and CODEX SINAITICUS (ℵ). M-E. Boismard (in *RB* 64 [1957]: 363-98) has claimed to identify a third type discernible in the witnesses to Tatian's DIATESSARON and the ancient versions influenced by it, and also in John CHRYSOSTOM. This third is notable for its short readings. In previous papyrus discoveries it has seemed reasonable to identify the new text with one of the two attested types. Bodmer Papyrus II, however, does not reveal itself as an ally of either, but in different sections it is related first to one and then to the other. It also attests readings previously known only in the Tatianic and versional tradition. Besides this, it also attests a number of attempts to polish the style according to current views of propriety in Greek literary works.

Papyrus Bodmer XV was published in 1961. It forms one document with Papyrus Bodmer XIV. Together they contain Lk. 3-24 and Jn. 1-15 on fifty-one leaves, some well-preserved, some fragmentary. It has similar features of binding and text division as its fellow, and has been dated in the early part of the 3rd cent., or one or two decades earlier. In both gospels the text of this papyrus contrasts markedly with that of its fellow. Whereas Papyrus II displays a text peculiar to itself, this one shows a form close indeed to that known in B. Both in orthography and in readings the two are in close agreement. One could not think that B is a copy of Papyrus Bodmer XV, but it can be asserted with certainty that the papyrus shows a text that was carefully handed down in Egypt (and perhaps elsewhere) at a very early period—certainly much earlier than that to which the existence of this text-type could previously be traced. Codex B then attests a text that cannot be called the result of a 3rd-cent. recension, as had often been suggested.

These two papyri of approximately the same date are of the greatest significance for the history of the NT text. On the one hand, the early existence of the so-called Alexandrian text is shown by the more recently published one. On the other hand, the evidence of the one first published shows that the 2nd cent. knew types of texts which have not been passed down in identical form, and that there existed in Greek at that time readings later preserved in versions or quotations only. While both these positions have been propounded before, they now each receive documentary proof. In other words, the knowledge of documents still leaves the problems of the judgment of readings and the preferability of this or that text.

Among readings in which the two documents agree, the following are of some interest: Jn. 1:28,

BETHANY (against Bethabara); 4:9, omitted "for Jews…Samaritans"; 5:2, BETHSAIDA (against Bethzatha); 7:53—8:11, omitted; 12:40, "maimed" for "hardened" (with ℵ, the Freer Codex, and others). (Cf. J. N. Birdsall, *The Bodmer Papyrus of the Gospel of John*, [1960]; G. D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P^{66}):* Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics [1968].) See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

body. The entire physical structure of a human being, with its temporal, spatial, and tactual aspects. The Bible uses the concept of body in various ways, both literal and figurative. See also FLESH.

I. The concept of body in the OT. The ancient Semitic languages do not distinguish the modes of a person's being in the same fashion as mechanistic scientific terminology. They separate between the external aspect, how a person appears from outside, and the internal, how a person appears to himself or herself. In Hebrew, the chief linguistic indication of the external characteristic is *šēm* ***H9005,*** "name," which signifies "character" or even "reputation." For example, when asked his name by MOSES, the Lord answers with a temporal denotation of his sovereignty and then gives a historical reference to his past acts (Exod. 3:15). The internal aspect is indicated by *nepeš* ***H5883***, variously translated "breath, life, soul, desire, self, I." It actually means the living sense of what the individual is to himself (Gen. 9:4; contrast 12:13). For this reason there is no term precisely equivalent to *body* as distinguished from SOUL or SPIRIT.

The OT uses various names for parts and organs of the body to signify the physical, temporal, spatial, and tactual aspect of a human being. In the English versions some ten Hebrew words are loosely (and often incorrectly) translated "body." For example, the term *gab* ***H1461*** (and related forms) means "back," while *beṭen* ***H1061*** refers to the "belly" and to the "womb." The body is often referred to by the common Hebrew word for "flesh, meat," *bāśār* ***H1414*** (cf. Ezek. 10:12), which can be contrasted with *nepeš* (cf Isa. 10:18; NRSV, "soul and body"; NIV, "completely"). It can moreover be paired with another word for "flesh," *šĕʾēr* ***H8638*** (Prov. 5:11, "flesh and body"). (See further A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed. [1964]; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* [1974]; J. L. Berquist, *Controlling Corporeality: The Body and the Household in Ancient Israel* [2002].)

II. The concept of body in the NT. In the language of the NT the distinction of the modes of a person's being accords with our more familiar mechanistic conception. The person is separated into two entities: physical (body) versus metaphysical (soul). Throughout the history of the church expositors have often attempted to associate these OT and NT anthropological distinctions with the current formulations in philosophy. The body-soul distinction was expressed first in terms of the Greek form-matter scheme, later according to the Thomistic medieval notions of grace versus nature, and in modern times in some Kantian dialectic of ontological versus phenomenological, or I-thou versus I-it, or even historical versus mythical (cf. its offshoot, salvation history versus history). However, all these schemes are manifestly contrary to the semantic and philological intention of the text.

The NT uses almost exclusively the Greek term *sōma* ***G5393*** (appearing already in Homer and ancient inscriptions) to indicate the physical body as over against the metaphysical. By extension the word is used even to distinguish the foreshadowed from the fulfilled reality (Col. 2:17). The body is

the center of mortal life and all of the human functions—breathing, eating, drinking, etc. In this regard it is the participating member in the grosser sins, murder, adultery, gluttony, etc. However, it must be realized that the NT in no wise adopts the Platonic scheme of good-soul versus evil-body, as some authorities have proposed. In the NT the SOUL (*psychē* ***G6034***) is not necessarily good or in antagonism to the body (2 Pet. 2:8 in contrast to 2:14).

The soul like the body is justified through the imputation of Christ's righteousness, by the new birth (1 Pet. 1:22 et al.). The NT assumes that the dividing of the soul from the body constitutes DEATH. This death is the result of sin, iniquity against God that has physical consequences upon the body. The NT also uses the term in the sense of unity and interdependence. PAUL in particular pictures the CHURCH and its members as a body with its mutual parts (1 Cor. 12:12-26; see BODY OF CHRIST). (See further R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* [1971]; R. H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology, with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* [1976]; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed. [1977]; K. O. Sandnes, *Belly and Body in the Pauline Epistles* [2002]; *NIDNTT*, 1:229-42.)

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bodyguard. This term suggests both the nature of the person and his duties. He was one who guarded the bodily person of the superior to whom he was assigned, usually one of royalty. DAVID has the distinction of being the first one mentioned in Scripture to hold such office. Priest AHIMELECH, in his defense to SAUL, described David as loyal and as captain of the king's "bodyguard" (*mišmaʿat* ***H5463***, 1 Sam. 22:14). Later, when David sought refuge from Saul among the PHILISTINES, ACHISH king of GATH said to David, "I will make you my bodyguard [*lit*., keeper of my head] for life" (1 Sam. 28:2). Subsequently, in David's struggle for power he had his own bodyguard of valiant men, headed by BENAIAH (2 Sam. 23:23 = 1 Chr. 11:25). The English term is also used in some versions to render *ṭabbāḥ* ***H3184***, "guardsman" (2 Ki. 25:8 = Jer. 52:12; NIV, "imperial guard"). See also GUARD.

G. B. FUNDERBURK

body of Christ. The Greek word *sōma* ***G5393*** (see BODY) is applied to Christ in three senses.

I. The human body of Jesus while on earth. This body was prepared for the Son by God (Heb. 10:5). It was a real body made of flesh and blood (Heb. 2:14). The docetic teaching that Jesus' body was only an appearance is condemned (1 Jn. 4:2 – 3; see DOCETISM). His was a true manhood, and his body was subject to ordinary human limitations and needs (Heb. 5:7-8). The consistent picture of the four Gospels is of a real man, who felt hunger, thirst, tiredness, pain, sorrow, joy, friendship. He touched, spat, wept, prayed. It was a real human body of FLESH that died on the cross (Jn. 19:34-35; Heb. 10:20). In his RESURRECTION there was continuity with, as well as transformation of, that body. The evangelists emphasize the physical nature of Christ's resurrection body. He was recognized, held (Matt. 28:9), and touched (Lk. 24:37-40); he ate food (Lk. 24:41-43). On the other hand, he was able to appear (Mk. 16:12, 14; Lk. 24:34) and disappear (Lk. 24:31). His transformed resurrection body is a guarantee of the resurrection of the believer (1 Cor. 15:20-23). See RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

II. The bread of the Eucharist. At the Last Supper Christ said, "This is my body" (Matt. 26:26; Mk. 14:22; Lk. 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24). This cannot mean that in the EUCHARIST the consecrated bread

actually changes into the body of Christ. The disciples in the upper room can only have understood Jesus' words symbolically. The bread represented Christ's self-giving, received in the heart by faith. See LORD'S SUPPER.

III. The church. In 1 Corinthians and Romans, the "body" of Christ indicates the local CHURCH, and emphasizes the unity of its members and their harmonious working together according to the varying functions God has assigned by his Spirit to each (Rom. 12:4-8; 1 Cor. 12:4-31). Paul does not speak of Christ as head of the body in these epistles (1 Cor. 12:21). In Paul's later letters, Ephesians and Colossians, reference is to the universal church, of which Christ is the head (Eph. 1:22-23; 4:15-16; 5:23; Col. 1:18; 2:19). Each member is related to Christ as the directing, controlling center. The unity emphasized in Ephesians is that of Jew and Gentile in the one body (Eph. 2:11-16; 3:6; 4:4), while in Colossians the unity of the whole cosmos under Christ's headship is in view (Col. 1:16-19; 2:10).

The origin of Paul's thought of the church as the body of Christ has been sought in four fields: (1) the communal participation in the COMMUNION bread, as suggested by 1 Cor. 10:16-17; (2) the Stoic description of an *ekklēsia* ***G1711***, a public meeting, as a united body composed of different independent persons; (3) the meaning of the "corporate personality" of Israel in the OT, as in the figure of the vine (Ps. 80:8); (4) the close identification of Christ with Christians, as for example in their sufferings (Acts 9:4-5; Col. 1:24). Some regard the phrase as indicating that the church is the extension of the INCARNATION, but it is better understood metaphorically, signifying the unity of believers in the church, a unity that depends upon Christ. (See A. Cole, *The Body of Christ* [1964]; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed. [1977]; G. L. O. R. Yorke, *The Church as the Body of Christ in the Pauline Corpus: A Re-examination* [1991]; M. V. Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ* [2006].)

D. G. STEWART

Bohairic Version boh-h*i*'rik. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT II.C.

Bohan, Stone of boh'han (בֹּהַן *H992*, possibly "thumb"). The description of the N boundary of the tribe of JUDAH contains a reference to "the Stone of Bohan son of Reuben" (Josh. 15:6; NAB, "Eben-Bohan-ben-Reuben"); the same language is then used to describe the S boundary of the tribe of BENJAMIN (18:17). The stone was thus a boundary marker between Judah and Benjamin, apparently near JERICHO. Some have suggested that the phrase should be rendered "Thumb-Stone," but in that case the reference to the "son of Reuben" is puzzling. In any case, it is possible that at one time descendants of the tribe of REUBEN temporarily inhabited the NE corner of the territory of Judah before the final boundary settlements were made by JOSHUA.

A. JOHNSON

boil. For the meaning "to prepare food by heating it in water," see COOK. For the meaning "inflammation of the skin," see DISEASE.

Bokeru boh'kuh-r*oo* (בֹּכְרוּ *H1150*, possibly "youthful"). Also Bocheru. Son of Azel and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:38; 9:44). The SEPTUAGINT and the Peshitta take the word as a common noun with suffix, "his firstborn" (*bĕkōrô*), applying the description to Azel's first son, Azrikam. Some modern scholars follow this interpretation.

Bokim boh'kim (בֹּכִים *H1141*, "weepers"). Also Bochim. Name given to a place near GILGAL where the nation of Israel wept after being admonished by the ANGEL of the Lord (Jdg. 2:1, 5). The SEPTUAGINT inserts a reference to BETHEL after Bokim, and the latter may be connected with ALLON BACUTH, meaning "oak of weeping," which is said to be "below Bethel" (Gen. 35:8).

boldness. See COURAGE; SHAME.

bolled. An archaic term used by the KJV once, referring to the flower bud or the seed pod of flax (*gibʿōl* ***H1499***, only in Exod. 9:31; NIV, "in bloom"). The English term meant "having bolls" or "bearing pods," hence "in seed," though the Hebrew could refer equally to the flower.

bolster. This English word for "pillow" is used by the KJV incorrectly to translate Hebrew *měraʾašôt* ***H5265***, which means "place at the head" (1 Sam. 19:13, 16; 26:7-16).

bolt. This English word (both noun and verb), as well as "lock," is used to render several Hebrew terms (Deut. 33:25; 2 Sam. 13:17-18; Neh. 3:3; et al.). In the NT, "lock" translates the Greek verb *kleiō* ***G3091*** and its compounds (Lk. 3:20; 11:7; et al.). Although these terms are sometimes used figuratively (Cant. 4:12; Gal. 3:23), they generally refer to literal doors and city gates. Locks and bolts in antiquity were made of both wood and metal. These locks were usually fastened from within but some were designed for large elaborate keys. (In addition, "bolts" is sometimes used with reference to flashes of LIGHTNING.)

bond. The meaning of this English word varies from "prisoner's shackles" to "solemn promise" and even "legal document." As an adjective, "bond" is opposed to "free," and composite nouns like "bondman" are used in the KJV in the sense of "slave." Older versions also use "bands" frequently. See also BONDAGE; CHAIN; SLAVE. In the OT, the term *môsērah* ***H4593*** may have derived from the harness that ties an ox to the yoke, passing naturally into a metaphor of oppression or imprisonment (Nah. 1:13). In the NT, the pattern is similar. The Greek term *desmos* ***G1301***, if literal, may be used in a bad sense of handcuffs (Lk. 8:29) or in a good sense of the muscles and sinews that "bind" the human body together (Col. 2:19). So, too, the metaphorical use can have both a good and bad sense, such as "the chains of wickedness" (Acts 8:23 NRSV) and "the bond of peace" (Eph. 4:3). The word is therefore in itself neutral; it takes color from its context.

R. A. COLE

bondage. This English term is used often by the KJV, mainly as a rendering of Hebrew *ʿabōdâ* ***H6275*** and Greek *douleia* ***G1525***. It occurs less frequently in modern versions, which prefer such terms as "service," "labor," "slavery." The word is used especially with reference to the conditions of the Hebrews in Egypt (Exod. 1:14 et al.). A similar bondage was experienced in Babylon and under the Persians (Isa. 14:3; Ezra 9:8). These situations may be described as "national bondage," for the emphasis is on the nation as a whole rather than on individuals. Even after the return to Palestine, the condition of the people is described as one of servitude, for they were still under Persian rule (Neh. 5:8). But bondage was experienced also by individuals in all periods of Hebrew history, such as Hagar, Ziba, and Jews who returned from the EXILE (Gen. 16:1; 1 Sam. 9:10; Neh. 5:5). (See R. de

Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 80-90.) The notion of slavery occurs in the figurative sense only in the NT, especially in Paul's letter to the Galatians (e.g., Gal. 2:4; 4:9, 21-31). See also SLAVE.

R. E. HAYDEN

bone. Bones constitute the central framework of the BODY, and the significance of most scriptural uses of the word can readily be understood if this is remembered. Thus it was important that the bones of the dead be revered (Exod. 13:19; Josh. 24:32; 2 Sam. 21:12, 14). In contrast, Jer. 8:1 shows how the dead may be discredited by exhumation and exposure of the skeleton. Along with flesh, bones were the part of the body referred to in declaring kinship (Gen. 2:23; 29:14; Jdg. 9:2; 2 Sam. 19:13; the NIV renders most of these with the English expression "flesh and blood"; see FLESH). In several instances the word appears as the figure of speech called *synecdoche*, in which a part stands for the whole. Job and David describe physical anguish in this way (Job 20:11; 30:17; Pss. 6:2; 22:14; 32:3; 38:3). When viewed in this sense, the messianic reference in Ps. 22:14 need not mean that CRUCIFIXION led to dislocations. Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 37) centers on the valley of dry

Human bones scattered inside a tomb adjacent to the pyramids near Cairo.

bones; they stand for a lifeless spiritual Israel who could come to life only under the influence of God's Spirit.

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

Book of Abraham. See ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF.

Book of Enoch. See ENOCH, BOOKS OF.

Book of Jashar. See JASHAR, BOOK OF.

Book of Jubilees. See JUBILEES, BOOK OF.

book of life. The NT expression "the book of life" (usually *to biblion tēs zēōs*, Rev. 13:8; 17:8; 20:12; 21:27; cf. also Phil. 4:3; Rev. 3:5; 20:15) is based on OT references to God's book in which were written the names of the righteous (Ps. 69:28; Exod. 32:32). This notion, in turn, is related to the ancient custom of keeping genealogies and national registers in Israel (Neh. 7:5, 64; 12:12; Ps. 87:6; Jer. 22:30; Ezek. 13:9). Just as these latter records were carefully inscribed and preserved, so God

knows his people. In later JUDAISM the idea developed that God has two books, one for the righteous and one for the wicked, and that the deeds of men are tallied by the angels, archangels, Michael, Eljah, or Enoch (cf. *TDNT*, 1:620 n. 23). The NT avoids such speculation but uses the expression to stress the ASSURANCE of salvation. Anchored in eternity, that salvation is certain for all those whose names are written in "the book of life belonging to the Lamb that was slain from the creation of the world" (Rev. 13:8). They may rejoice because their names are written in heaven (Lk. 10:20). To be in the book of life is ground for the certainty of salvation. Not to be found in God's book, or to be blotted out of it (Exod. 32:32-33; Ps. 69:28), or not to be found in the book of life (Rev. 17:8; 20:15) means separation from God and perdition.

M. E. OSTERHAVEN

Book of Noah. See NOAH, APOCALYPSE OF.

book of remembrance. In the book of Malachi, where the only occurrence of this phrase is found, the prophet considers a divinely authored book in which are placed the names of those who reverence God so they will be remembered in a future day (Mal. 3:16; NIV, "scroll of remembrance"). There is perhaps some relationship to the BOOK OF LIFE (Ps. 69:28), which refers to natural LIFE as well as the life to come.

G. GIACUMAKIS, JR.

Book of the Covenant, Book of the Law. See BOOKS II; COVENANT, BOOK OF THE.

Book of the Wars of the Lord. See WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF.

books. It is to be expected that if God should choose to reveal himself in the pages of a book (and there are other forms of communication, of course, such as oral and by vision), this book itself would contain numerous references to the reading and writing of books. Such allusions occur in the Bible more than five hundred times—from Gen. 5:1 to Rev. 22:19.

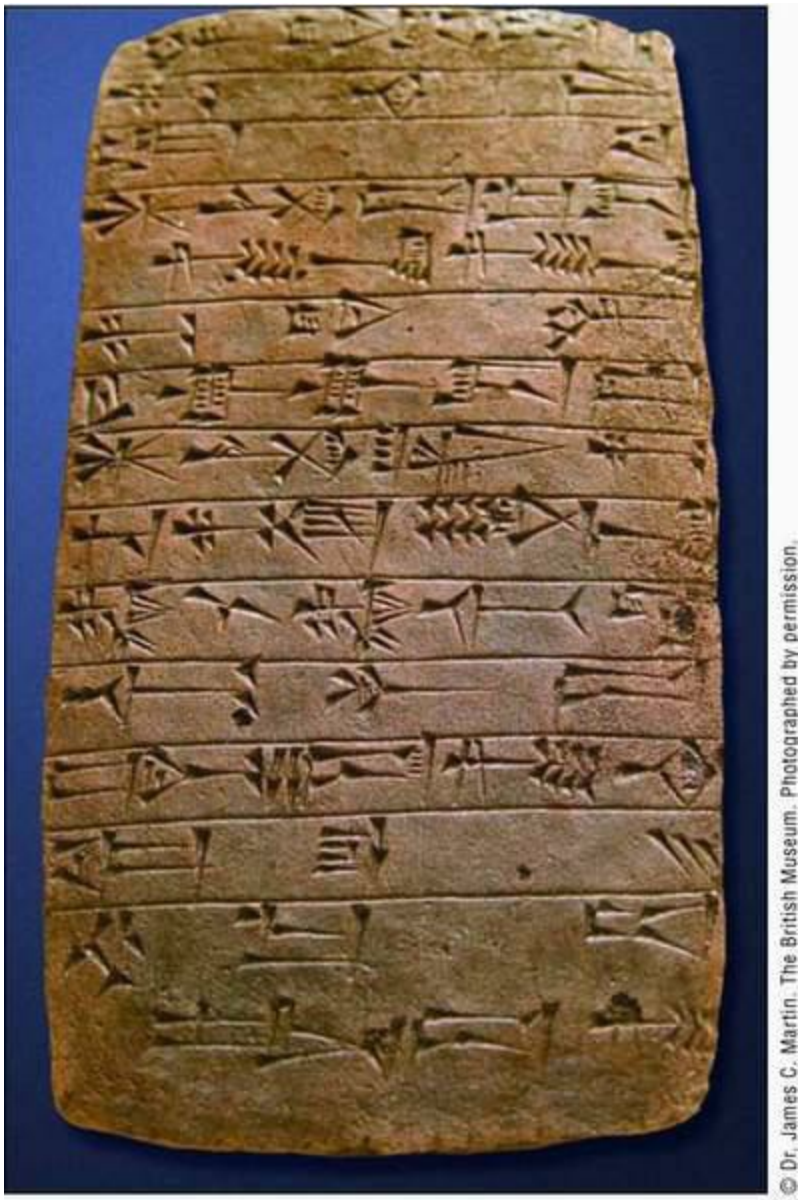
Any book involves five basic factors. First, there must be something to record, even if it is an account book consisting only of mathematical figures. Second, there must be a desire, on the part of someone, to see that certain things are recorded. Third, of course, there must be the ability to write, that is, to spell out words, frame letters of the ALPHABET, and construct grammatical sentences (see WRITING). Fourth, there are the materials upon which one writes. Finally, there is the finished product, the book.

Several terms in the Bible relate to books. The common Hebrew word is *sēper* ***H6219***, which can also be translated "roll" or "scroll" (this is specifically the meaning of *mĕgillâ* ***H4479***; see SCROLL) and "learning" or "literature" (Dan. 1:4, 17). Quite often it refers to a letter (2 Sam. 11:14; Isa. 37:14; Jer. 29:29; et al.). The Greek words for book or scroll, *biblos* ***G1047*** and its diminutive form *biblion* ***G1046*** (from which derive "bibliophile," "bibliography," etc.), occur almost fifty times in the NT. Other related terms are *gramma* ***G1207*** ("writing") and *graphē G1210* ("scripture").

I. General. Probably the two references to books in the Bible with which most are familiar are from SOLOMON and PAUL respectively. Even when Solomon wrote, one thousand years before Christ, he could complain that of the making of many books there was no end (Eccl. 12:12). And Paul, though he

knew that any day he would be executed, asked TIMOTHY to bring to him his beloved "scrolls, especially the parchment"—though what these were exactly is not known, in spite of the many different identifications that have been proposed (2 Tim. 4:13; see PARCHMENT).

II. The Book of the Law. The most important single writing, or collection of writings, for Israelthroughout the OT, was what came to be called the Book of the Law (Deut. 28:61 et al.). Some of its earlier pages are certainly referred to in the account of Moses' reading to the assembled Isra elites "the Book of the Covenant" (Exod. 24:7).



In ancient Mesopotamia, books were produced in the form of inscribed tablets like this one (19th cent. B.C.), commemorating the building of Ur by Warad-Sin, king of Larsa.

The same phrase, when again such a book was read aloud to "all the people," no doubt refers to a much greater portion of the entire PENTATEUCH (2 Ki. 23:2, 21; see also 22:8 and 2 Chr. 34:14-15). It was the Book of the Law that Israel's rulers were to read throughout their lives (Deut. 17:18-20); this was the book to be placed at the side of the ARK OF THE COVENANT (Deut. 31:24-26). The writer of Hebrews says that Moses "sprinkled the scroll and all the people" with blood (Heb. 9:19).

This is the book whose precepts Israel is exhorted again and again to obey (Deut. 28:58, 61; 29:20-21, 27; 30:10; 31:24, 26). It was this book that the Lord told JOSHUA to "meditate on it day and

night" (Josh. 1:8). Later "Joshua copied on stones the law of Moses, which he had written," and read it aloud (8:32-35). As he came to the end of his life he pleaded with those he was leaving behind "to obey all that is written in the Book of the Law of Moses" (23:6; cf. also 24:26). No passage in the Bible could more beautifully portray the use of such a book than these words of the chronicler, "They taught throughout Judah, taking with them the Book of the Law of the LORD; they went around to all the towns of Judah and taught the people" (2 Chr. 17:9). Our Lord once used the phrase "the book of Moses" (Mk. 12:26), and Paul in an OT quotation referred to "the Book of the Law" (Gal. 3:10).

III. Christ and books. The NT is introduced by the word *book*—"The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ" (Matt. 1:1 RSV), which reminds one of the first statement in the Bible in which the word *book* occurs: "This is the book of the generations of Adam" (Gen. 5:1 RSV). In Jesus' initial ministry in NAZARETH, upon entering the synagogue, "The scroll of the prophet Isaiah was handed to him" (Lk. 4:17; cf. v. 20). Often Christ asked, "Haven't you read?" referring to passages in the OT (Matt. 12:3; 21:16, 42; 22:31; and parallels; see also Lk. 10:26). A basic truth is declared when referring to a prophecy of Daniel, "let the reader understand" (Matt. 24:15; Mk. 13:14). In Luke's account of Christ's postresurrection appearances, the fact that the OT Scriptures speak of the MESSIAH to come is strongly emphasized (Lk. 24:27, 32, 44-46). In a mysterious utterance David was foreannouncing this truth in his words, "Here I am, I have come—it is written about me in the scroll" (Ps. 40:7; quoted in Heb. 10:7). The apostle John concludes his gospel by reminding the church how inexhaustible is the subject of Jesus Christ (Jn. 21:25).

IV. The books of heaven. As early as the Mosaic period there is a reference to some kind of a record kept in heaven—though in all discussion of what might be called "the books of heaven" one must recognize some degree of symbolic language. At the time of Israel's great sin in making a golden calf, Moses pleaded with Yahweh for his forgiveness—"but if not, then blot me out of the book you have written" (Exod. 32:32). The psalmist makes this concept a personal one: "list my tears on your scroll—are they not in your record?" (Ps. 56:8). In a mysterious passage relating to the OMNISCIENCE of God, the psalmist refers to his substance being recorded in such a book (Ps. 139:16). Once the psalmist uses a phrase that is often repeated in the NT, "the book of life" (Pss. 69:28; Phil. 4:3; Rev. 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27). To this Daniel certainly refers (Dan. 12:1); and once the Lord did when he spoke of the names of the redeemed being "written in heaven" (Lk. 10:20). Daniel speaks of a day of judgment to come when the books will be opened, a prophecy repeated in the Apocalypse (Dan. 7:10; Rev. 20:12). One of the most comforting notices about books in any literature is on the last page of the OT: "A scroll of remembrance was written in his presence concerning those who feared the LORD and honored his name" (Mal. 3:16). See also BOOK OF LIFE; BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE.

There is one passage in the Apocalypse in which a book is given central significance, in the vision John has of heaven, when he "saw in the right hand of him who sat on the throne a scroll with writing on both sides and sealed with seven seals" (Rev. 5:1). It may be of interest to recall some attempts by commentators to identify this volume. W. H. Simcox (*The Revelation of S. John the Divine* [1893], 79) thought it was the BOOK OF LIFE. Henry Alford (*Greek Testament with Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 4 vols. [1853-61], 4:605) says it is a record of the deliberation and decision of the divine providence. Few would find fault with the words of H. B. Swete (*The Apocalypse of St. John* [1911], 75) that it reveals "the unknown future; it is the Book of Destiny."

V. Books referred to in the OT but now lost. The first of those historical writings referred to in the

OT, now lost, is mentioned as existing in the days of Moses, "the Book of the Wars of the LORD" (Num. 21:14). How valuable would be that "Book of Jashar," mentioned twice (Josh. 10:13; 2 Sam. 1:18)! See JASHAR, BOOK OF; WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE. Of books whose individual authors are named, three are mentioned in one verse at the close of 1 Chr. 29:29; those of SAMUEL the seer, NATHAN the prophet, and GAD the seer. Others (in alphabetical order) are the prophecy of AHIJAH the Shilonite (2 Chr. 9:29); the history of IDDO the seer (9:29; 12:15); the history of JEHU son of Hanani (20:34); the history of SHEMAIAH the prophet, etc. (2 Chr. 12:15); and the "events of Uzziah's reign, from beginning to end," written by Isaiah (26:22). Probably here should be included "the records of the seers" (33:19). One other book whose author is not mentioned is "the book of the annals of Solomon" (1 Ki. 11:41).

There are numerous references to royal records. Once there is reference to "the book of the annals" (Neh. 12:23), and twice to "the book of the kings of Israel" (1 Chr. 9:1; 2 Chr. 20:34), and once to "the book of the kings" (24:27). There are references to "the book of the annals of the kings of Judah," from Rehoboam to Jehoiakim, a period of over three hundred years (1 Ki. 14:29; 15:7, 23; 22:45; 2 Ki. 8:23; 12:19; 14:18; 15:6, 36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17, 25; 23:28; 24:5). There are also references to "the book of the annals of the kings of Israel," from Jeroboam I to Pekah, a period of two hundred years (1 Ki. 14:19; 15:31; 16:5, 14, 27; 22:39; 2 Ki. 1:18; 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:15; 15:11, 15, 21, 26, 31). In some passages these are given a dual title, "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr. 16:11; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 35:27; 36:8). "Evidently these works were public annals of the kingdom which had probably been written down by the prophets…These sources, therefore, may be regarded as part of a prophetic history issued in the form of annals. Under divine inspiration the author of Kings made his choice from these written documents" (E. J. Young, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, rev. ed. [1964], 188-89).

VI. Miscellaneous books. A book of Palestinian geography was written by a group of men appointed for this task (Josh. 18:9). Genealogical records are mentioned in Neh. 7:5. In four places there are references to books of non-Israelite nations. Twice in the book of Ezra the official documents of the Persian government became important for the history of the returning Jews (Ezra 4:15; 6:1-2). When sleep failed him, King XERXES commanded that "the book of the chronicles, the record of his reign," be brought and read to him (Esth. 6:1). Because of the great victories of the gospel in EPHESUS, many who were converted brought books of MAGIC to be burned (Acts 19:19). It must be to some local register that Isa. 4:3 alludes. Sometimes the word *book* or *scroll* is used in reference to the book a prophet is writing (Ezek. 2:9, 10; Dan. 12:4). This is true of JEREMIAH more than any other writer (Jer. 25:13; 30:2; 36:2, 32; 45:1; 51:60). Perhaps a remark is necessary here concerning the instructions to Jeremiah that the particular roll he was writing was to be cast into the EUPHRATES (Jer. 51:63). "The parchment roll by itself might have floated, and been picked up and read, and so the stone was tied to it that it might sink at once and thus prefigure the destruction of the city" (E. H. Plumptre).

The NT, in addition to passages already considered, does not reveal anything unusual. Once it mentions "the book of Psalms" (Acts 1:20), and once, "the book of the prophets" (Acts 7:42). In the Apocalypse the word appears with unusual frequency, from the initial command to the apostle to write what he sees in a scroll (Rev. 1:11), to the final chapter, where the word occurs seven times (22:7-10, 18-19). The important word *graphē*, as already mentioned, means "scripture"; it occurs over fifty times and always refers to the OT writings.

VII. The materials used in writing books. Considering the immense amount of material that was written to produce the hundreds of pages and thousands of lines in the Bible, there really is a surprising paucity of information from these writers as to the material they used and the format of their published writings. In the earlier days of Israel the normal material used, especially for public inscriptions, was stone (Exod. 24:12; 31:18; 32:15-16; 34:1; Deut. 17:18; 27:2-4). At times the stones were covered with plaster (Josh. 8:32; Job 19:24). Throughout the Mesopotamian world INSCRIPTIONS of every kind were recorded on CLAY tablets, varying in size from one-quarter inch square to plaques measuring 18 x 12 inches (Isa. 30:8; Hab. 2:2). Some form of a writing tablet, possibly made of wood, is implied in Lk. 1:63. Wooden staves used in writing are mentioned twice (Num. 17:2-3; Ezek. 37:16-17).

PARCHMENT made of the carefully prepared skins of goats and sheep was commonly used, though there is only one reference in the Bible (2 Tim. 4:13). Even though there is only one direct reference to the use of PAPYRUS (2 Jn. 12, Gk. *chartēs* ***G5925***), nevertheless it must have been the material on which most of the books of the Bible were inscribed. These papyrus sheets, carefully fastened together, made up the "rolls" that could be preserved in libraries and quite conveniently carried about. (It is generally believed that the use of the word *chartion* in the Greek text of Jer. 36:2 [LXX, 43:2] and elsewhere in that chapter implies the use of papyrus.) After all, how meager the data! The bound form of a modern book, known as a CODEX, was not introduced until the Christian era.

VIII. Writing and reading. The writing of God himself is often referred to in the Pentateuch (Exod. 24:12; 31:18; 32:15-16; 34:1, 29; Deut. 4:13; 9:9-11; 10:2-5). It is God who often commands his servants to write (Exod. 17:14; 34:27; Isa. 8:1; 30:8; Jer. 30:2; 36:2; Rev. 1:11, 19). Some of the most graphic passages in the Bible are centered on the reading of the Word of God, as JOSIAH'S reading to his people the newly found Book of the Covenant (2 Ki. 23:2), which SHAPHAN the scribe had shortly before read to him (22:10). The great day of revival for the returned exiles resulted from the reading aloud of the Scriptures by EZRA and his assistants (Neh. 8:5, 8).

On various occasions God's people are exhorted to read the Scriptures (cf. Isa. 34:16; 1 Tim. 4:13). Twice are servants of God given the special command to "eat" the word: early in the ministry of Ezekiel (Ezek. 2:8; 3:1-3), and in the midst of John's recording what he had seen in heaven (Rev. 10:9-10). It is to such an experience as this that both David and Jeremiah refer (Ps. 119:103; Jer. 15:16). (See further G. Dawson, *The Three Booh of God* [1882]; F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Greece and Rome* [1951]; J. Cerny, *Paper and Boork in Ancient Egypt* [1952]; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* [1995]; O. Mazal, *Griechisch-römische Antike = Geschichte der Buchkultur* 1 [1999]; A. R. Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* [2000].)

W. M. SMITH

Books of Adam. See ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF.

boot. Distinct from a SANDAL or SHOE, the customary footwear of the E, the boot is mentioned explicitly only once in Scripture (Isa. 9:5). The Hebrew word *sĕʾôn* ***H6007*** probably refers to the Assyrian military boot, which extended up the calf. Paul's statement, "your feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace" (Eph. 6:15), may be an allusion to the Roman soldier's hobnailed boot, the *caliga* (from which was derived Gaius Caesar's nickname, CALIGULA). It was a boot of leather laced up the shin (Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, 269). Centurions wore

a better article, the *bardaicus calceus*, named from the Bardaei, an Illyrian tribe (Juvenal, *Sat*. 3.24; 16.13, 24-25). Another common word for "boot" was *calceus*, which could include "shoe" (the Vulgate rendering of Eph. 6:15 is, "et *calceati* pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis").

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

booth. This English term is often used in Bible translations as a rendering of the Hebrew word *sukkâ* ***H6109***, which can also be translated "shelter, tent, tabernacle, panoply," etc. It usually refers to a temporary shelter constructed of branches from the olive, myrtle, palm, and other leafy trees, and willows of the brook (Lev. 23:40; Neh. 8:15). Such shelters, which served to protect from the heat by day and the dew by night, were built by JACOB for his cattle (Gen. 33:17); by JONAH (Jon. 4:5); by soldiers on the battlefield (2 Sam. 11:11; 1 Ki. 20:12, 16); and by watchmen in fields at HARVEST time (Job 27:18; Isa. 1:8). Israelites were admonished to make booths for the celebration of the Feast of Booths (Lev. 23:39-43). See FEASTS.

R. E. HAYDEN

Booths, Feast of. See FEASTS.

booty. This English term is used in Bible versions (esp. the NRSV) to translate several Hebrew terms, mainly *baz* ***H1020***; the NIV prefers the term "plunder." Booty was the proportionate share of SPOILS suitable for personal service to the captor, both soldier and civilian, after a proportion was "set apart as tribute for the LORD" and another portion was given to the Levites (Num. 31:28-30). It comprised cattle, sheep, camels, donkeys, women, children, clothing, armor, jewelry, and money; but often silver, gold, and vessels of brass were placed in the house of the Lord. The earliest mention of booty is in Num. 31 with reference to MOSES' instruction concerning the spoils that the Israelite warriors had taken in victory over the Midianites. The precedent Moses set in equitable distribution (Num. 31:27) was followed by JOSHUA in the conquest of Canaan (Deut. 2:35; 3:7; Josh. 8:2, 27; 11:14) and by DAVID in the defeat of the Amalekite raiders (1 Sam. 30:24). (Cf. also Jer. 49:32; Nah. 3:1; Hab. 2:7.)

G. B. FUNDERBURK

Booz boh'oz. KJV NT form of BOAZ.

Bor Ashan bor-ay'shuhn (בּוֹר־עָשָׁן *H1016*, "smoking pit," possibly referring to a place with little vegetation). Also Borashan and Bor-ashan. A city in the SW of JUDAH, mentioned among the places where DAVID and his men roamed prior to his becoming king (1 Sam. 30:30; for the first consonant, many Heb. MSS have a *k* instead of a *b*, thus KJV "Chorashan"). It may be the same as ASHAN, a city of uncertain location in the SHEPHELAH (Josh. 19:7; 1 Chr. 4:32).

G. GIACUMAKIS, JR.

border. A land or national boundary (Heb. *gĕbûl* ***H1473***) marked by an imaginary line or by a mountain (Josh. 18:16), river (18:19), stone, city, or other means. While the integrity of borders in ancient times is often stressed in the Bible, occasionally the enlargement of a boundary is seen as a blessing from the Lord (Exod. 34:24; 1 Chr. 4:10; NIV, "territory"). National and tribal land divisions are the most commonly mentioned borders in the OT.

A. JOHNSON

Borith bor'ith. Apoc. form of BUKKI (2 Esd. 1:2).

born again. See REGENERATION.

borrow, lend. Borrowing and lending was regulated in Israel: the people could lend to the heathen (Deut. 15:6, where "lend" and "borrow" are different forms of the verb *ʿābaṭ* ***H6292***) and could even lend with INTEREST to a stranger, but this latter practice was forbidden among fellow Israelites (23:19-20). Wicked was the individual who did not return a borrowed item (Ps. 37:21), but Israel did not sin against the Egyptians in this regard since they simply "asked" for the jewels (Exod. 3:22; cf. Jdg. 5:25; 8:24). In spite of restrictions on PLEDGES, etc. (Deut. 24:10-13, 17; 15:1-6), the debtor was still greatly oppressed (Prov. 6:1; 22:7). In the NT, the Roman commercial system, including money changers, bankers, and commercial usury, is pictured in several passages (Matt. 25:14-30; Lk. 19:11-27; Jn. 2:13-17). Jesus instructed his disciples, "Give to the one who asks you, and do not turn away from the one who wants to borrow [*danizō* ***G1247***] from you" (Matt. 5:42; cf. Lk. 6:34-35). The NT does not condemn the principle of interest, but mercy is to be shown to the debtor (Matt. 18:23-35). See also CREDIT; DEBT.

W. H. MARE

Boscath bos'kath. KJV form of BOZKATH.

bosom. This English term is used by the KJV and other translations primarily as a rendering of Hebrew *ḥêq* ***H2668*** (e.g., Gen. 23:17; NIV, "arms") and Greek *kolpos* ***G3146*** (e.g., Lk. 6:38; NIV, "lap"). *Bosom* is not an anatomical term, but refers to an area or an enclosure formed by the chest and the arms of a person. An individual lying in the bosom of a friend can hear the beating of the friend's heart and the breathing of his lungs. The friend's arms, almost by reflex action, encircle such a person with love and protection. Thus in the parable of LAZARUS AND DIVES, Jesus represents ABRAHAM'S BOSOM (NIV, "side") as a place of complete felicity, where Lazarus feels the security and love of a child hugged by the arms of his father (Lk. 16:22-23; cf. Jn. 13:23). Jesus is spoken of as being "in the bosom of the Father" (Jn. 1:18; NIV, "side"; NRSV, "heart"). In that passage we are aware of a new element, and that is the thought of reward and honor. Occasionally the word has a sinister meaning: "anger lodges in the bosom of fools" (Eccl. 7:9 NRSV). At times it relates to bribery: "a concealed bribe in the bosom [averts] strong wrath" (Prov. 21:14 NRSV). It occurs also in a vengeful prayer —"Return sevenfold into the bosom of our neighbors / the taunts with which they have taunted you, O Lord" (Ps. 79:12 NRSV).

R. H. POUSMA

bosom, Abraham's. See ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.

Bosor boh'sor (Βοσόρ *G1082* [not in NIV]). (1) One of several towns in GILEAD that persecuted its Jewish residents and was subsequently captured by Judas MACCABEE (1 Macc. 5:26, 36). It is usually identified with the modern Buṣr el-Ḥariri, some 40 mi. E of the Sea of Galilee.

(2) An alternate name for BEOR, the father of BALAAM (2 Pet. 2:15 KJV, NRSV; but NIV reads

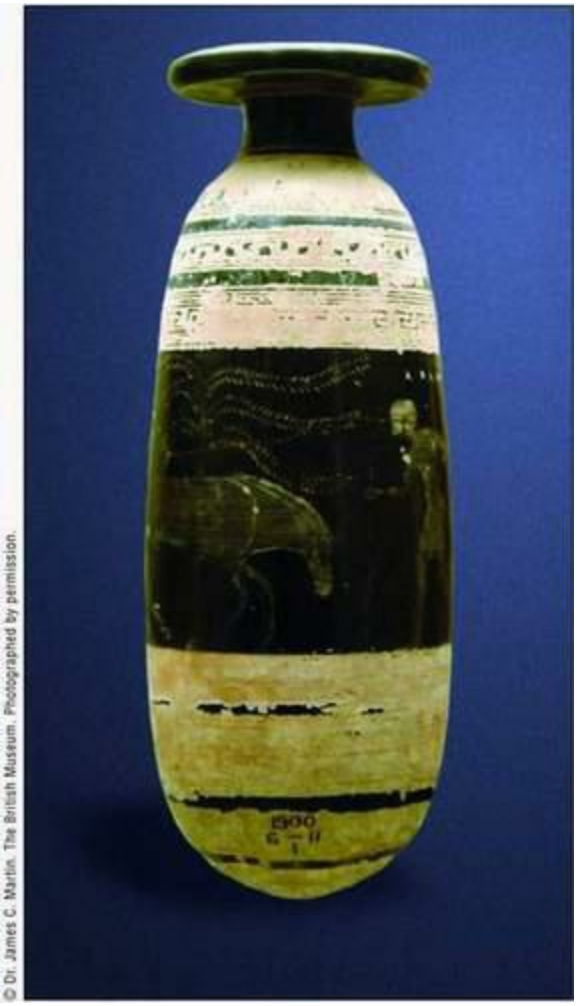
BEOR, following CODEX VATICANUS and a few other witnesses). Some scholars have thought that the form *Bosor* in this passage is simply an ancient blunder that spread through virtually the whole MS tradition. Many others believe that it is the original form in this passage (perhaps reflecting a play on Heb. *bāśār H1414*, "flesh") and that it was corrected to Beor by a few scribes to harmonize the text with the SEPTUAGINT spelling.

Bosora bos'uh-ruh. KJV Apoc. form of BOZRAH (1 Macc. 5:26, 28).

Bostra bos'truh. See BOZRAH #3.

botch. An archaic term for "boil" used twice by the KJV (Deut. 28:27; 35). See DISEASE.

bottle. A term used frequently by the KJV where modern versions have such renderings as "jar" and



Athenian oil bottle (c. 500 B.C.) with a scene of youths and horses; found in Eretria (on the island of Euboea).

"wineskin" (or simply "skin"). The most frequent terms in Hebrew are *nēbel* ***H5574*** (e.g., 1 Sam. 1:24) and *nōʾd* ***H5532*** (e.g., Josh. 9:4). The latter term in particular refers to the hide of an animal sewn and sealed to be used as a WINE or WATER container. In the NT, the Greek term *askos* ***G929*** appears several times (e.g., Matt. 9:17).

bottomless pit. See ABYSS.

Bougaean b*oo*-gee'uhn (Βουγαῖος). Also Bougean, Bugean. An epithet given to HAMAN in the Greek version of Esther. It first occurs in Addition A (Esth. 1:1[r] = Add. Esth. 12:6; see ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO), then as a replacement for "the Agagite" (Esth. 3:1), and finally as an insertion (Esth. 9:10). Several explanations have been advanced about the word: (a) it is used in the Homeric sense of "bully, braggart" (*Il*. 13.824; *Od*. 18.79); (b) it is a corruption of an original *Agagaios*, AGAGITE; (c) it derives from an Iranian term for "god" and refers to a worshiper of Mithra (see MITHRAISM); (d) it is an interpretative rendering of "Agagite" that links the name with GOG (one MS spells the name *Gōgaios*); (e) it is intended to associate Haman with Bagoas (Bagoses), the name of a Persian commander who was hostile to the Jews and who assassinated his own king, Artaxerxes III. (See K. H. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther* [1996], 124-26; id., "How an Assassination Changed the Greek Texts of Esther," *ZAW* 110 [1998]: 75-78.)

bough. See BRANCH.

boundary. See BORDER; BOUNDS.

bounds. In reference to geographical bounds, the word is equivalent to BORDER (cf. Exod. 23:31; 1 Ki. 21:23). An interesting reference mentions that when God gave the nations their INHERITANCE, "he set up boundaries for the peoples according to the number of the sons of Israel" (Deut. 32:8). The probable reference is to the providential ordering of the settlement of the nations in history (not only at BABEL), which allowed enough room for Israel to settle in Canaan without undue stress on the land resources for the size of nation. Other uses of the term "bounds" (KJV) refer to the divinely decreed limits of human life span (Job 14:5); the limits of the seas (38:10); and the fixed order and perpetual duration of the heavens and earth (Ps. 148:6).

A. JOHNSON

bounty. This English term, meaning "generosity, generous gift," is used in some versions, notably the NRSV, to translate several Hebrew and Greek terms. This noun and its derivatives appear most often in the Psalms, especially in connection with the incredible generosity of God. The psalmist praises God for all his bounty to him (Pss. 13:6; 65:11; 116:7, 12); he has confidence that God will deal bountifully with him (142:7), and he prays for this blessing (119:17). The author of Proverbs says that God will bless those who generously provide bread to the poor (Prov. 22:9). In a textually difficult passage JACOB says to JOSEPH, "The blessings of your father are stronger than the blessings of the eternal mountains, the bounties of the everlasting hills" (Gen. 49:26 NRSV). King SOLOMON overwhelmed the QUEEN OF SHEBA with his bounty (1 Ki. 10:13), and in the banquet of Ahasuerus (XERXES) the king lavished wine according to his bounty (Esth. 1:7).

In the NT the word appears only in connection with the gift of money that PAUL is trying to raise for the poor Christians in Jerusalem. The KJV refers to this as the Corinthians' "bounty" (2 Cor. 9:5; NIV, "generous gift"). Paul says that God has enriched the Corinthians to "all bountifulness" (2 Cor. 9:11; NIV, "so that you can be generous on every occasion") and that those who sow sparingly will reap sparingly, while those who sow bountifully will also reap bountifully (2 Cor. 9:6). See also KINDNESS.

H. A. HANKE

bow and arrow. See ARCHER; ARMOR, ARMS IV.A.

bowels. This English term, which occurs only a few times in modern versions, is used frequently by the KJV as a rendering of Hebrew *mē(eh* ***H5055***. The Hebrew term refers to the intestines in some passages (2 Sam. 20:10; 2 Chr. 21:15, 18-19), but elsewhere it is found in a wider sense to denote the place of human origin (Gen. 15:4; Isa. 48:19; et al.), the general abdominal area (Num. 5:22 et al.), or the ventral region of a fish (Jon. 2:1). See also BELLY.

Apart from what was construed as the normal physiological action of the major internal organs, the Hebrew assigned emotional or, in modern terms, psychosomatic interpretations to their functions. Whereas the HEART was regarded as the seat of intelligence, will, and purposiveness, the bowels were considered as the locale of the deepest emotions, especially pity or sympathy (KJV Isa. 16:11; 63:15; Jer. 4:19; Job 30:27; Cant. 5:4). Although the term referred primarily to the intestines, it was employed as a parallel or alternative for the "belly," "womb," "liver," or "heart," and even occasionally referred to all the internal organs of the body. In the NT, the psychosomatic use is common, as represented by the Greek word *splanchnon* ***G5073*** (in the pl., "inward parts, compassion") and its cognate verb (cf. Lk. 10:33; Phil. 1:8; 1 Jn. 3:17).

R. K. HARRISON

bow in the cloud. See RAINBOW.

bowl. A hollow vessel for daily and ceremonial use, having a great variety of shapes and sizes. It is the most common ceramic form found in ANE excavations, and dates from the earliest Neolithic manufacture. Doubtless gourds and wooden bowls preceded the ceramic types, and continued in use, but are not preserved for ARCHAEOLOGY. A variety of stones, as steatite, limestone, alabaster, and basalt, were shaped, ground, and polished into bowls. Metals such as iron, bronze, silver, and gold, were widely used in the making of bowls, the latter for ceremonial and treasury purposes.

The Bible uses a large number of Hebrew and Greek words for bowls, including CUPS, which were often of the shape we would today call bowls. (On the Hebrew ceramic vocabulary, cf. J. Kelso in *BASOR, Supp. Studies* 5-6 [1948]: 1-48.) For example, the Hebrew noun *)aggān H110* refers to a large banquet bowl or basin. It was used to hold that part of the blood MOSES sprinkled on the people at the reading of the covenant (Exod. 24:6; the LXX renders this word with *kratēr*). It is pictured as a vessel that could be hung from a peg (Isa. 22:24-25). The earlier bowls (Iron I) had two handles, and were hand-burnished, while those of

A collection of votive bowls dedicated to the Canaanite temple in Hazor (15th-13th cent. B.C.).

a later period (Iron II) had four handles, with ring-burnishing.

The *kiyyôr H3963* was a pottery bowl that could be used for carrying burning charcoal, thus "firepot" (Zech. 12:6); it might also refer to a BASIN (Exod. 30:18; 1 Ki. 7:38) and to a cooking pan (1 Sam. 2:14). The word *kôs* ***H3926*** is a general term referring to both a cup (with a spherical profile) and a broad, shallow wine bowl (cf. 2 Sam. 12:3; 1 Ki. 7:26; Ezek. 23:32). Both wooden and ceramic ware may be referred to by *miš)eret* ***H5400***, a broad, shallow, medium-sized vessel with no handles; it frequently designates a kneading trough or bread bowl (Exod. 8:3; 12:34; Deut. 28:5, 17). Several additional terms appear in the OT (cf. Exod. 12:22; Jdg. 5:25; 2 Ki. 2:20; 21:13; Isa. 41:17; Amos 6:6).

In the NT, the Greek term *tryblion* ***G5581*** occurs in Jesus' statement at the Last Supper, "The one who has dipped his hand into the bowl with me will betray me" (Matt. 26:23). The book of Revelation makes frequent use of the word *phialē* ***G5786***, which refers to a broad, flat vessel (Rev. 5:8; 15:7; et al. [KJV, "vial"]). (For some useful illustrations, see H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* [1963], plates 141-43.) See also POTTERY; VESSEL.

M. H. HEICKSEN

box tree. This term is used in the KJV twice as a rendering of Hebrew *tě)aššûr* ***H9309*** (Isa. 41:19; 60:13; the Heb. noun prob. occurs also in Ezek. 27:6). It could refer to the common box (*Buxus sempervirens longifolia*), which grows in the Holy Land to a height of 35 ft. The leaves are small and dark, and the tiny inconspicuous flowers are pale green with yellow anthers. It grows well on the Galilean hills and it was certainly known in Isaiah's time. However, modern translations render it PINE (NRSV) or CYPRESS (NIV).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

boy. This English term is used in the OT to render primarily two Hebrew words: *yeled* ***H3529*** (lit., "one born") and *na(ar* ***H5853*** ("boy, youth, young man, servant"). In the NT it renders Greek *pais* ***G4090*** ("child, youth, servant"). It must be noted that among ancient peoples there was little in the way of a differentiation between the stages of infancy to old age. Such terms as "boy" or "girl" are therefore imprecise and must be interpreted by the context in which they occur. See CHILD; YOUTH.

W. WHITE, JR.

boyhood of Jesus. See JESUS CHRIST V.B.3.

Bozez boh'ziz (בּוֹצֵץ *H1010*, perhaps "gleaming [place]"). The northern of two cliffs (the southern was called SENEH) situated on either side of the pass of MICMASH (1 Sam. 14:4). It was apparently this crag, or near it, that JONATHAN and his armor-bearer climbed when attacking the PHILISTINE outpost. The exact spot has not been identified, although doubtless both cliffs lay near the sharp bend of the pass (modern Wadi es-Suweiniṭ; cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd ed. [1913], 106; and esp. L. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* [1963], 68, 189, 190). The area is some 7 mi. NNE of JERUSALEM.

F. W. BUSH

Bozkath boz'kath (בָּצְקַת ***H1304,*** "swollen" or "elevation"). One of the towns in the SHEPHELAH within the territory of the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:39); it was the home of King JOSIAH'S mother, Jedidah (2 Ki. 22:1; KJV, "Boscath"). Its precise location is unknown, but it must have been near LACHISH.

Bozrah boz'ruh (בָּצְרָה ***H1313,*** possibly "enclosure [for sheep]" or "inaccessible place [*i.e.*, fortress]"). (1) An ancient city in the mountains of EDOM, strongly fortified and virtually impregnable. It is probably to be identified with modern Buṣeirah, situated at the head of the Wadi Hamayideh on a rocky isolated bluff surrounded on three sides by steep valleys, approximately 30 mi. N of PETRA (SELA) and 25 mi. SE of the S tip of the DEAD SEA. It was the strongest fortress of the northern half of Edom and as such controlled access to the KING'S HIGHWAY, and hence to the ARABAH and the Red Sea port of ELATH. Probably at times it functioned as the capital of Edom, although this is not certain, TEMAN in the S being of equal importance (see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, rev. ed. [1979], 40; see further *NEAEHL*, 1:264-66). Bozrah is mentioned in Gen. 36:33 and 1 Chr. 1:44 as being the city of JOBAB, one of the early kings of Edom. It is particularly used by the prophets, along with Teman, to describe Edom in oracles of judgment, since both places were so impregnable (Isa. 34:6; 63:1; Jer. 49:13, 22; Amos 1:12). In Mic. 2:12 it is better translated "sheepfold," as in the modern versions.

(2) One of the cities of MOAB against which Jeremiah prophesied (Jer. 48:24). It is usually identified with BEZER.

(3) Modern Buṣra Eski-Sham in GILEAD, about 27 mi. E of RAMOTH GILEAD. Judas MACCABEE defeated Bozrah during his campaign in this area (between 165 and 162 B.C.), killing the males and burning the city (1 Macc. 5:26, 28 [KJV, "Bosora"]; Jos. *Ant*. 12.8.3 §336). This Bozrah is Buṣruna of the TELL EL-AMARNA Letters and later Bostra, capital of Roman ARABIA. It is not to be confused with BOSOR, about 23 mi. NNW of Bozrah.

F. W. BUSH

bracelet. Bracelets of gold, bronze, iron, silver, and even glass were part of the manifold adornment of which the Hebrews, in common with all eastern peoples, were fond. The common term for bracelet in the OT is *ṣāmîd* ***H7543***. ABRAHAM'S servant gave REBEKAH "two gold bracelets for her arms weighing ten shekels" (Gen. 24:22, 30, 47). The same word occurs in an inventory of the Israelites' offering to God (Num. 31:50) and in figurative contexts (Ezek. 16:11; 23:42). Another word that has apparently the same meaning, *šēr* ***H9217***, occurs only once (Isa 3:19). The KJV also uses "bracelet"

to render *)eṣ(ādâ* ***H731*** in 2 Sam. 1:10, referring to SAUL'S arm band probably worn above the elbow by a fighting man; it may have been part of the royal insignia (this term occurs also in Num. 31:50, where it is usually translated "armlet"; cf. *ṣĕ(ādâ H7578*, possibly "ankle chain," in Isa. 3:20). See DRESS VI; JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

braid. The braiding of the HAIR refers to a custom practiced by women of means during the Roman period. It involved the elaborate entwining of the hair into knots or braids. The braids would then be folded about the head in a high ornamental fashion, often including thin threads of gold, pearls, or precious stones of various colors. Two of the NT church leaders speak against this practice because of its identification with the world system of that day (1 Tim. 2:9, *plegma* ***G4427*** [KJV, "broided"]; 1 Pet. 3:3, *emplokē* ***G1862*** [KJV, "plaiting"]). They felt that it brought undue attention to the physical attractions of women, thus causing them to be diverted from their basic calling in life. The NIV also uses the term "braid" with reference to SAMSON'S hair (Jdg. 16:13, 19, *maḥălāpâ* ***H4710***).

G. GIACUMAKIS, JR.

bramble. The brambles mentioned in Scripture are definitely not the types that give bramble jelly today. In Palestine they could be pernicious WEEDS. Some botanists believe that there were probably two brambles involved, *Rubus sanctus* (the normal Palestinian bramble) and *Rubus ulmifolius* (the elm leaf bramble). These are both evergreen shrubs, with prickly stems, which spread by means of underground roots and suckers—like raspberries today. The leaves have woolly, white undersurfaces. The flowers may be pink, white, or purple, and the fruits are black and round. In the Holy Land, such brambles grow well in thickets and near water. Words sometimes translated "bramble" include Hebrew *ḥôaḥ* ***H2560***, probably a THISTLE (Cant. 2:2; Isa. 34:13), and *)āṭād* ***H353***, which may be the buckthorn (Jdg. 9:14-15). The NRSV uses "bramble bush" for Greek *batos* ***G1003*** (Lk. 6:44; NIV, "briers"). (Cf. *FFB*, 184-86.) See FLORA (under *Rosacea*).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

branch. This term refers to any division of a plant except the main stem or root and including the leaves, or a very young tree commonly called sapling (Ezek. 31:5, *prō)râ H6997*), a vine (Nah. 2:2, *zĕmôrâ* ***H2367***), a sprout (Isa. 4:2, *ṣemaḥ* ***H7542***), or even a cutting (Jn. 15:2, *klēma* ***G3097***). A branch has all the tissues of the trunk and in addition supports the leaves that are essential for nutrition of the plant itself.

Although the Scriptures use "branch" in its literal meaning, such as the reference to making booths of branches at the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23:40, *(ānāp* ***H6733***), the frequent usage is to express a spiritual truth. JOSEPH'S fruitfulness was pictured as branches running over a wall (Gen. 49:22, but this text [which uses the term *bat* ***H1426***, lit., "daughter"] is difficult). JOB'S wisdom was sought and valued as dew falling at night upon the branches (Job 29:19, *qāṣîr* ***H7908***). Christ's followers are described as a branch bearing fruit (Jn. 15:2) because of its connection with the VINE, while the unfruitful branch was cut off and burned (15:6).

Many references suggest that the destruction of people or nations (Mal. 4:1) is similar to branches that fall, and desolation is such that only animals and birds are left to dwell in the boughs (Ezek. 31:13). In Pharaoh's righteous days the shadows of the leaves gave shade to beasts and people as did Pharaoh to the nations (31:6). White branches with bark stripped off show that a nation has

plundered God's people and that the day of the Lord is near (Joel 1:7). When "the Branch of the LORD will be beautiful and glorious" (Isa. 4:2) then the Lord has forgiven and restored his people. Putting the branch to the nose was a sign of disrespect to the Lord, leading to his wrath (Ezek. 8:17). The three branches in the butler's vision were the three days before he was restored to favor.

Branches were carved by BEZALEL into the lampstand adorning the TABERNACLE (Exod. 37:18; see CANDLESTICK). HYSSOP, dipped in the blood of the Passover lamb, applied the preserving sign to the lintel and the door posts of the Israelites, so that the destroyer avoided their dwellings. When one was to be cleansed from a corpse, he took hyssop, dipped it in water containing ashes of the burnt sin offering, and sprinkled it upon the tent of the dead person and its furnishings and occupants. Likewise a house in which leprosy had been found, but which did not pass on the disease, was cleansed by hyssop, dipped in the blood of a killed bird and sprinkled seven times, aided by a living bird carrying away some of this blood (Lev. 14:51). When a red heifer was burned for the removal of sin, cedar wood and hyssop branches were included (Num. 19:6).

Jesus reminded his disciples that as a branch puts forth its leaves to promise summer, so certain events will herald his coming. Branches were cut from the trees and spread on the road the first time he entered Jerusalem in triumph (Matt. 21:8, *klados* ***G3080***; see TRIUMPHAL ENTRY). He compared the luxurious growth of the MUSTARD plant, which allows birds to nest in its branches, to the advancing KINGDOM OF GOD (Lk. 13:19). Paul in Rom. 11 compares the Jews to the natural branches and the Gentiles to grafts, and warns against both unbelief and pride, which can cause their severance from the richness of the OLIVE tree, a symbol of God's mercy.

Branches can represent people. In Zechariah the two olive branches are "the two who are anointed to serve the Lord of all the earth" (Zech. 4:14). The most interesting use of "Branch" is to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. He was prophesied as a righteous Branch for David, "a King who will reign wisely" (Jer. 23:5) in the temple which he shall rebuild (Zech. 6:12); "he will do what is just / and right in the land" (Jer. 33:15). Then prosperity will reign, and everyone may guest his neighbor under his own vine and fig tree (Zech. 3:10).

R. L. MIXTER

brasen. See BRASS; SEA, MOLTEN.

brass. An alloy of COPPER and zinc that contains small amounts of other metals, particularly lead and tin. It is more prone to corrosion and tarnishing than BRONZE, but has long been used for ornamental work as well as for various structural purposes. The melting point varies from 1050-850° C, with increase in zinc content progressively lowering the melting point. Like bronze, the atoms are arranged in the same crystalline manner as copper, the atoms forming a face-centered cubic structure. (Cf. J. R. Partington, *A Text-book of Inorganic Chemistry*, 6th ed. [1950], 777-79.)

Brass items dated to c. 1500 B.C. and containing 23% zinc and 10% tin were found at GEZER in Palestine. Like other early brasses, it was probably obtained by heating copper with charcoal and smithsonite (zinc carbonate), a mineral known to occur in the old silver mines of Laurion, Greece. However, the general use of brass postdates much of OT times, so most references to "brass" and "brasen" (rendering *něḥōšet* ***H5733***) in the KJV appear in modern versions as "bronze" (e.g., Gen. 4:22) or "copper" (e.g., Deut. 8:9). Copper and bronze (the latter prob. where casting was involved) were used for a wide range of household goods, weapons, and cultic objects, including the overlaying of the altar, the brazen sea, and the lavers. In the NT, these terms translate Greek *chalkos* ***G5910*** and its derivatives (e.g., Matt. 10:9; Rev. 1:15). See also NEHUSHTAN; SEA, MOLTEN.

D. R. BOWES

bray. This verb (Heb. *nāhaq* ***H5640***) refers to the distinctive call of the donkey (see ASS, DONKEY), HORSE, and MULE. Its two exclusive biblical references occur in JOB. In his distress Job reproaches his friends, declaring there was good reason for his rash words, otherwise he would not have cried out in agony. He illustrates this in a parabolic question, "Does a wild donkey bray when it has grass, / or an ox bellow when it has fodder?" (Job 6:5). Later, he compares the "base and nameless brood" who mocked him (30:8-9) to wild desert asses: "They brayed among the bushes / and huddled in the undergrowth" (v. 7).

G. B. FUNDERBURK

brazen. See BRASS; SEA, MOLTEN.

brazier. A portable metal container to hold burning charcoal (see COAL) for heating a room in cold weather (Heb. *ʾaḥ* ***H279***, Jer. 36:22-23 NRSV; KJV, "hearth"; NIV, "firepot"). Jehoiakim's "winter apartment" was heated with one. The NRSV also uses "brazier" to render Greek *tēganon* in the APOCRYPHA (4 Macc. 8:13; 12:10, 19).

breach. This term, which had a wide sense in Tudor England, is used frequently in the KJV to render several Hebrew terms. Modern versions use it primarily to translate the common verb *paras* ***H7287***, "to make a breach, break into, break out, spread out," and its cognate noun *pereṣ* ***H7288***, "breach, rupture, gap" (e.g., Gen. 38:29; Jdg. 21:15; Ps. 106:23). Other relevant terms include the verb *bāqaʿ* ***H1324***, "to split, force breach" (e.g., Ezek. 26:10), and the noun *bedeq* ***H981***, "crack, fissure" (e.g., 2 Ki. 12:5; NIV, "damage").

bread. A common FOOD product made of ground grain, mixed with liquid, kneaded, and baked, and used as an important source of nourishment.

I. Bread as ordinary daily food. Ancient peoples had a simple diet including the important element of bread. The early Hebrews counted it along with WATER as vital for daily existence (Gen. 21:14; Num. 21:5; Deut. 8:3; 1 Ki. 13:8), a food that was normally eaten at home (Gen. 18:6; Jdg. 19:5) or taken on a journey (Josh. 9:5, 12). Without it the Israelite felt his life was in danger (Exod. 16:3). Bread was counted as the staff of LIFE (*maṭṭeh* ***H4751***, Lev. 26:26; Ps. 105:16; Ezek. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13; cf. Isa. 3:1). The NT emphasis is placed on the necessity of bread for the daily life, as seen in the ministry of Jesus when he quoted a portion of Deut. 8:3 to Satan (Matt. 4:4) and later showed concern for the food needs of the 5,000 (Matt. 14:16-21; Jn. 6:5-14) and of the 4,000 (Matt. 15:33-38).

The reference in the LORD'S PRAYER to bread as *epiousios* ***G2157*** (Matt. 6:11) has produced several interpretations, since the derivation of the term cannot be determined with exactness (cf. *TDNT*, 2:590-99). The traditional understanding is adopted by the NIV, "Give us today our daily bread." Another interpretation is reflected in the marginal reading of the NRSV, "Give us this day our bread for tomorrow," which some scholars understand as an eschatological reference (thus parallel to "your kingdom come," v. 10). Still others interpret it to mean, "the bread we need." The passage certainly stresses human dependence on God's supply (cf. also the MANNA supplied in the wilderness,

Exod. 16:13-36).

The amount of bread thought to be needed as an adequate daily supply is understood to include at least three loaves for a man, his family, and a guest, according to one of Jesus' parables (Lk. 11:5-8). Since the head of the house in this story made request of his friend at midnight, the three loaves desired were probably for only one meal, since the man could purchase more on the next day. The prisoner in OT times, at least in time of distress, received one loaf of bread daily (Jer. 37:21). Sometimes people were given just a piece or morsel of bread (*pat* ***H7326***, 1 Sam. 2:36; 1 Ki. 17:11; Prov. 28:21), although such an expression could be used as a figure for a satisfying meal (Gen. 18:5; Jdg. 19:5).

II. The nature of bread and its production. In ancient times this grain product could be spoken of as "bread" (Heb. *leḥem* ***H4312***; Gk. *artos* ***G788***), "loaf" (*kikkār* ***H3971***, 1 Sam. 2:36; NIV, "crust"), and "cake" (*ḥallâ* ***H2705***, Exod. 29:23). The ingredients included the flour of WHEAT (Exod. 29:2), of BARLEY (Jdg. 7:13; 2 Ki. 4:42; Jn. 6:9, 13), and at times was a mixture of "wheat and barley, beans and lentils, millet and spelt" (Ezek. 4:9). Bread could be leavened (Lk. 13:21), but the LEAVEN or yeast was forbidden for the bread of the feast following the PASSOVER (Exod. 12:8, 15; Matt. 26:17; Acts 12:3; 1 Cor. 5:7-8) and for the cereal offerings connected with the TABERNACLE (Exod. 29:2; Lev. 2:4, 5; cf. GIDEON'S sacrifice of unleavened cakes, Jdg. 6:19). LOT served unleavened bread to the two angels who visited him (Gen. 19:3).

The flour made from grain could be a coarse kind ("crushed heads of new grain," Lev. 2:14) produced by a mortar and pestle, or that of a finer quality (Lev. 2:2; 6:15). ABRAHAM and SARAH gave to their honored guests cakes of bread made of fine flour (Gen. 18:6), which was used also for the bread of King SOLOMON'S court (1 Ki. 4:22). The flour was not only prepared with the use of the mortar and pestle, but also was produced by mills (Num. 11:8; cf. *ANEP*, no. 149).

The process of making the bread included taking the measures of meal, getting it ground, mixing it with liquid, and then kneading the dough. For this purpose the Israelites at the time of the exodus used "kneading bowls" (Exod. 8:3; 12:34), probably something like the old Egyptian kneading trough (*ANEP*, no. 152). It was in the stage of making the dough that, if used, leaven was added (12:34), and the mixed batch was set aside until the dough was completely leavened (Matt. 13:33; Lk. 13:21).

The next step in the process consisted of baking the dough (as is evidenced in Lev. 26:26; Isa. 44:15, 19), and sometimes oil was added (Num. 11:8). In Bible times there were three main methods used in baking bread. The first consisted in putting the dough on rocks previously heated (1 Ki. 19:6) with coals (Isa. 44:19) covered with ashes. The second method involved the use of a griddle or flat plate, as in the baking of the cereal offering (Lev. 2:5; 6:21; 7:9), which offering could also be baked in a pan or saucepan (Lev. 2:7; 7:9). The griddle was probably the object upon which "flat cakes" (*ḥăbittîm* ***H2503***) for the service were made (1 Chr. 9:31; NIV, "offering bread"). Clay griddles of the Bronze and Iron I ages have been found at GEZER (R. A. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer II* [1912], 42-44; cf. also the "iron pan" of Ezek. 4:3). The third way of baking was in an OVEN, which in the OT was a portable stove or firepot, a large earthenware or pottery jar heated by burning twigs and sticks (1 Ki. 17:12), stubble (Mal. 4:1), and grass (Matt. 6:30) within. On the hot sides the dough could then be baked. The oven could also take the shape of an inverted jar in which fire had been placed the night previous to the baking. On the following day, when the rocks within were hot, the dough was placed on them for baking (cf. Hos. 7:6).

One of the common shapes of ancient biblical loaves of bread was round, as indicated by such a word as *ʿugâ* ***H6314***, meaning "disc" or "cake of bread" (Gen. 18:6). A barley loaf of round bread

(*ṣĕlûl* ***H7501***, "round loaf") tumbled or rolled into the camp of the Midianites (Jdg. 7:13; *kikkār* ***H3971*** also indicated a "round loaf," Jdg. 8:5; 1 Sam. 2:36; 10:3). Some cakes or loaves were called *lĕbibâ* ***H4223*** (cf. *lēb* ***H4213***, "heart"), probably because they were somewhat heart-shaped (or generally round) in form (2 Sam. 13:6; NIV, "special bread"). Many loaves and cakes were relatively flat, as would be especially true of those baked on a griddle (Lev. 2:5) or in a pan (2:7). (Cf. the baking tray from Tell ed-Duweir, *ANEP*, no. 150.) Some cakes or loaves were apparently perforated at some stage in the baking process to give them a ring shape (*ḥallâ* ***H2705,*** from *ḥālal* ***H2726***, "to pierce"; cf. Lev. 24:5; 2 Sam. 6:19). It is observed that some types of modern-day Arab bread in the Palestine region are round, about eight to ten inches in diameter and flat, and are baked in an ash-covered oven on hot rocks, or in a more modern large oven into which the bread dough is placed by means of long, flat, wooden paddles.

Persons responsible for the making of bread included the wife of the family (SARAH, Gen. 18:6) and daughters in a family (TAMAR in DAVID'S family, 2 Sam. 13:8). In the monarchy, women, in general, were called to serve as bakers to supply bread for the king's court and probably also for those in his military and civil service (1 Sam. 8:13). Various members of the family could be involved in the baking process: "The children gather wood, the fathers light the fire, and the women knead the dough and make cakes of bread" (Jer. 7:18). Of course, women generally would be involved in breadmaking and cooking (cf. 1 Sam. 28:24). In ancient life a man could be the baker (Gen. 40:16-17), a practice also attested in the Egyptian archaeological records (*ANEP*, nos. 152-54; cf. G. A. F. Knight, *Nile and Jordan* [1921], 109). It has been suggested that the baker alluded to in an illustration given in Hos. 7:4 might have been a professional one.

Bread normally was made at home (Gen. 18:6; 1 Ki. 17:10-16), but at least in later times there was some sort of commercial or royal bakery, for daily bread supplied to Jeremiah came "from the street of the bakers" in Jerusalem (Jer. 37:21). This bakery area might possibly have been in the same general region that later in the time of NEHEMIAH was called the Tower of the OVENS (Neh. 3:11). In the time of the NT, the purchase of large quantities of bread could be contemplated. The disciples argued that it would have taken 200 days' wages to feed 5,000 people (Mk. 6:37; Jn. 6:7; a denarius was the usual day's wage for a laborer). (See P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], 65-67.)

III. The use of bread in ancient society. Bread was an important part of the daily diet of the family, which included the man, wife, children (Lk. 11:5-7), and other members of the household, with any visitors who might happen by (Gen. 18:1-6). A man's field workers were naturally to be provided for (Ruth 2:14), and soldiers on military campaign were provided with bread and other sustenance, sometimes by the family of the ones in military service (1 Sam. 16:20). ABRAHAM, on an independent military campaign, was furnished with bread and wine by MELCHIZEDEK, the king of Salem (Gen. 14:18). Those on a journey took adequate provisions of bread and other food (Gen. 21:14; 45:23; Jdg. 19:19), but on a special preaching mission Jesus expected the twelve disciples to receive bread from those to whom they ministered (Matt. 10:10; Mk. 6:8; Lk. 9:3), as was also to be the case in the preaching mission of the seventy (or seventy-two, Lk. 10:1-9). Those in need, including the multitudes (Jn. 6:9, 13) and the religious prophet and his associates (2 Ki. 4:42-43), received supplies of bread. Sometimes a wilderness preacher, such as JOHN THE BAPTIST, would not share in a diet of bread (Lk. 7:33), but eat raw the simple food found in a desert area (cf. Mk. 1:6).

It was customary in the ancient home for the father of the household to open a meal by taking a loaf of bread, giving thanks, breaking it, and distributing it to the members present (cf. Str-B,

4:620ff.). Evidences of this practice can be seen in the service of the LORD'S SUPPER, when "Jesus took bread, gave thanks and broke it, and gave it to his disciples" (Matt. 26:26; cf. 1 Cor. 11:23-24).This pattern was followed when Jesus fed the 5,000 (Jn. 6:11).

Bread also was used in religious WORSHIP. In the tabernacle ceremonies there were presented, besides the animal sacrifices, instructions for the making of grain offerings in the form of loaves of bread or cakes baked in an oven, or on a griddle or in a pan (Lev. 2:4-10, 14-16). See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS. The ring-shaped bread (*ḥallâ*) was used for the twelve cakes or loaves placed on the table of the holy place (Lev. 24:5 – 6; cf. Exod. 40:23; 2 Chr. 4:19; Matt. 12:4; Heb. 9:2; et al.). See SHOWBREAD. This same type of bread was used in fellowship offerings (Lev. 7:12; Num. 6:15; cf. 2 Sam. 6:18, 19), and in an offering of firstfruits (Num. 15:17-20). Observing the Passover Feast, Jesus and his disciples ate a piece of bread (*psōmion G6040*, Jn. 13:26-30), and in the LORD'S SUPPER the bread was a prominent part of the memorial feast (Matt. 26:26 and parallels; 1 Cor. 11:23-24).

IV. Bread used as a general term for food. Since bread was a most important staple in the diet of the ancients, it was used as a figure of speech for food in general. In the OT the word *bread* is employed to indicate food for animals (Prov. 6:8), for man (Jdg. 13:16, where a kid is in mind, v. 15; 1 Sam. 14:24-28, referring to honey), and for God in the sense of sacrifices belonging to him (Lev. 21:6; Mal. 1:7). In the NT *artos* is used to mean food in the story of the prodigal son (Lk. 15:17; cf. also Mk. 3:20; Lk. 14:1; 2 Thess. 3:8).

V. The term bread used in a figurative sense . Figuratively the Bible uses the concept of bread to indicate a living made by acts of wickedness (Prov. 4:17); an unearned living (31:27); a figure for an enemy who can be consumed (Num. 14:9); good deeds done for the needy (Eccl. 11:1); a figure for being a guest in a person's house (Jn. 13:18; Ps. 41:9); and as a symbol of the spiritual blessings in salvation (Lk. 14:15). Christ speaks of himself as "the bread of life" (Jn. 6:35) and invites people to eat this bread, his flesh (Jn. 6:51-55), this passage being interpreted by some as referring to the LORD'S SUPPER. Rather, since Jesus had not died when making these statements, and in the light of succeeding remarks about the disciples' committing themselves in faith to Christ (Jn. 6:66-69), eating his flesh is to be interpreted as meaning complete spiritual appropriation of Christ by faith for salvation.

W. H. MARE

bread of the Presence. See SHOWBREAD.

breakfast. In one of his appearances after the RESURRECTION, Jesus at dawn stood on the shore of the Sea of Galilee and called his disciples to "have breakfast" (*aristaō* ***G753***, Jn. 21:12; see also v. 15). The Greek verb (from *ariston* ***G756***, "morning meal," then "luncheon") meant originally "to take the first meal of the day," but was later generalized and could mean simply, "to eat, dine" (Lk. 11:37).

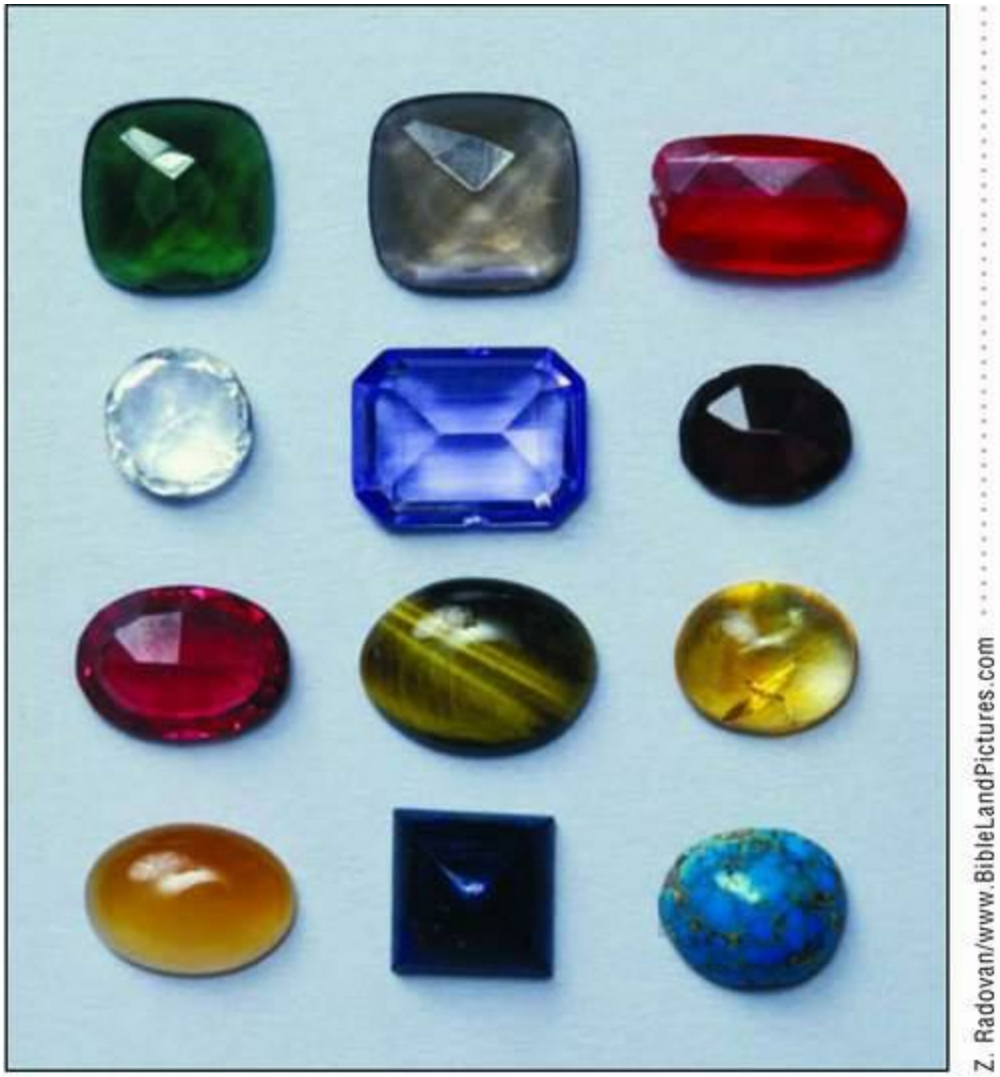
breast. This term may refer to the entire anterior aspect of the chest—the portion of the body between the neck and abdomen. As such it has both resilience and strength and gives indispensable protection to the vital organs of heart and lungs, which lie directly back of it. Frequently, however, *breast* refers specifically to the mammae (paps). In addition, it may be used figuratively to refer to the seat of thoughts, feelings, affection, courage, and spirit.

The breast of animals (Heb. *ḥāzeh* ***H2601***) is mentioned frequently in Levitical laws pertaining

to SACRIFICES (e.g., Lev. 7:31). Beating the breast is a sign of compunction or MOURNING (Lk. 18:13; Gk. *stēthos* ***G5111***). In Ezek. 23:34, the Lord announces judgment to Oholibah (a symbolic woman representing Jerusalem) by telling her, "you will…tear your breasts" (Heb. *šad* ***H8716***). Sexual pleasure is the emphasis in several passages, such as Prov. 5:19, "May her breasts satisfy you always" (here the Heb. is *dad* ***H1843***). Jesus predicted a time of suffering when people would bless "the breasts that never nursed" (Lk. 23:29; Gk. *mastos G3466*). Complete victory over Israel's enemies is promised in the prophecy, "You will drink the milk of nations / and be nursed at royal breasts" (Isa. 60:16; Heb. *šōd* ***H8718***).

R. H. POUSMA

breastpiece. KJV, "breastplate."This garment (Heb. *ḥōšen* ***H3136***, from a root possibly meaning "beauty, excellence") was an elaborately decorated square of linen worn on the breast as part of the robes of Israel's high priest (Exod. 28:15-30; 39:8-21; Lev. 8:8). See PRIESTS AND LEVITES. A piece of material of gold,



The breastplate worn by the priest during the service in the temple at high holidays was made of precious stones, each symbolizing one of the tribes of Israel.

blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen was folded double into a square of 9 x 9 inches. It was fastened from the top to the shoulder of the EPHOD by gold cords, and by a blue lace from the lower corners to gold rings on the ephod. On the front were four rows, each of three precious stones, and each stone inscribed with the name of one of the twelve tribes. Three times it is referred to as the "breastpiece of judgment" (Exod. 28:15, 29-30; NIV, "breastpiece for making decisions"). This term apparently refers to the oracular function of the URIM AND THUMMIM, commonly thought to have been objects held in the fold. JOSEPHUS (*Ant*. 3.8.9) ascribed the oracular function to the twelve stones. According to some scholars, the fact that the various descriptions of the breastpiece include either the twelve stones or the Urim and Thummim, but never both together, indicates their identity (cf. J. H. Hertz, *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs* 2 [1930]: 331-36).

G. GOLDSWORTHY

breastplate. See ARMOR, ARMS IV.B.; BREASTPIECE.

breath. The air passing in and out of the lungs in respiration. Breath is the most important ingredient of physical LIFE. A person can live for thirty days without food, but only a few minutes without breathing. Breathing exchanges life-sustaining oxygen for deadly carbon monoxide. Because human beings owe their breath to God (Gen. 2:7, *něšāmâ* ***H5972***; Job 27:3, *rûaḥ* ***H5972***), the concept has strong theological associations. God will restore his people, who are like dry bones, when he breathes his Spirit (again *rûaḥ*, LXX *pneuma* ***G4460***), and thus life, into them (Ezek. 37:1-14). After his resurrection, Jesus breathed (*emphysaō* ***G1874***, as in the LXX of Gen. 2:7) on his disciples, signifying their recep tion of the HOLY SPIRIT (*pneuma*, Jn. 20:22). Moreover, the Scriptures are described as being "breathed out" by God (*theopneustos* **G2535**, 2 Tim. 3:16; see INSPIRATION).

R. H. POUSMA

breeches. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *miknās* ***H4829*** (always in the dual form), a term referring to the "undergarments" of the PRIESTS. Because priests were called to officiate at the high ALTAR above the eyes of the watching multitude, they wore a cloth covering their hips and thighs. It was made of fine linen, like the rest of their garments (Exod. 28:42; 39:28; Lev. 6:10; 16:4; Ezek. 44:18). There is no reason to suppose that this covering had shaped trouser legs like a pair of shorts. Sewn "breeches," as distinct from this type of double loincloth, were the invention of riding nations, the Scythians and the Persians. The Romans later called the Gauls "trousered" (*Galli bracati*).

The 16th-cent. Geneva Bible, following Wycliffe's translation, rendered Gen. 3:7 as follows: "they sewed figleaves together, and made themselves breeches"—hence the nickname for this version, "the Breeches Bible." The rendering is perhaps no more quaint than Moffatt's "girdles." It was obviously a loincloth, as the priest's undergarment itself seems to have been.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

brethren. See BROTHER; BROTHERS OF THE LORD.

bribery. Anything given to induce a person to do something illegal or wrong, or against his or her wishes. The taking of bribes is mentioned often in the OT (usually Heb. *šoḥad* ***H8816***, a few times *kōper* ***H4111***). Bribery was used to condemn the innocent (Ps. 15:5; Isa. 5:23; Ezek. 22:12), to acquit

the guilty (Isa. 5:23), to slay the innocent (Deut. 27:25). The law of Moses prohibited it (Exod. 23:8; Deut. 16:19), and those who take a bribe are described as cursed (Deut. 27:25). The prophets denounced it (Isa. 1:23; Amos 5:12; Mic. 3:11; 7:3). Rulers (Exod. 18:21; Isa. 1:23; Ezek. 22:12; Mic. 3:11; 7:3) and judges (2 Chr. 19:7) were especially given to it. It is a vice that corrupts the mind (Eccl. 7:7). The God of Israel is not partial and does not take a bribe (Deut. 10:17). When the Israelites came to SAMUEL for a king he asked, "From whose hand have I accepted a bribe to make me shut my eyes?" (1 Sam. 12:3); his sons, however, took bribes and perverted justice (8:3). The person who is approved by God does not take bribes (Ps. 15:5; Prov. 15:27; Isa. 33:15), whereas "The wicked accept bribes in secret" (Prov. 17:23 TNIV; cf. Ps. 26:10). The OT fixes no specific penalty for the offense.

H. A. HANKE

brick. A sun-dried or baked building material, common in the FERTILE CRESCENT (Heb. *lĕbēnâ* ***H4246***; cf. Akk. *libittu*; Ugar. *lbnt*). Indications are that mud bricks were invented for the regions of MESOPOTAMIA c. 3500-3000 B.C. in the mountainous areas of what became PERSIA in a time before the descent to the level country of the pre-Ubaid peoples. It became the universal medium of the plains peoples of the Mesopotamian valley because stone was too far away in the mountains and clay was available everywhere. In the following Early Dynastic period (3000-2340 B.C.) the mold-formed plano-convex brick made its appearance, with some preserved samples showing the fingerprints of the makers. In the Kassite period (1600-1100 B.C.) appear bricks with molded figures in the flat form. But planoconvex mud brick had already appeared in Palestine c. 7000 B.C. in Pre-Pottery Neolithic A Jericho (cf. K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, 1 [1960], ch. 2).

Glazing was known from the 4th millennium in the ANE, but best in EGYPT. Due to the expulsion of the HYKSOS from Egypt, the knowledge of glazing technique spread as far as Crete, Syria, and Assyria (which latter applied the technique to brick c. 1350-1000 B.C. for war scenes). In the following period (1000-612 B.C.) baked bricks appear in Sargon's temple of Nabu at Khorsabad, set in BITUMEN. When NEBUCHADNEZZAR rebuilt BABYLON, baked bricks were profusely used, and glazed brick with figures in the round appeared uniquely here, as in the lion figures of the famous Ishtar Gate. In the HITTITE areas building walls were formed with stone base courses composed of shaped stone, and wainscoted courses with mud brick walls above, reinforced with longitudinal wood beams.

The purpose of the wood beams was first for strength, and then to hold the wall in line and unwarped as the brickwork dried out. Plastering in this case was delayed as much as six months. This type of construction was used in Jerusalem in Solomon's TEMPLE (1 Ki. 6:36; 7:12). It appears at MEGIDDO in the time of SOLOMON and AHAB (P. L. Guy, *New Light from Armageddon* [1931], 34-35). In SYRIA the same type of construction is to be found, but frequently this part of the wall was covered with plaster, as in the palace of Niqmepa at ALALAKH.

Mud bricks were used extensively in Palestine on rough stones as foundation courses. Middle Bronze Age walls at Tell Beit Mirsim, as well as Middle and Late Bronze and Hellenistic walls at SHECHEM, employed mud brick. Neolithic levels at JERICHO exhibit what K. Kenyon calls "hogback" bricks and molded bricks occur in the Early Bronze period there.

Brickmaking is commonly enough depicted on the walls of Egyptian monuments, showing the mining, mixing, and molding processes that are

Mud bricks on stone foundation courses at the Beersheba excavation.

almost universal for the Fertile Crescent areas (D. Wiseman, *Illustrations from Biblical Archaeology* [1959], 42-45; figs. 36-38). Frequently in both Egypt and Mesopotamia the bricks bear the name of the king or of their building. Nebuchadnezzar used five different types (R. Koldewey, *Excavations in Babylon* [1914], 75-82). The earliest reference to the use of burnt brick occurs in Gen. 11:3, far earlier than any current evidence indicates, thus showing the high level of achievement reached by the ANTEDILUVIANS.

The brick-making labors of the Israelites in Egypt reflect accurately what is found on the monuments there. Bricks made with straw have proved to be stronger than those lacking straw, due to the chemicals released by the straw as it decomposes in the clay. These chemicals (similar to glutamic or gallotanic acid) made the clay more plastic and homogenous and thus of finer quality, giving greater strength (E. G. Acheson, *Transactions of the American Ceramic Society* 6 [1904]: 31). The problem confronting the Israelites when they were denied straw, was that they had to find the straw themselves *and* deliver the same quota of bricks as always. The Egyptians had come to know and appreciate the addition of the straw and were not about to downgrade the product by its omission. The presence at PITHOM of bricks in the upper courses without straw denotes construction necessity and scarcity of straw in the area. (Cf. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Orient* [1955]; A. Badawy, *Architecture of Egypt and the Near East* [1966].) See also ARCHITECTURE.

H. G. STIGERS

brickkiln. Also "brick-kiln." This English term is used in the KJV and some other Bible versions three times, as a questionable rendering of the Hebrew noun *malbēn* ***H4861*** (2 Sam. 12:31; Jer. 43:9; Nah. 3:14; the NIV translates these occurrences respectively as "brickmaking," "brick pavement," and "brickwork"). The firing of bricks in a kiln was not commonly practiced among ancient Jews. Few burnt bricks have been found in Palestine, since the houses were made of mud brick. There was, moreover, no distinction between kilns used to fire bricks and other types of furnaces.

bride, bride-chamber, bridegroom. See MARRIAGE.

bride of Christ. See CHURCH II.G.

brier. This English term is used in Bible versions to render a number of Hebrew words, especially *šāmîr H9031*, which occurs often in Isaiah (e.g., Isa. 5:6; 7:23-25). See also BRAMBLE.

Excavated remains of Jerusalem's Broad Wall. (View to the NE.)

brigandine. This English term is used by the KJV twice to render Hebrew *siryôn* ***H6246***, "coat of mail, scale armor" (Jer. 46:4; 51:3). See ARMOR.

brimstone. This English term, found often in the KJV, was formerly the common vernacular name for sulfur (Heb. *goprît* ***H1730***, Gen. 19:24 et al.; Gk. *theion* ***G2520***, Rev. 9:17 et al.), but it is now chiefly used when referring to its flammable character. Sulfur is a nonmetallic element with a yellow color and commonly found as well-formed crystals. It is soft, melts at 113° C, and burns with a blue flame with the formation of noxious, suffocating sulfur dioxide gas. There are three main geological environments: (1) in the cap rock of salt domes, such as the Gulf Coast region of the United States; (2) in sedimentary beds, as in S central Sicily; and (3) in regions of volcanic activity, for example, Japan, where it is found in craters and crevices of extinct volcanoes, having been deposited by gasses of volcanic origin in the fumarolic stage of decadent vulcanism. Such a volcanic environment existed in recent geological times near Lake Tiberias, and in Syria, where Mount Hebron was a prominent volcano and a thick pile of plateau basalt lavas forms the Hauran Plain.

Radiocarbon analysis of carbonized organic matter indicates that one of the youngest basalt flows is only 4,000 years old; therefore, it must have occurred during human occupation of the region. This existence of volcanic phenomena probably led to the passing down of ideas such as "the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone" (Rev. 21:8 KJV; NIV, "the fiery lake of burning sulfur") and "like a stream of brimstone" (Isa. 30:33 KJV). The term may have been used loosely in connection with ideas based on explosive volcanic phenomena (cf. Ps. 11:6 NIV, "On the wicked he will rain / fiery coals and burning sulfur"). It may also have been used in relation to other catastrophic events, such as landslips and earthquakes; this may explain the background of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19:24).

Broad Wall. A portion of the walls of Jerusalem in times of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:8; 12:38). It was apparently in the NW section of the city, between the Tower of the OVENS and the EPHRAIM GATE. In the course of exacavations during the 1970s, an impressive 8th-cent. B.C. wall (about 210 ft. long and 23 ft. thick) was discovered in what is now the Jewish Quarter (see N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* [1983], 46-54; for a possible reconstruction, see M. Ben-Dov, *Historical Atlas of Jerusalem* [2002], 65). It is very likely the wall was built first by HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 32:5). See also JERUSALEM II.C.3; II.D.2.

broidered. See EMBROIDERY.

bronze. An alloy formed chiefly or wholly of COPPER and TIN in variable proportions (Heb. *něḥōšet* ***H5733;*** Gk. *chalkos* ***G5910*** and derivatives). See also BRASS; METALS. It is harder and less malleable than copper. It is also more suited for casting than copper because of its greater fusibility. The greater the proportion of tin, the lower the melting point: with 98-90% copper the melting point is c. 1080-1005° C; with 80-70% copper, c. 800-750° C; and with 60% copper, c. 630° C. The arrangement of the atoms in bronze is like that in copper, with the atoms lying on the points of a face-centered cubic lattice. This structure is made up of repeated cubic units, each unit having atoms at the corners of a cube and at the centers of the six faces of each cube. The relative proportions of copper and tin atoms control the physical properties of the particular type of bronze. (Cf. J. R. Partington, *A Textbook of Inorganic Chemistry*, 6th ed. [1950], 718, 722.)

As bronze is relatively easy to fabricate, has a pleasant brownish color, and resists corrosion, this alloy has been used from prehistoric times for ornaments, statues, coinage, and utilitarian articles. The use of copper (from c. 6000-5000 B.C.) and then of bronze (from c. 3700 B.C.) is among man's early metallurgical achievements. The term "Bronze Age" denotes a cultural stage during which tools and weapons were fabricated from bronze (and copper) rather than from stone, bone, and wood, as had been the case previously (iron was introduced subsequently).

The discovery of the relationship of copper-bearing rock to the metallic metal, which could be produced by the action of fire and charcoal, took place c. 4500 B.C.; copper workings in northern Iraq, Persia, and Turkestan came into existence before 4000. The subsequent discovery that the addition of tin hardened the metal probably resulted from the accidental use of campfire stones composed of ores of copper and of tin, as natural alloys of copper and tin are very rare. Bronze was produced by the ancient Sumerian civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, for example, at Ur c. 3500. Animal-drawn plows and chariots with bronze parts were in use in Iraq before 3000. From there the use of bronze spread to Persia, and about 2000 bronze was first used in Egypt.

The molten metal was made by smelting the ores with charcoal, using a forced draught created by bellows or by blowing with the lungs. The draught was through a nonflammable clay nozzle, with the molten metal collected in a crucible of the same substance. The extracted metal was then cast into ingots or cakes, or poured directly into molds. The earliest castings were in sand, but later clay and stone were used, with instruments like knives and axes cast in shallow recesses in stone or clay.

Copper was being mined on the Sinai Peninsula before the discovery of bronze and about 3000 B.C. CYPRUS was a major producer. However, the tin deposits discovered in the 3rd millennium B.C. were small and not numerous. Only late in this millennium were larger deposits located. The tin deposits of Cornwall, England, were much used in the 2nd millennium B.C., and possibly even

earlier, with the Phoenicians trading in tin from Cornwall and from Spain. They probably played an important role in spreading the early bronze culture. Much of the bronze of the middle part of the 2nd millennium and later was a combination of tin from W Europe and copper from the E Mediterranean areas and the Middle E. From the end of the 2nd millennium, iron progressively replaced bronze, at least in its more utilitarian uses, with the Bronze Age coming to an end and the Iron Age beginning. (See now L. Hakulin, *Bronzeworking on Late Minoan Crete: A Diachronic Study* [2004].)

The use of bronze in much of OT times was widespread with a great array of bronze objects in the TEMPLE of Solomon (1 Ki. 7:1-51), not the least being a cast bronze LAVER set in position on the back of twelve bulls and situated in the temple courtyard. This large object is thought to have weighed about thirty tons and to have been made by Phoenician craftsmen. Bronze was used for ARMOR (1 Sam. 17:5), for fetters (Jdg. 16:21), for various types of hollow receptacles (2 Ki. 25:14; Ezek. 27:13), in the construction of buildings, particularly doors (cf. Ps. 107:16), as well as for ornaments, with the skill of craftsmen in bronze being highly regarded (1 Ki. 7:14). Some idols were made of bronze (Dan. 5:4), the beauty of the polished material recognized (Dan. 10:6), and its hardness and strength used as a figure of speech (Lev. 26:19; Deut. 28:23). Note that the KJV uses the term "brass" rather than "bronze"; brass, however, was introduced much later than bronze, and there is little evidence of its use in biblical times. See also NEHUSHTAN; SEA, MOLTEN.

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bronze sea, molten sea. See SEA, MOLTEN.

bronze serpent. See NEHUSHTAN.

brooch. This English term is used in modern versions only once (Exod. 35:22) as a rendering of a Hebrew word that is elsewhere translated "hook" (ḥāḥ ***H2626***). The brooch was an ornamental clasp, with a tongue and catch, which served functionally as a safety pin. The brooches mentioned in this passage were of gold, but bronze and iron were widely used for the common fibula. It was introduced into Palestine in the 10th cent. B.C., succeeding the toggle pin. The brooch was worn by both sexes to fasten garments, appeared in a variety of ornamented designs, and had both spring and hinge type pins. See DRESS VI; JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

M. H. HEICKSEN

brook. The usual Hebrew word for "brook" is *naḥal* ***H5707***, which occurs c. 120 times (to be distinguished from the similar-sounding term for "river," *nāhār H5643*). It is often rendered "valley," and this English term seems best in view of the places so named. Hence, there is the Valley of GERAR (Gen. 26:17), the Valley of ESHCOL (Num. 13:23), the ZERED Valley (21:12), and the Valley of SOREK (Jdg. 16:4). The more famous brooks of the Bible are the ARNON (Deut. 2:24), the JABBOK (2:37), the "river" of Egypt (Josh. 15:47; see EGYPT, RIVER OF), the KISHON (Jdg. 4:7, 13), the KERITH (1 Ki. 17:5), and the BESOR (1 Sam. 30:9-10, 21). In some of these passages, the NIV renders the Hebrew term with "gorge," "ravine," etc. (The word "brook" is also used to translate the obscure phrase *mîkal hammāyim*, which occurs only in 2 Sam. 17:20.)

Today some of these brooks are called *wadis* in Arabic. The Arnon is Wadi Mojib, Kerith may be Wadi Yabis, Besor is Wadi Ghazzeh, and the "river" of Egypt is perhaps the Wadi el-ʿArish, although some think it is the NILE. The word *wadi* is more accurate, since some brooks are nothing more than dry washes except during flood season. This feature is illustrated well in 2 Ki. 3:16-17.

The Spanish *arroyo* describes the same phenomenon in the SW United States. The fact that the valley between JERUSALEM and the MOUNT OF OLIVES is called the Brook KIDRON is ample evidence that it may refer to a gully in which water rarely or never runs. Even though water is only occasionally present in some brooks, the dry bed is often the best place to dig for water or to plant. See also RIVER; VALLEY.

R. L. ALDEN

Brook of Egypt. See EGYPT, BROOK OF.

Brook of the Arabah. See ARABAH, BROOK OF THE.

broom (tree). A desert shrub identified with the Arab *ratham (Retama raetam*), which grows in abundance in S Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula. Strictly speaking, it is not a JUNIPER tree, though sometimes so called (cf. KJV), but is a member of the pea family. It has long slender branches, small leaves, and showy yellow blossoms, and provides only scant shade. Its sparse shade, however, is welcome to the weary traveler, as in the case of ELIJAH, who "came to a broom tree" (*rōtem* ***H8413***) and fell asleep under it (1 Ki. 19:4-5). Its forage is of low grade, eaten by animals only in dire need. Its stock and roots are good fuel and provide charcoal when burned (Job 30:4, where the Hebrew word rendered "their food" in NIV could be translated "to warm themselves," as in NRSV). The psalmist spoke of the "burning coals of the broom tree" (Ps. 120:4). (Cf. *FFB*, 100-101.) See also FLORA (under *Leguminosae*).

G. B. FUNDERBURK

broth. Water in which meat, and sometimes vegetables, has been boiled; thin, watery soup. Along with other food, GIDEON served the angel broth (*mārāq* ***H5348***, Jdg. 6:19-20); and Yahweh told Israel that among their sins was the eating of "broth of unclean meat" (Isa. 65:4).

brother. A male relative born of the same parents as (or sharing one parent with) another person. The Hebrew term so translated is *)āḥ* ***H278***, which is common to most Semitic languages. This word appears over 300 times in the OT and in every book except five. It represents the second rank of intimate relationships in the system of Semitic social relations (see FAMILY). The term is used first and foremost for male siblings: sons of the same parents (e.g., Gen. 4:8), and also of one father but different mothers (37:4). In an extended sense it is also used of cousins under certain conditions of consanguinity (16:12), of other close blood relations (9:25), and of companions by choice. In ANE texts such as the TELL EL-AMARNA and MARI letters, family designations are used to indicate the superior or inferior status of the person addressed, thus "father" to a greater, "brother" to an equal, and "son" to an inferior, without any connotation of blood relationship (cf. Gen. 29:4; Num. 20:14; Jer. 22:18; et al.). The word appears also as a compound or component of names (e.g., AHAB, "father's brother"; AHIJAH, "my brother is Yahweh").

In the NT, the common Greek word for "brother," *adelphos G81*, appears over 100 times. Although it is often used in a biological sense (e.g., Matt. 1:2; 4:18), a distinctive meaning proceeds from Jesus' statement, "For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother" (Matt. 12:50). In the epistles it is a straightforward substitute for fellow Christians (Eph. 6:2 et al.). The responsibilities for compassion and respect within the Christian community are

consistently described in terms of loving one's "brother" (1 Jn. 2:10 et al.).

W. WHITE, JR.

brotherly love. See LOVE IV.

brothers of Jesus. Four relatives of JESUS CHRIST usually found in the Gospels in the company of Mary his mother; their names are JAMES, JOSES or JOSEPH, SIMON, and JUDAS (Matt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3). It is disputed whether they should be identified as uterine brothers, stepbrothers, or cousins of Jesus. See also MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.

I. Exegetical data and the problems they present. The best way to understand the historical development of this complex subject is to look at some of the biblical data on which the various theories and comments are based, and then to address some of the questions that arose in the early Christian centuries as the church fathers reflected on the various NT passages.

A. Passages containing the word "brother"

(1) Matt. 12:46-50; Mk. 3:31-35; cf. Lk. 8:19-21. As Jesus is teaching, "his mother and his brothers" arrive and send someone to tell him that they have come. Jesus tells his hearers, "Whoever does God's will is my brother and sister and mother" (Mk. 3:35). Who are the "brothers" who arrive with Jesus' mother? Did Jesus have brothers in the usual sense of the term? How many? If they were not blood brothers, what other possible relationship could they have to Jesus? (This is the first reference to Jesus' brothers in the Synoptic Gospels.)

(2) Matt. 13:53-58; Mk. 6:1-6. People are amazed as Jesus teaches in the synagogue at NAZARETH, and ask, "Isn't this the carpenter? Isn't this Mary's son and the brother of James, Joseph, Judas and Simon? Aren't his sisters here with us?" (Mk. 6:3). What do we know about these brothers and sisters? Why does Matthew reverse the order of the last two brothers (Matt. 13:55)? Are the brothers related to other NT people with the same names? Are they the same individuals as the apostles James, Judas, and Simon? Does the description of Jesus as "Mary's son" imply that he is her only child?

(3) Jn. 2:12. Leaving CANA, Jesus "went down to CAPERNAUM with his mother and brothers and his disciples." What relationship, if any, is there between Jesus' "brothers" and his disciples? Does the NT speak of any of the "brothers" as disciples? Or are they portrayed consistently as two separate and distinct groups?

(4) Jn. 7:1-10. Following the account of the feeding of the five thousand, John tells of the departure of "many of his [Jesus'] disciples" and records Jesus' question to the Twelve, "You do not want to leave too, do you?" (6:66-67). In the episode that follows, a clear distinction is made between the brothers of Jesus and his disciples: "But when the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles was near, Jesus' brothers said to him, 'You ought to leave here and go to Judea, so that your disciples may see the miracles you do. No one who wants to become a public figure acts in secret. Since you are doing these things, show yourself to the world.' For even his own brothers did not believe in him" (7:2-5). Could one or more of the brothers have been a disciple? Could one of them have, in fact, been among the Twelve? More than one? Do the "brothers" have a symbolic or "spiritual" significance for John's gospel?

(5) Acts 1:14. After a listing of the disciples by name as lodging in the upstairs room in Jerusalem, it is stated, "They all joined together constantly in prayer, along with the women and Mary

the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers." If, as John says, Jesus' brothers had no faith in him, when did the change occur? And what implications does it have for our understanding of the relationship between the disciples and the brothers of Jesus? When did the brothers move to Jerusalem?

(6) 1 Cor. 9:5. In defense of his apostleship PAUL remarks incidentally, "Don't we have the right to take a believing wife along with us, as do the other apostles and the Lord's brothers and Cephas?" Paul too makes a distinction between the apostles and the Lord's brothers. He also states that all of them

It has been suggested that one of the relatives of Jesus was a certain Symeon son of Clopas (Simon bar Clophas), presumed builder of this synagogue. Built in A.D. 75, its stones can still be seen in the wall of the 12th-cent. Crusader Church of St. Mary's in Jerusalem.

were married. What is the relationship between brothers, disciples, and apostles?

(7) Gal. 1:18-19. In describing the origins of his apostleship, Paul says that three years after his conversion he stayed in Jerusalem with Cephas (PETER). Then he adds, "I saw none of the other apostles—only [*lit*., except] James, the Lord's brother." Is Paul now speaking of James as an apostle? Does this imply that he is one of the Twelve, or is the term used in a wider sense? If he is one of the Twelve, why does his name not occur in the lists of the Twelve?

B. Other significant biblical references

(1) Mk. 3:21. When Jesus' "family" (lit., "those with him") heard people say (or they themselves said) that Jesus was "out of his mind," they "went to take charge of him." Some scholars feel that Mark meant to anticipate 3:31. If so, who would be included? Would Jewish siblings act so aggressively toward an older brother?

(2) Lk. 2:7. Mary "gave birth to her firstborn [*prōtotokon* ***G4758]***, a son." Does the Greek word imply that subsequently Mary had other children? Years later, when making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (cf. Lk. 2:41-52), would she have left small children at home?

(3) Matt. 1:24-25. JOSEPH "took Mary home as his wife. But he had no union with her until she gave birth to a son." Does this statement necessarily indicate that Joseph did have intercourse with Mary after Jesus was born?

(4) Jn. 19:25-26. Near the cross where Jesus hung were "his mother, his mother's sister, Mary

the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene." His mother was standing beside "the disciple whom he loved." To her he says, "Dear woman, here is your son," and to the disciple he says, "Here is your mother." And from "that time on the disciple took her into his home." If Jesus had brothers, would they not have taken care of their mother? Why does Mary then go to stay with John? Were the brothers too young or unbelievers, or very poor, or older with families of their own? Are these explanations satisfactory? And are three women or four included around the cross? Is MARY, wife of Clopas, a separate individual or is she Mary's sister? (Cf. Mk. 15:40, 47; 16:1; Matt. 27:55-56; Lk. 24:10.)

II. A survey of early Christian interpretation

A. The New Testament Apocrypha. In the APOCRYPHAL NT literature several works contain references to the relatives of Jesus, and these comments deeply influenced later Christian tradition.

(1) The *Gospel of the Hebrews*, written around A.D. 100, contained somewhere near its end the legend of an appearance of the risen Lord to his brother James (cf. 1 Cor. 15:7; see HEBREWS, GOSPEL OF THE). According to this account, James "had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he should see him risen from among them that sleep" (*NTAp*, 1:178). From this quotation several interesting conclusions emerge: (a) James was supposedly present at the Last Supper; (b) at the time of the Last Supper he was already a devoted believer in Jesus; (c) if he was present at the Last Supper he presumably would have been considered by the author to be one of the Twelve.

(2) The *Protevangelium of James*, probably dating from about A.D. 150, is the single most important source for later developments (see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM). J. B. Lightfoot calls it "purely fictitious" (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 2nd ed. [1870], 275). Interpreting a magical sign, the high priest tells Joseph that he will have the good fortune to marry the virgin Mary. Joseph replies, "I (already) have sons and am old, but she is a girl" (*NTAp*, 1:430). The text clearly assumes that Joseph had been married previously and that one of his sons by that earlier marriage, James, was its author. For the next two centuries this opinion was held by a majority of the early church fathers and is reflected in all the apocryphal Infancy Gospels. For example, in the Infancy Story of Thomas (c. A.D. 190; see THOMAS, GOSPEL OF), reference is made to James as older than Jesus: "Joseph sent his son James to bind wood and take it into his house, and the child Jesus followed him" (*NTAp*, 1:448).

(3) The *Gospel of Peter* (c. A.D. 150) is also sometimes seen as the origin of the belief that Joseph had four sons and two daughters by a former marriage (see PETER, GOSPEL OF). ORIGEN, for example, in commenting on Matt. 13:55, refers to such a work as the source of the belief. It is likely, however, that Origen was thinking of the *Protevangelium of James*, since the fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* discovered in 1886-87 contains no such statement. Origen's own language suggests as much: "Some persons, on the ground of a tradition in the Gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or the Book of James [i.e. the Protevangelium], say that the brothers of Jesus were Joseph's sons by a former wife whom he married before Mary" (quoted in Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 281).

Subsequent apocryphal works such as the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (c. A.D. 400) and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (A.D. 750-850) also reflect the tradition of a former marriage. The former tells us the names of the four sons (identical to those of Mk. 3:21 except that Joses is called Justus) and two sisters, Assia and Lydia, who, like their two older brothers Justus and Simeon, had married before Joseph's death. The latter, more influential during the Middle Ages than the Bible itself, still retains the story of Joseph's first marriage (8.4, 32) and was ironically regarded as being

translated by JEROME when in fact it was largely due to his opposition to infancy legends (because of their Epiphanian views) that later popes condemned them! See also the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* 35 and the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary* 8 (in C. von Tischendorf's *Evangelia apocrypha* [1876]).

The character of most of this material is such that its historical reliability is very slight. Popular curiosity about "lacunae" in the NT and heretical theological concerns, especially those related to GNOSTICISM, do much to account for its existence.

B. Postapostolic writers. In more orthodox circles references to the relatives of Jesus are contained in the writings of several early church fathers. Not all of these are genuine. For example, PAPIAS (c. A.D. 60-130) at one time was thought to give the earliest known support for the view that the brothers of Jesus were in fact his cousins. J. B. Lightfoot (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 273) has shown, however, that the Papias who supported this view actually lived in the 11th cent.!

The *Ascents of James* and the CLEMENTINE LITERATURE (middle of the 2nd cent.) are EBIONITE works that strongly support James's role as "Bishop of the Bishops," installed in Jerusalem by the risen Lord himself. According to the Clementine *Homilies* 11.35, James was "called [*lechtheis*] the brother of the Lord"; the significance of this expression has been variously interpreted. Around A.D. 180 Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian, wrote five books of *Memoirs* to defend orthodox Christianity against the heresies of the Gnostics. He provides several interesting comments on Jesus' family, including references to a cousin and an uncle: "When James the Righteous had suffered martyrdom like the Lord and for the same reason, Symeon the son of his uncle Clopas [*ho ek theiou autou Symeōn ho tou Klōpa*] was appointed bishop. He being a cousin [*anepsios*] of the Lord, it was the universal demand that he should be the second" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist*. 4.22.4, trans. G. A. Williamson [1965]). He clearly distinguishes between this cousin and James "our Savior's brother" (3.22) and also between the apostles of Jesus and the Lord's relatives (3.11). Finally, reference is made to "the grandsons of Jude who was said to be his brother, humanly speaking" (3.20.1 see also 3.32). Since Symeon is called the "son of the Clopas mentioned in the gospel narrative" (3.11), Hegesippus apparently was thinking of the reference in Jn. 19:25 to "Mary wife of Clopas." It has even been suggested that the two men on the road to EMMAUS after the resurrection (Lk. 24:13-32) were Jesus' uncle CLOPAS (note the name CLEOPAS in v. 18) and his cousin Symeon.

The view of TERTULLIAN (A.D. 160-220) has long been debated, although most scholars have concluded that he implies the brothers of Jesus were sons of Mary and Joseph. In *Monogamy* he implies that Mary ceased to be a virgin after giving birth to Jesus: "It was a virgin who gave birth to Christ and she was to marry only once, after she brought Him forth" (*Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage*, trans. W. P. Le Saint [1951], 86). Similar statements occur in *On the Flesh of Christ* 7 and 23 (*ANF*, 3:527ff., 541), where the argument seems to depend upon the brothers being sons and not stepsons or nephews of Mary (see also *Against Marcion* 19, comment on Mk. 4:19). Admittedly, however, the remarks are not clear, although the fact that they were made by a Christian writer who preferred celibacy to marriage makes them even more noteworthy. Tertullian's rejection of the idea that Mary was a virgin *post partum* suggests that the idea of perpetual virginity was not yet an ecclesiastical tradition with which Tertullian was familiar. Helvidius later is to quote Tertullian in favor of his belief that Mary had children after Jesus, and Jerome rather than denying the accuracy of Helvidius's statement simply rejects Tertullian as an authority.

Julius Africanus (c. A.D. 160-240) refers to the concern of Jesus' relatives to keep a record of their Davidic descent, presumably because this heritage gave them special honor in the church (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist*. 1.7). CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. A.D. 150-215) has been interpreted as

believing that Jesus' brothers were either his step-brothers or his cousins. In book 7 of his *Hypotyposeis*, Clement ranks James before Peter and implies that he was one of the apostles: "After his resurrection the Lord imparted knowledge to James the Just and John and Peter, they imparted it to the remaining apostles" (quoted in *NTAp* [1963-65], 2:79). More explicitly, Clement says Jude was Joseph's son but not Jesus' blood brother: "Jude, who wrote the Catholic Epistle, being one of the sons of Joseph and [the Lord's] brother, a man of deep piety, though he was aware of his relationship to the Lord, nevertheless did not say he was his brother; but what said he? 'Jude the servant of Jesus Christ,' because he was his Lord, but brother of James; for this is true; he was his brother, being Joseph's [son]" (as quoted by Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 279). In book 6 of his *Hypotyposeis*, as quoted by EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist*. 2.1), he explicitly differentiates between "James the Righteous" and the apostle James, although he does not suggest limitation to just these two. Some, however, have implied that only two Jameses appear in the NT, a view which, as we shall see, results in holding that Jesus' brothers were really his cousins.

C. Writers of the third and fourth centuries. During the 3rd and most of the 4th cent., the theory that Jesus' brothers were the children of Joseph from an earlier marriage prevailed. Among the supporters of this view in the Eastern Church were Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Ephraem the Syrian, Basil the Great, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, the Apostolic Constitutions, Cyril of Alexandria, and, much later, Euthymius. In the W, similar views were held by Victorinus, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, and Ambrosiaster (the Ambrosian Hilary). Both Eusebius and the *Apostolic Constitutions* rank James and Paul as saintly men and implicitly on a par with the Twelve (Sieffert's statement that "Eusebius counts fourteen apostles" [*SHERK*, 1:90] is not quite justifiable, however). Most of the writers add little or nothing new to the discussion. One comment attributed to Origen is particularly interesting: "With respect to the brethren of Jesus, there are many who ask how he had them, seeing that Mary remained a virgin until her death" (quoted in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1:975). The question clearly suggests that for many people in Origen's day "brothers of Jesus" implied children of Mary.

Even late in the 4th cent., Basil the Great (A.D. 339-379) admits the possibility of Mary's ceasing to be a virgin after the birth of Jesus: "The words 'He had no intercourse with her until her son was born' do indeed afford a certain ground for thinking that Mary, after acting in all sanctity as the instrument of the Lord's birth, which was brought about by the Holy Ghost, did not refuse to her husband the customary privileges of marriage. But as for ourselves, even though this view does no violence to rational piety…yet…lovers of Christ cannot bear to hear that the Mother of God ever ceased to be a virgin…" (quoted by C. Harris in *DCG*, 1:236n.). Clearly an ascetic spirit that saw sexual intercourse in marriage as less pious and Christian than abstinence and celibacy has emerged to influence the interpretation of scriptural and traditional references to the brothers of Jesus. An awareness of the impact of this spirit on the intellectual history of the times is necessary for an understanding of later developments.

One interesting possible exception to the stepbrother theory may have been made by Victorinus of Pettau around A.D. 300. In his commentary on Matthew, which is no longer extant, Victorinus apparently held that Jesus had brothers "by nearness, not by nature" (*PL*, 23:201; 26:220; quoted in *SHERK*, 12:181). Helvidius quotes Victorinus as a supporter of his position, but Jerome contends that Helvidius misinterprets the bishop of Pettau, who in fact, he insists, is speaking of brothers through kinship (i.e., stepbrothers) as did a whole list of ancient writers.

III. The three major fourth-century theories. The discussions by three 4th-cent. theologians have come to represent the three major positions that evolved on the question of who Jesus' brothers were. They are Epiphanius (315-403), Helvidius (fl. c. 380), and Jerome (347-420).

A. The stepbrother theory of Epiphanius. In about A.D. 375 EPIPHANIUS, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, wrote his *Panarion* (Medicine Chest), also called *Refutation of All Heresies*, in an effort to survey the heresies of his day and refute them. In ch. 78 of this work he includes a pastoral letter written earlier to rebuke the so-called Antidicomarianites and Collyridians, obscure Arabian sects in the E and Africa who apparently were preaching that after the birth of Jesus, Mary had sexual relations with Joseph and had several children by him, including those called the brothers of Jesus in the Gospels. Such a view contradicted the opinion widespread in the church since about the middle of the 2nd cent., that Mary both *in partu* and *post partum*, that is, in and after the birth of Jesus, remained a virgin (the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary). According to Epiphanius, the six brothers and sisters of Jesus were not the sons of Mary and Joseph at all, but were rather the children of Joseph by a former marriage. Joseph, he says, was at least eighty years old when he married Mary. The two daughters of Joseph by his previous wife were Mary and Salome. Because Joseph's children were raised with Jesus, they are called his brothers.

Epiphanius accepts the curious argument that just as a lioness is supposed to exhaust her fertility when she has produced one cub, so the mother of the Lion of Judah could have no other child than Jesus. It can readily be seen that Epiphanius was deeply influenced by the apocryphal gospels. He draws on NT references to the authoritative attitude of the brothers of Jesus (e.g. Mk. 3:31; Jn. 1:3-4) to support his position, insisting that younger brothers in a Jewish society would never treat an older brother with such disrespect. The fact that Mary goes to stay with the apostle John after the crucifixion of Jesus (Jn. 19:27) also suggests that Joseph was no longer alive and that Mary had no other sons to take care of her. This doctrine was and has continued to be held by the Eastern Christians and is the official position of the Greek Orthodox and other Eastern churches to this very day. It has also been held by such Protestants as J. B. Lightfoot and C. Harris.

B. The uterine brother theory of Helvidius. In A.D. 380 an otherwise unknown author by the name of Carterius wrote a book in defense of virginity and ASCETICISM based on the belief in Mary's perpetual and absolute virginity. In reply a Roman Christian by the name of Helvidius, who according to Gennadius of Marseilles was a disciple of an Arian bishop, Auxentius, and pupil of Symmachus, a pagan Roman senator, wrote a critique of Carterius's book.

Helvidius's ideas made a deep impression on the Roman church. Many of the leading defenders of the asceticism that had come to influence the church were actually won over to the Helvidian position. A number of influential Roman Christian women who were defenders of the superiority of virginity over marriage were scandalized, so they appealed to their friend and mentor JEROME to write a refutation of Helvidius's teaching. Jerome was reluctant for several reasons to respond until he finally realized how widely influential Helvidius's ideas were becoming. Finally, in A.D. 383, about three years after Helvidius's brave attack against Carterius, the young monk Jerome wrote a detailed reply, *On the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary against Helvidius* (see *Saint Jerome: Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, in *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 53 [1965], 3-43).

The works of Helvidius have not survived. In his reply, however, Jerome makes many references to Helvidius's ideas. As interpreted by Jerome, Helvidius held the following views: (a)

Matt. 1:18 suggests that at some later point Mary and Joseph "came together" sexually (*Perpetual Virginity*, ch. 3). (b) Matt. 1:25 means that after Jesus was born Joseph had intercourse with Mary; "until" designates a definite time (chs. 5, 7). (c) The word "firstborn" in Lk. 2:6 implies that other children were also born (ch. 9). (d) There can be no doubt that Jesus had brothers because many NT references speak explicitly about them (ch. 11). (e) Jesus' mother was present at the cross and entrusted by Jesus to John because she was a widow and alone (ch. 13; Jerome does not make clear the place this point has in Helvidius's argument). (f) Both Tertullian and Victorinus, the bishop of Pettau, also held the view that the brothers of Jesus were the children of Mary and Joseph (ch. 17). (g) Virginity is in no way superior to marriage; the fact that babies are "fashioned daily in wombs by the hand of God" should not cause anyone to blush (chs. 18, 22).

Similar views were also held by the heretical Bishop Bonosus and Jovinian, an influential Roman heretic. That it was held by no great churchman despite its biblical orientation is not surprising when it is realized that to deny the perpetual virginity of Mary was already a serious offense and sacrilege.

C. The cousin theory of Jerome. In his work *Perpetual Virginity*, Jerome endeavors to refute each of Helvidius's theories and in the process creates a completely new theory of the relationship between Jesus and his "brothers." So persuasive and so timely were his arguments to a church that strongly favored celibacy that in a short time the whole Western church had adopted them. Augustine's espousal of Jerome's theory virtually guaranteed its acceptance.

Jerome is not noted for his courtesy in dealing with his opponents. In the opening chapters he vilifies Helvidius as lacking in both theological and literary acumen, and throughout the work belittles even his weightiest and most cogent arguments (Jerome is, of course, not alone among the church fathers in this highly discourteous attitude). Jerome's tone throughout is strictly defensive, as is evident even in his statement of the purpose of his writing: "I must call upon the Lord Jesus to guard the sacred lodging of the womb in which he abode for ten months from all suspicion of sexual intercourse" (ch. 2). He later says of Helvidius, "You have brought disgrace upon the Virgin with your madness…and…you have defiled the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit from which you would have issue four brothers and a host of sisters" (ch. 16); and he even accuses Helvidius of seeking fame this way since he was unable to get it honestly.

Since Jerome follows the pattern of stating Helvidius's position and then refuting it, we can parallel his major arguments with those stated above: (a) Although "before" often indicates a result, it "nevertheless sometimes simply reveals an action that was previously planned" (ch. 4). (b) No one denies that the verb "to know" refers to sexual intercourse, but "until" does not need to indicate a definite time. "It is clear, also, in the case of Joseph that the Evangelist indicated a fact over which there could have arisen scandal, namely that [Mary] was not known by her husband until her delivery, so that we might much more clearly realize that she was not known after her delivery by her husband, who kept himself from her at the very time when he still could have had doubts about the dream" (ch. 6). Jerome goes on to ridicule Helvidius by suggesting that, according to the latter, Joseph did not even wait for a minute after delivery to embrace Mary! (c) The OT has many examples where "firstborn" does not indicate that others were born. "Every only child is a first-born child; but not every firstborn is an only child" (ch. 10). (d) "Individuals are given the title of brothers in Sacred Scripture for four reasons, namely, birth, race, kinship and affection" (ch. 14). Since the brothers of Jesus are called "neither the sons of Mary nor sons of Joseph" (ch. 15), Jerome concludes that the brothers are in fact cousins. (e) If Mary had sons and daughters, Jesus would not have placed her in

John's care at the scene of the crucifixion (Jn. 19:27). "O blind madness, and a crazed mind bent on its own destruction!" (f) Helvidius cannot strengthen his case by referring to Tertullian and Victorinus. "Regarding Tertullian, I say nothing more than that he was not a man of the church" (ch. 17). Victorinus, Jerome insists, actually spoke of brothers through kinship as did "a whole list of the ancient writers" such as Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, and Justin Martyr. Helvidius actually holds the same views as the heretical Ebionites and Gnostics. (g) Only married women who "imitate the chastity of virgins within the very intimacy of marriage" are holy women (ch. 21). Jerome gives a hilariously distorted picture of the life of the married woman (ch. 20). He admits that the holy men of OT times were told to be fruitful and multiply, but he insists that Paul gives God's new pronouncement—that "those who have wives should live as if they had none" (1 Cor. 7:29).

Jerome adds that the brothers of Jesus were actually the sons of Jesus' aunt, Mary; that James the Less, the son of Mary, must be one of her sons (using the exegetically improbable argument that "the Less" distinguishes him from the other apostle, James "the Greater," i.e., the son of Zebedee and not the son of Alphaeus); that Gal. 1:18-19 implies that James the brother of the Lord is an apostle; that the James mentioned in Gal. 2:9 cannot be the son of Zebedee because he had already been put to death by Herod (Acts 12:2); and that "the Mary who is designated as the mother of James was the wife of Alphaeus and the sister of Mary, the mother of the Lord, whom John surnames Mary of Cleophas, giving her this title either after her father or some relationship of her family or for some other reason" (ch. 13). He also claims that Joseph himself was also a virgin through Mary, so that a virgin son might be born of a virgin wedlock" (ch. 19).

Three further conclusions are usually added to make Jerome's theory even more complete: (a) Alphaeus and Clopas are merely different renderings of the same Aramaic name, Chalphai; (b) "Judas of James" and Judas the Lord's brother are the same person (Matt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3; Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13; Jude 1); (c) Symeon or Simon the Lord's brother is the same person as Simon Zelotes. Thus three of the four "brothers" are included among the Twelve. There is some question as to whether Jerome himself continued to hold this ingenious, assumption-laden hypothesis in his later years. In his commentary on Galatians (c. A.D. 387), and even more markedly in his Letter to Hedibia (c. A.D. 406), Jerome seems to be inconsistent with the above conclusions (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 259-61). F. Sieffert (*SHERK*, 6:89-94) says that in his commentary on Isa. 17:6 Jerome "practically abandons" his theory, but the author's argument is not very convincing. Lightfoot notes that Jerome's later comments actually suggest an Epiphanian view (*Galatians*, 260 n. 1).

IV. Criticisms and defenses of the three major theories. In the centuries following, various criticisms and defenses of the three major theories emerged. The following paragraphs are an attempt to summarize the more significant arguments.

A. The stepbrother theory of Epiphanius. This theory is said to be based more upon the highly unhistorical NT apocryphal books—what Jerome with some justification calls the *deliramenta* [absurdities] *apocryphorum*—than upon any solid biblical or historically reliable tradition. It is purely conjectural, although not impossible, that Joseph had four sons and two daughters by a previous marriage and that he had died leaving Mary a widow before Jesus' crucifixion. The theory reflects the influence of the Greek asceticism of the early church and its adoption of the theory of Mary's perpetual virginity. C. Harris argues that if indeed Mary had had seven children, the "unanimous tradition of her perpetual virginity could never have arisen" (*DCG*, 1:237); such an argument is weak, however, in that it is repeatedly contradicted by the past, which is replete with just

such developments.

This theory is said to contradict those statements in the NT that imply Mary had other children after the birth of Jesus; in fact, it assumes that Jesus' "brothers" had no real physical relationship to him at all. Some Roman Catholic writers state baldly that the theory "has no foundation" (J. L. McKenzie. *Dictionary of the Bible* [1965], 106-7). Finally, Jn. 19:27 taken in combination with the numerous NT references to the close relationship between Mary and the brothers of Jesus would seem to seriously weaken this theory. If the brothers were truly stepsons and yet so very close to Mary a year or so earlier, it does not seem convincing to argue that family ties prevented them from caring for her after the death of Jesus.

B. The uterine brother theory of Helvidius. It is argued that, contrary to the tenets of this theory, the NT portrays the brothers of Jesus as acting in every way like *older* brothers. W. Bauer argues, for example, that Jesus appears alone on the pilgrimage when he is twelve. "If Mary had had other children after this pilgrimage, these would not have reached the age of twenty by the time Jesus began his public life and would never have been able to behave towards their elder brother in such a free and easy manner as is outlined in Mk. 3:21, 31-35 and Jn. 7:2-5, in which texts they appear to treat him almost as a guardian treats his ward" (*NTAp* [1963-65], 1:87).

The theory is said to be contrary to church tradition and abhorrent to Christian sentiment, since it contradicts the belief in Mary's perpetual virginity. Also, it is unlikely that three children in two families would have identical names, as would be the case if both Joseph and Alphaeus had sons named James, Jude, and Simon. Moreover, it is strange that the NT speaks of brothers and sisters of Jesus, but never of sons, daughters, or children of Mary or Joseph; only Jesus is called "Mary's son" (Mk. 6:3). Would Mary have left younger children at home to go on a fourteen-day trip to Jerusalem for the Passover (Bauer)? Finally, if Mary had had other children, Jesus probably would not have asked John to take Mary into his household (Jn. 19:27) but would have presumably committed her to the care of one of his brothers, most likely James.

C. The cousin theory of Jerome. It is argued that if the biblical writers had understood the "brothers" of Jesus to be his cousins, they would have used such Greek words as *anepsios* and *syngenēs*. In the NT, as Sieffert points out (*SHERK*, 6:91), "nowhere is the word brother used in a sense of distant relationship"; all Jerome's examples are drawn from the OT. Second, in the NT the brothers of Jesus always appear in the company of Mary, his mother, and never with their parents, a highly unlikely situation, to say the least. To have a mother and brothers and sisters living together would clearly imply a blood relationship unless a specific statement were otherwise made. Also, it is more reasonable to interpret Gal. 1:18-19 as using the word *apostle* in a wider sense than to see it as identifying James, the Lord's brother, with James the son of Alphaeus, one of the Twelve. Moreover, it is highly improbable that two sisters would have had the same name, and it is linguistically indefensible to identify Clopas and Alphaeus. The word *prōtotokos* (firstborn) in Lk. 2:7 "cannot have the sense of *monogenēs* (only-born) or rule out the possibility that Mary had other children" (W. Michaelis in *TDNT*, 6:876-77).

If the brothers of Jesus were actually cousins and three of them were among the Twelve, it could not be said that his brothers did not believe in him (Jn. 7:5). H. E. Jacobs (in *ISBE*, 1:552) calls this "the crowning difficulty of this hypothesis"; efforts at arguing that only *some* of the brothers did not believe are most unconvincing. Furthermore, throughout the NT the brothers are named as a group quite distinct from the apostles. Additional arguments are the following: James the Less can be

identified with James the son of Alphaeus only by conjecture; the theory was actually created to support ascetic belief in the necessity of Mary's perpetual virginity (to preserve her from the sinful sexual act) and in the superiority of virginity to marriage; it has absolutely no prior support in tradition.

V. Later history. Subsequent to the 4th cent., no further important theories concerning the identity of the "brothers" of Jesus emerged. Rather, there was an alignment between the theories and the major divisions in Christendom. Roughly speaking, the Eastern or Greek Orthodox Church adopted the stepbrother theory; the Roman Catholic Church, the cousin theory; and Protestants, the uterine brother theory.

Perhaps the closest thing to a new theory developed out of the empirical and Kantian outlooks. From this perspective Jesus is viewed as the natural son of Mary and Joseph, and his brothers are consequently full blood brothers. As expressed by David Friedrich Strauss, for example, the whole idea of Mary's perpetual virginity is to be dismissed as "the mere invention of superstition" (*The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* [1848], 146). Although Jn. 19:27 does cause him a problem, he concludes, "we can imagine the existence both of external circumstances and of individual feelings which might have influenced Jesus to confide his mother to John rather than to his brothers" (ibid.). Interestingly, Strauss speculates that perhaps the James of the Apostolic Council may be the son of Alphaeus and hence the cousin of Jesus in Acts, and that Paul may be speaking instead of James the brother of Jesus in Gal. 1:19. He appreciates the ingenuity of Jerome's arguments but finally concludes that "the web of this identification gives way at all points" (p. 148) and adopts the view that the brothers of Jesus were his real brothers. He does admit, though, that "there is perplexity on every side." Jesus may in fact have had both younger *and older* brothers, since the NT statement that Jesus was the first-born "may belong no less to the mythus than the representation of the Fathers that he was an only son" (ibid.).

Since the Second Vatican Council, Roman Catholic thought has become increasingly diversified, ranging from what fellow Catholics have called the "excessively conservative" work of J. Blinzler (*Die Brüder und Schwestern Jesu* [1967]), through the moderate views of McKenzie, who concludes that "the exact degree of relationship between Jesus and his brethren cannot be reconstructed" (*Dictionary of the Bible*, 107), and W. Bauer, who will admit that "the possibility must also remain that they were Joseph's sons as a result of a previous marriage" (*NTAp* [1963-65], 1:88), to the stance of more radical theologians who, in private if not in print, have no difficulty in "demythologizing" the whole construct of Jerome and even in adopting a naturalistic view of Jesus as the son of Mary and Joseph.

VI. Conclusions. It would be nice if some all-encompassing solution could now be proposed to the questions the NT texts raise. In ecumenical circles a more widespread espousal of the stepbrother theory by both Protestants and Catholics can be anticipated, since it seems to be relatively acceptable to both groups, has tradition in its favor, avoids the many unprovable assumptions of the cousin theory that Catholic biblical scholars now find difficult to accept, and yet does not force Catholics to abandon traditional and magisterial teaching on the perpetual virginity of Mary.

In the long run, however, it seems likely that the truth lies with a recognition of the brothers as full brothers of Jesus, and sons of Mary and Joseph. The following reasons may be offered: (a) When the NT statements are taken collectively and a minimum of assumptions are made, the *prima facie* conclusion is almost unavoidable that the brothers of Jesus were Mary's own sons. In the past a lot of

weight was placed on the *possibility* of various hypotheses in theology; today's theologian tends to argue far more in terms of *probabilities*. From such a perspective it seems highly probable that the NT does not mean cousins and reasonably probable that it does not mean stepbrothers when it speaks of "brothers" of Jesus.

(b) Arguments based on the thesis that only older brothers would act as Jesus' brothers acted toward him fail to take into account the way brothers of any age might act when confronted with a highly unusual person like Jesus.

(c) As far as church tradition is concerned, Karl Rahner would seem to be on the right track when he says we must not merely repeat the words of the church fathers but we must rather attempt to understand what they are trying to say in terms of the thought patterns of their day. What emotional and intellectual hunger was satisfied by the adoption of a belief in Mary's perpetual virginity, for example? Only if we can answer this question will we be able to understand why the Western Church rejected the idea of the brothers of Jesus as physical brothers.

(d) Little weight can be placed on the occurrence of identical names in two families, especially when the names are as common as James, Jude, and Simon.

(e) We should not infer that if Mary had younger children she must have left them home to attend the Jerusalem Passover on Jesus' twelfth birthday; the only relevant conclusion we can draw from this pericope is that we are told nothing about Jesus' siblings because they have no part to play in the story.

(f) Finally, Jn. 19:27 is really a *crux interpretum* for all three theories because none of them can really explain it satisfactorily. Whether they are brothers, stepbrothers, or cousins in Mary's constant company, it is strange that John rather than one of Jesus' brothers would take Mary into his home. With the fourth gospel's penchant for symbolism, we are perhaps justified in seeking a nonliteral solution.

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of the article, see W. H. Mill, *The Accounts of Our Lord's Brethren in the New Testament Vindicated against Some Recent Mythical Interpreters* [1843]; J. H. Ropes, *The Epistle of St. James* [1916], 53-62; R. L. P. Milburn, *Early Christian Interpretations of History* [1954], 161-92; R. J. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* [1990].)

L. R. KEYLOCK

brown. This English term is used by the KJV as a rendering of Hebrew *ḥûm H2569* with reference to the color of lambs (Gen. 30:32-33, 35, 40; NIV, "dark-colored"; NRSV, "black"). The traveler in Middle E countries may see the example in the sun-browned coats of white sheep before shearing. JACOB chose sheep normally white as part of his wages. See also BLACK; COLOR.

bruise. A bruise, also known as a contusion, is an injury to body tissue arising from the impact of an object possessing a blunt surface. It presents no loss of body tissue substance and no break in the skin. It is associated with tissue reaction in the form of effusion of blood and tissue juices into the tissue spaces beneath the skin. Recovery from a bruise is effected by the gradual liquefaction and absorption of these damaged tissues and their replacement with scar and, in some instances, with newly formed tissue similar to the injured tissue. During the healing the bruised area often changes in color from a bluish-gray to a green and then to a yellow hue, until absorption is complete. Several Hebrew terms can be rendered "bruise," such as *ḥabbûrâ* ***H2467*** (Exod. 21:25 NIV; Isa. 53:5 NRSV) and *peṣaʿ* ***H7206*** (Prov. 23:29 NIV; Isa. 1:6 NRSV).

P. E. ADOLPH

Bubastis by*oo*-bas'tis (Βούβαστις LXX Βούβαστος). A major city in EGYPT (Ezek. 30:17). See PI BESETH.

bucket. A pail made of leather used for drawing water from a WELL or CISTERN. It had two cross-pieces at the top to keep it open. Such buckets are still in use in Palestine. The Hebrew term (*dĕlî* ***H1932***) is used figuratively in the OT (Num. 24:7; Isa. 40:15).

buckle. This English term is used by the NRSV as a rendering of the Greek noun *porpē* in the APOCRYPHA (1 Macc. 10:89; 11:58; 14:44). There is no means of distinguishing this article from the "brooches" of Exod. 35:22; see BROOCH) or from the fibulas found in sites dating as early as the 7th cent. B.C., especially at GEZER. The *fibula praenestina*, a safety pin-like object from the same 7th cent., found at Praeneste in Latium, is similar in shape and function. Buckles were designed to hold a cloak at the shoulder. The brooch, if that may be identified with a buckle, was a mark and emblem of rank.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

buckler. See ARMOR, ARMS IV.B.

buffet. KJV rendering of Greek *kolaphizō* ***G3139***, a vernacular term found almost exclusively in the NT and later Christian literature. Meaning "to strike with the fist, beat, mistreat," it is used to describe the coarse and cowardly treatment of Jesus by the Jewish religious leaders. He was subjected not simply to insults and mockery, but also to violent blows with clenched fists (Matt. 26:67; Mk. 14:65). Similar treatment was suffered by Christians (1 Cor. 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:20), and PAUL also uses the term figuratively to describe his "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12:7; NIV and NRSV, "torment"). Physical violence can also be denoted by the word *hypōpiazō* ***G5724***, a term taken from boxing, "to give a black eye." Paul uses it figuratively to describe the self-discipline he exercised over his body (1 Cor. 9:27; it can also mean "annoy greatly, wear out," Lk. 18:5).

P. C. JOHNSON

Bugean. See BOUGAEAN.

bugle. This English term is used by the NRSV once to render the common Greek word *salpinx* ***G4894***, usually translated "trumpet" (1 Cor. 14:8). See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.C.

build, building. The process and result of construction in masonry, wood, and other materials. The Hebrew verb *bānâ* ***H1215*** means both "to repair" and "to rebuild," and is applied to the work of both skilled and unskilled workmen (2 Chr. 34:11), since laborers would be required to assist the skilled workmen. The project would be under the overall direction of a master builder (1 Cor. 3:10; *sophos architektōn*, NIV, "expert builder"). The Bible includes reference to various kinds of building and techniques (beginning with the city CAIN built, Gen. 4:17), but only as they further the biblical purposes of inditing the story of redemption.

The Israelites built store cities at RAAMSES and PITHOM (Exod. 1:11; cf. A. Badawy,

Architecture of Ancient Egypt and The Near East [1966], 15—21). The Gadites rebuilt DIBON (Num. 32:34), and the Reubenites rebuilt HESHBON (v. 37; cf. 21:25-30). In many places the Israelites built altars to God (Exod. 17:15; 32:5 [Aaron's altar of sin]; Deut. 27:5; Josh. 8:30, passim). In JERUSALEM, DAVID did some building near MILLO (2 Sam. 5:9), which had been built earlier by the Jebusites (J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* [1952], 131—44). His own residence was built by HIRAM of Tyre (2 Sam. 5:11), probably as a tribute (cf. v. 12). SOLOMON rebuilt Millo and probably enlarged it. The cities of HAZOR, MEGIDDO, and GEZER were also rebuilt by him, and the city gates of these places were all the same threefold gateways made to the same pattern (cf. Y. Yadin in *BA* 21 [1958]: 46; and 22 [1959]: 14). In addition he built TADMOR (2 Chr. 8:4, Palmyra) as a commercial outpost on the northern trade route to augment his income and protect his northern border. The chief architectural work of OT Israel was the TEMPLE in Jerusalem erected by Solomon to memorialize there the redemptive name of Yahweh (1 Ki. 6:1).

SHECHEM was rebuilt (refortified) by JEROBOAM (1 Ki. 12:25) for his capital, and then he built divisive religious shrines at DAN (PLACE) and BETHEL in defiance of God (cf. 11:38). UZZIAH was particularly concerned with the defenses of Judah and built numerous towers (2 Chr. 26:10) to protect the farmers and herdsmen, as well as outposts and cities among the PHILISTINES (v. 6). OMRI moved the capital of Israel from TIRZAH to SAMARIA (1 Ki.

Reconstruction of scaffolding used in the building of ancient Galilean houses.

16:23), where he built a city and included a temple to BAAL (v. 32). AHAB enlarged the palace of his father. It is here that proto-Ionic capitals have been found, an indication that some thought was given concerning decoration and style, but Ahab's project was not destined to produce much because of the religious deterioration that brought on the end of the nation.

In the intertestamental period, a number of projects to rebuild Jerusalem took place under the HASMONEANS, and the city walls were moved outward. Part of David's city was abandoned as well. The chief work, however, of the time immediately before Christ was the great complex of HEROD'S temple, built on the earlier reconstruction by the exiles who had returned from Babylon, but with thicker walls and heavier roof.

The chief source of technical knowledge for Hebrew construction was in TYRE (2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Ki. 5:1-12). Israel, because of tendencies to minimize the grandiose, did not develop a particular

architectural style. Chief builders in Israel were David, Solomon, energetic Uzziah, and flamboyant JOTHAM. Herod's reconstruction followed a Roman style. Building methods included the use of a line (1 Ki. 7:15, 23) and plummet (plumb bob; Amos 7:7-8).

Metaphorically, RACHEL and LEAH are said to have "built up the house of Israel" (Ruth 4:11). The promise of God to David to build him a "house" (2 Sam. 7:11, 27) involved the MESSIAH, through whom the church would be established as a heritage of David's desire to exalt God. In the NT, the Greek verb *oikodomeō* ***G3868***, "to build" (and its cognates), is frequently used in a figurative sense (e.g., Matt. 7:24; 16:18; Acts 9:31; 20:32; Rom. 15:20; 1 Cor. 8:1). The church will have its own city built by God (Heb. 11:10; 12:22; 13:14). The formation of the church is likened to a building as believers are added one by one, even as the brick and stone are built in one by one (1 Cor. 3:9; 1 Pet. 2:4-6). The growing in grace of the Christian is of the same character of building (Col. 2:7). The permanence of their house is assured, being built on an immovable foundation, Christ (1 Cor. 3:10-15). This process is to be marked by careful attention to both process and quality of materials. See also ARCHITECTURE.

H. G. STIGERS

builder. This English term usually renders the participle of the Hebrew and Greek verbs meaning "to build." A significant figurative use is the messianic passage Ps. 118:22 (quoted several times in the NT, e.g., Matt. 21:42; 1 Pet. 2:7), which states that the stone the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone (NIV, "capstone"). See BUILD, BUILDING.

Bukki buhk'*i* (בֻּקִּי *H1321*, short form of בֻּקִּיָּהוּ ***H1322*** [see BUKKIAH]). (1) Son of Jogli; as a leader from the tribe of DAN, he was one of the men entrusted with the division of the land of Canaan among the Israelites (Num. 34:22).

(2) Son of Abishua, descendant of LEVI through KOHATH, and ancestor of EZRA (1 Chr. 6:5, 51; Ezra 7:4; 1 Esd. 8:2 [KJV, "Boccas"]; called "Borith" in 2 Esd. 1:2).

Bukkiah buh-k*i*'uh (בֻּקִּיָּהוּ *H1322*, possibly "proved of Yahweh" or "Yahweh has emptied, poured out" [cf. BAKBUK]; but see *HALOT*, 1:149, and J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 118-19]). One of the fourteen sons of HEMAN, a Levite; he received the sixth lot that determined his duties in the temple (1 Chr. 25:4, 13). Along with the sons of ASAPH and JEDUTHUN, the sons of Heman were involved in "the ministry of prophesying, accompanied by harps, lyres and cymbals" (v. 1).

Bul bool (בּוּל ***H1004***, possibly "autumn rain" or "harvest"). The name of the eighth month of the year (corresponding to late October and early November), according to the preexilic Canaanite system of names. It occurs only once, in dating the completion of Solomon's TEMPLE (1 Ki. 6:38). See CALENDAR.

F. W. BUSH

bull. This English term (KJV usually "bullock") can translate several Hebrew words, especially *par* ***H7228*** ("young bull") and *šôr* ***H8802*** ("bull, ox, cattle"). Bulls were considered ceremonially clean animals; since they had split hoofs and chewed the cud, they could be used for food and sacrifice. Although strong (cf. Ps. 22:12), they were more meek than our bulls. Their figures guarded the

entrances to the houses, gardens, and temples of the ancient Babylonians from evil spirits (somewhat like horseshoes over doors in England). See also CHERUB II. When SOLOMON constructed his TEMPLE, he had HIRAM (Huram) of TYRE make a molten sea upheld by twelve oxen, three facing in each direction (1 Ki. 7:23-24). The notion of the ox head as a scapegoat was derived from the placing of bulls' heads above doors. The WILD OX or wild bull is the aurochs from whom domestic varieties descended.

Detailed directions for offering bullocks in SACRIFICE are given in Lev. 4; 8; 16; Num. 28-29. The animals were to be without blemish (a beast was disqualified if it was bruised, crushed, torn, or had cut testicles [Lev. 22:24]). The BLOOD was put on the horns of the ALTAR, sprinkled before the veil or on the front of the MERCY SEAT, or poured out at its base, and the remainder of the animal was burned. The number of bullocks sacrificed ran into the thousands (1 Chr. 29:21; 2 Chr. 30:24). One should recall that the mere act had no efficacy if the heart was not in it (Isa. 1:11) and if the hands that sacrificed were engaged in evil activities. Hands were laid on the head of the bull to signify transfer of sins from the guilty to the animal.

Unfortunately, bulls were also worshiped, probably as a hangover from days in Egypt. AARON made an image of a golden calf (Exod. 32) but perhaps he did it to remind the Israelites of the strength of God which had brought them out of Egypt, much

Mummy of a young bull from Thebes (c. A.D. 30).

as BALAAM compared God's strength to that of the wild ox. JEROBOAM likewise attributed the release from Egypt to the two calves of gold, which he set up in two provinces to be worshiped so his people would not want to go up to Jerusalem, from which he was separated. See CALF, GOLDEN. Although the

ox was one of the creatures mentioned in Ezekiel's vision of God and his throne, it was a creature serving and worshiping, but not to be worshiped (Ezek. 1 and 10). In early Christian art, Luke, one of the four evangelists, was symbolized by a bull.

Wealth was measured in CATTLE, oxen included. ABRAHAM had flocks and herds (Gen. 24:35); JOB had 500 yoke of oxen before he was afflicted, and 1,000 yoke afterward (Job 1:3; 42:12). SAUL failed to destroy the oxen of the Amalekites and committed grievous sin for his avarice (1 Sam. 15). Oxen were farm animals; ELISHA was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen when ELIJAH found him (1 Ki. 19:19). Threshing was a common duty (1 Cor. 9:9).

R. L. MIXTER

bulrush. This English term, a word referring generally to various wetland plants, is used by the KJV three times. Twice it renders Hebrew *gōme)* *H1687* (Exod. 2:3; Isa. 18:2; cf. *)ēbeh* ***H15*** in Job 9:26), which refers to the Egyptian PAPYRUS (*Cyperus papyrus*). This reed is 10-16 ft. tall, and three inches thick at its base. It is three-sided, and bears a kind of large, grass-like tuft at the top. Not only was this plant used to make little vessels (as in the passages above), but the Egyptians also discovered how to extract the pith of the plants and make paper. The Hebrew term occurs in two additional passages (Job 8:11; Isa. 35:7). The KJV and other versions use "bulrush" also to render *)agmôn* *H109* in one verse (Isa. 58:5; NIV, "reed"). See BULRUSHES, ARK OF; REED.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

bulrushes, ark of. Term used by the KJV to describe the small PAPYRUS basket made for the infant MOSES, in which he was floated on the NILE in order to escape detection by the Egyptians (Exod. 2:3). Only this basket and the ARK OF NOAH are called by the name *tēbâ* ***H9310***, which is possibly an Egyptian loanword for "box" or "coffin" (the usual word in Heb. for "box" or for the ARK OF THE COVENANT being *)ărôn* ***H778***). No description is given of the shape or construction of the basket, except that it was daubed with water-proofing substances (NIV, "tar and pitch"). It was made with some sort of cover over the top (cf. v. 6); this feature could account for the name "ark" even if the general shape was that of the papyrus boats of the Nile. Some suggest that the term was used in this passage to indicate the similarities in shape and purpose to Noah's vessel (cf. KD, *Pentateuch*, 1:427), but, depending on the origin and usage of the Hebrew word, the connection could be the other way around. In either case, the association would be appropriate to the unique significance of these two vessels.

G. GOLDSWORTHY

bulwark. A defensive wall or embankment. The word is used variously in English Bible versions to render several Hebrew words. For example, the NRSV uses it to translate *ḥêl* ***H2658*** (God "sets up victory like walls and bulwarks," Isa. 26:1; NIV, "ramparts") and *)ošyâ* ***H859*** (Babylon's "bulwarks have fallen," Jer. 50:15; NIV, "towers"). It also uses this word to render the unique Greek term *hedraiōma* ***G1613*** (the church is "the pillar and bulwark of the truth," 1 Tim. 3:15; NIV, "foundation"). This noun is unknown from any secular source, but it is related to the well-attested adjective *hedraios* ***G1612***, "firm, steadfast" (e.g., Col. 1:23).

Bunah by*oo*'nuh (בּוּנָה ***H1007***, possibly "intelligence" [BDB, 107] or short form of בְּנָיָהוּ ***H1226***, "Yahweh has built" [*HALOT*, 1:115; see BENAIAH]). Son of JERAHMEEL and descendant of JUDAH

through PEREZ and HEZRON (1 Chr. 2:25).

bunch. This English term is used to render the Hebrew noun *)ăguddâ* ***H99*** (which has several meanings) in the expression "a bunch of hyssop," referring to the sprinkling brush with which the Israelites in Egypt put blood on the doorframe of their houses (Exod. 12:22). Some versions also use the expression "bunches of raisins" as a translation of *ṣimmûqîm* ***H7540*** (e.g., 2 Sam. 16:1 KJV, NRSV), but this Hebrew term is possibly best rendered "raisin cakes" (cf. NIV).

bundle. This English term, which may refer to a group of objects held together or to a package, can be used to render several words, such as Hebrew *ṣĕrô* ***H7655*** (e.g., Gen. 42:35 NRSV). This Hebrew noun is found in 1 Sam. 25:29 as a figure of speech expressing perfect safety: just as a person carries money, precious gems, etc., in a bundle close to his body (cf. the same word in Cant. 1:13; NIV, "sachet"), so the Lord carries in a "bundle" close to him all those whom he has decreed to live. This metaphor is probably a variant of the ancient concept of "the book of the living" (Ps. 69:28; cf. Exod. 32:32-33; Dan. 12:1). Other terms rendered "bundle" in a literal sense include Hebrew *ṣebet* ***H7395*** (Ruth 2:16) and Greek *desmē* ***G1299*** (Matt. 13:30).

R. C. RIDALL

Bunni buhn'*i* (בֻּנִּי *H1221*, possibly short form of בְּנָיָהוּ ***H12262***, "Yahweh has built"; see BENAIAH). (1) A Levite who was present at EZRA'S public reading of the law (Neh. 9:4).

(2) An ancestor of a certain Shemaiah; the latter was one of the Levites who chose to live in Jerusalem at the time of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 11:15).

(3) A leader of the people who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. 10:15).

burden. This English term is used in Bible versions to render a variety of Hebrew and Greek nouns and verbs. Especially common is the Hebrew noun *maśśā)* ***H5362*** ("lifting, load, something being carried"), which may be used both literally (e.g., Num. 4:24) and in the sense of "hardship" or "obligation" (e.g., Num. 11:11; 2 Sam. 19:35). The KJV also uses "burden" frequently to render *maśśā)* ***H5363*** (e.g., Isa. 13:1), but lexicographers regard this term as a distinct word meaning "divine pronouncement, oracle" (see PROPHETS AND PROPHECY). Among other Hebrew words translated "burden" is *sēbel* ***H6023*** and its cognates (e.g., Ps. 81:6).

In the NT, two common Greek nouns with this meaning are *baros* ***G983***, "weight, burden" (e.g., Matt. 20:12; Rev. 2:24), and *phortion* ***G5845***, "load, burden" (e.g., Matt. 11:30; Lk. 11:46). Some scholars think PAUL intends a distinction between these two words in Gal. 6:2 (a sporadic burden that may be shared) and 5 (a pack that is part of a person's own equipment and that therefore one is expected to bear), but such a subtlety is difficult to prove (cf. M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method*, 2nd ed. [2001], 56-57). Paul frequently uses *epibareō* ***G2096*** ("to weigh down, be burdensome to") and similar verbs, especially in connection with his desire not to be financial burden to the churches (e.g., 1 Thess. 2:9).

burglary. See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS I.B.3.

burial. The act of interment of a corpse in the earth, whether a natural or man-made rocky cave or TOMB, or in the sea.

I. Time of burial. Among the Jews, as well as people of the ANE generally, burial usually took place on the day of DEATH (cf. Deut. 21:23) or within twenty-four hours. Problems of sanitation and fear of possible defilement through contact with a dead body (Num. 9:10-14) constituted reasons for such swiftness, as exemplified by ABRAHAM'S burying SARAH out of his sight (Gen. 23:4 NRSV) and LAZARUS' burial on the day he died (Jn. 11:17, 39). Jesus' body was buried on the day he was crucified (Matt. 27:57-60; cf. Deut. 21:23; Gal. 3:13). See DEATH OF CHRIST.

II. Care for the dead. That burying of the dead was considered important in the Stone, Chalcolithic, and Early Bronze Ages is suggested by the care evidenced in handling parts of the skeleton and in the deposit of grave objects with the corpse, as seen in such places as Wadi el-Mugharah, JERICHO, and Teleilat el-Ghassul. (Cf. K. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* [1957], 60-65.)

In Bible times, as in ABSALOM'S hasty burial (2 Sam. 18:17), little or nothing was done to the body. Often the corpse was washed (Acts 9:37), or anointed with aromatic preparations (Mk. 16:1; Jn. 19:39), which was an old practice (2 Chr. 16:14). The body was also wrapped in some cloth or garment (Acts 5:6) or bound up with grave bandages (*keiria* ***G3024***, Jn. 11:44), usually of linen (*sindōn* ***G4984***, Mk. 15:46; *othonion* ***G3856***, Jn. 19:40), and the face was evidently covered or bound separately with a face cloth (*soudarion* ***G5051***, Jn. 11:44). These practices were "in accordance with Jewish burial customs" (Jn. 19:40). That wrapping the body was practiced early is evidenced by remains of a skeleton enclosed in cloth found in a 13th-12th cent. B.C. tomb at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh in the Jordan Valley (J. B. Pritchard in *BA* 28 [1965]: 10-17).

The Jews were averse to cremating the corpse (Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.5), as was frequently the practice of the Greeks and Romans (cf. Sophocles, *Electra* 1136-39; for inhumation, cf. Thucydides, *Hist*. 1.134.6; Plato, *Phaedo* 115E; both methods, Cicero, *Leg*. 2.22.56). The seeming exception in the burning of the bodies of SAUL and his sons (1 Sam. 31:11-13) probably was an emergency measure lest the PHILISTINES disturb the bodies, for the same men then buried their bones. Early Bible legislation required that those guilty of sexual immorality (Lev. 20:14; 21:9) and those under a curse (cf. ACHAN and his family, Josh. 7:15, 25) were to be burned. There is no biblical evidence that embalming, a process so prevalent among the Egyptians, was practiced by the Jews, except in the isolated cases of JACOB and JOSEPH (Gen. 50:2, 26), since the latter's official position in Egypt dictated the procedure.

III. Receptacles used in burials. Before burial, the body was placed on a bier (lit., "couch, bed," 2 Sam. 3:31; 2 Chr. 16:14 [here possibly a crypt]; Lk. 7:14). ARCHAEOLOGY has also shown that pottery storage jars sometimes were used to hold the remains of adults (as at Byblos; see GEBAL) and of infants and small children. Although the Egyptians customarily used the coffin, often elaborately decorated, this object does not seem to have been

House-shaped ossuaries from various sites in Israel dating to the Chalcolithic period (c. 3200 B.C.).

common among the Jews; it is mentioned in the Bible only in Joseph's case (Gen. 50:26, *)ărôn* ***H778***, "portable chest"). There have been found terra-cotta coffins with anthropoid designs at BETH SHAN and DIBON, and in Hellenistic and Roman times elaborately decorated marble sarcophagi were used.

Although not mentioned in Scripture, ossuaries (bone-boxes) were used early (cf. the house-shaped clay box from Hederah, c. 3500 B.C.) and were quite common in the early Roman period. (See B. A. Mastin, "Chalcolithic Ossuaries and Houses for the Dead," *PEQ* 97 [1965]: 153-60.) Rectangular limestone boxes, 20-30 inches in length, with personal names and decorations often inscribed on them, have been found near Jerusalem in caves and tombs. These were used for bones after the flesh had decomposed, and grave space was needed for other corpses.

Types of burying places included simple holes or pits (sometimes lined with stones or bricks), stone slab dolmen graves (c. 4500 B.C.), as well as natural caves and tombs hewn out of rocky hillsides. In the Hellenistic and through the Roman periods the poor continued to use caves and cisterns, but other hewn tombs became larger and more elaborate, like the Mausoleum of Queen Helena of Adiabene (Jos. *War* 5.4.2) and the structures in the KIDRON Valley opposite the temple area, with catacombs also being used in Christian times. See TOMB.

At times tombs included multiple units used by families, as exemplified by Abraham's family

This tomb, with its visible headrests, borders the SW corner of the Hinnom Valley in Jerusalem and dates to the time of Jeremiah.

tomb at the cave of MACHPELAH (Gen. 23), such practice of communal burial being seen throughout Palestine by 3000 B.C. Religious scruples did not preclude the use of the same grave space over again. Archaeology has shown that often grave areas were reused, parts of old skeletons being pushed aside to make room for the new. In addition, graves for single burials appear, for example, in the Bible (Aaron, Deut. 10:6; Moses, Deut. 34:6; and Jephthah, Jdg. 12:7), at Jericho (late 3rd millennium B.C.), and at Qumran (about the time of Christ). (Cf. J. E. Callaway, "Burials in Ancient Palestine," *BA* 26 [1963]: 74-91; L. V. Rahmani, "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs," *BA* 44 [1981]: 171-77, 229-35; 45 [1982]: 43-53, 109-19.)

IV. Geographical locations of burial places. Sometimes graves were located beneath the floors of houses, a practice evident throughout the Stone Age as well as in the Chalcolithic Age. In Scripture burial areas are frequently associated with cities and regions, as the graves of JOSHUA at Timnath Serah (Josh. 24:30), of SAMSON between Zorah and Eshtaol (Jdg. 16:31), and of DAVID and SOLOMON in the City of David (1 Ki. 2:10; 11:43). Usually burial places were located outside the city or village (as at Nain, Lk. 7:12, and seen at Jericho, Dibon, Jerusalem, etc.), due to the fear of defilement (Lev. 21:1). Quite unusually, however, in Scripture Jewish graves are to be found in houses of important persons, such as SAMUEL, a prophet (1 Sam. 25:1); JOAB, a general (1 Ki. 2:34); and King MANASSEH (2 Ki. 21:18; 2 Chr. 33:20). It is unclear whether these instances are related to the ancient practice of house burials. In Jeremiah's and Josiah's day, burial grounds for common people were located in the Kidron Valley at Jerusalem (Jer. 26:23; 2 Ki. 23:6).

V. Ritual in burial. In death, the parents (Mk. 5:40), the family (Gen. 46:4), and friends (Matt. 27:57-60; Jn. 19:38-39) were naturally involved in caring for the body of the loved one and seeing to its burial, with women being especially prominent (Matt. 27:61; Mk. 15:47; Lk. 23:55-56). There may have been in the NT church a confraternity of men who occasionally took care of preparations for the dead (Acts 5:6; 8:2).

MOURNING for the dead was an essential part of the burial ceremony; it involved great wailing

and a shrill cry (Jer. 4:8; 49:3; Joel 1:13; Acts 8:2). The family (Gen. 23:2; 2 Sam. 11:26), friends, and others affected by the death (1 Sam. 25:1; 2 Sam. 1:11—12; Jer. 22:18) participated in it, and tears were shed ritually at the appropriate time (Jer. 9:17-18; Mal. 2:13; Lk. 7:32). The mourning with flute playing took place right after death (Gen. 23:2), at the home where the corpse was resting (Matt. 9:23), and continued on to the tomb (Lk. 7:12-13), lasting in OT times ordinarily for seven days (Gen. 50:10; 1 Chr. 10:12; cf. Jdg. 16:24 and Sir. 22:12); for important persons, as Moses and Aaron, thirty days (Num. 20:29; Deut. 34:8); and, in one case, Jacob, seventy days (Gen. 50:3), according to Egyptian custom. In the NT, mourning and other acts took place over several days, as for Christ (parts of three days, Matt. 27:61; Lk. 24:1; Jn. 20:11) and for Lazarus (Jn. 11:33, 39). Professional mourners were also important in the death ritual (cf. 2 Chr. 35:25, "men and women singers"; Jer. 9:17, "Call for the wailing women to come; / send for the most skillful of them").

In Isaiah's time, part of the idolatrous practices of the people involved necromancy as they sat in the tombs (Isa. 65:4; see DIVINATION II.D). It is well known through excavations at such places as Dothan, Gezer, and Jericho that grave goods were deposited with the dead, including such things as weapons, jewelry, lamps, furniture, and food. The practice of depositing the last item may have evoked the prohibition in Deut. 26:14 regarding not giving food to the dead.

VI. Concepts regarding burial. Burial was considered a necessary act, the deprival of which, with the resultant exposure to the ravages of beasts, being considered a serious indignity and calamity (2 Ki. 9:36-37; Ezek. 29:5). Even criminals were allowed to be buried (Deut. 21:22-23). The law instructed that touching a corpse brought ceremonial defilement (Lev. 21:1; Num. 19:11-13; see PURITY), but it was considered a proper act to protect the bodies of slain warriors until they could be buried (2 Sam. 21:1-14) and to bury those slain in times of persecution (Tob. 1:17-19; 2:8). Although there is no indication that the heathen practice of depositing grave goods with the dead (implying belief in life after death) had any influence on the Jews, yet Ezek. 32:17-28 seems to set forth a belief in an abode of the dead in part at least similar to that set forth in Lk. 16:19-23. (For additional bibliography, see TOMB.)

W. H. MARE

burn. The blazing, consuming flame of FIRE flickers through the Bible as a constant symbol as well as an ever-present reality. There are several distinct usages. The burning of the SACRIFICE (Lev. 1-7) was a symbolic way of conveying the offering, and thus the commitment of the sacrificer, to God: as the sacrifice was consumed and the smoke and odor arose to heaven, it symbolized the entrance into the divine presence. Burning as a means of judgment has been literally carried out in history, and it will again at the consummation of all things (Lev. 10:1-2; Josh. 6:24; 8:28; 1 Cor. 3:13); the final judgment of the wicked is a LAKE OF FIRE (Rev. 20:14-15). God himself in holiness and eternal might is represented by the BURNING BUSH (Exod. 3:1-3), by the burning coals of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 1:13), and by the continually burning lamp of the sanctuary: "God is a consuming fire" (Heb. 12:29). Burning can also indicate zeal and passion, both in positive and in negative contexts (Lk. 24:32; Jn. 5:35; Rom. 1:27; 1 Cor. 7:9).

R. C. JOHNSON

burning bush. According to Exod. 3:2, God appeared to MOSES "in flames of fire from within a bush. Moses saw that though the bush was on fire it did not burn up" (the term for "bush" here, *sĕneh* ***H6174***, appears also in vv. 3-4 and in Deut. 33:16). Scholars who do not believe that this

phenomenon was a miraculous event have proposed several theories to account for it. One is that the plant was *Dictanus albus*, sometimes called the gas plant, *Dittany fraxinella*, or "burning bush." This plant, however, grows only 3 ft. tall and is looked upon as an herb and not a bush. The plant is covered with tiny oil glands, and so, if a match is struck nearby, it will burst into flame. It then burns for a very short time without damaging the leaves or stems. Since it burns for a matter of seconds, and since it is much too small, it could hardly be the burning bush of Exod. 3:2. The Hebrew term indicates a spiny shrub, and even today the Arabs use the word *sanna* as a general term for shrubs of this character. Therefore, it would probably be the thorny ACACIA. Those who must find an explanation for the flames suggest that the bush was covered with a large crimson-flowered mistletoe (which grows on the acacia). When in bloom, and with the sun shining through, it does look like a flaming fire. Moses, however, was first a well-educated Egyptian prince, and second a country shepherd, and so he should have known this blossoming mistletoe well. (The plant could not have been the American burning bush, *Eunonymus Americanus*, because this was not known in the Holy Land.) See FLORA (under *Loranthaceae*).

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burnt offering. See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

bush. See BRAMBLE; BURNING BUSH; FLORA; HEATH.

bushel. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES III.C.7.

business. See TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS.

butler. See CUPBEARER.

butter. This English term is used by the KJV to render the Hebrew word ḥem*)â* ***H2772***, which refers to curdled milk, comparable to yogurt. Modern versions usually render the Hebrew term with CURDS (e.g., Deut. 32:14; 2 Sam. 17:29; Isa. 7:15, 22) or "cream" (Job 20:17 and 29:6 NIV), though the word "butter" is sometimes retained (e.g., Prov. 30:33 NIV). See FOOD.

buying. See TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS.

Buz buhz (בּוּז ***H998***, perhaps "contempt"; gentilic בּוּזִי ***H1000***). (1) Son of NAHOR (ABRAHAM'S brother) by MILCAH (Gen. 22:21).

(2) A descendant of GAD and ancestor of Abihail (1 Chr. 5:14).

(3) A tribe or city-state in ARABIA, listed with DEDAN and TEMA as objects of God's judgment (Jer. 25:23). It was apparently the home of ELIHU, whose father is called Barakel the Buzite (Job 32:2, 6). It is debated whether the Buzites were descendants of #1 above. Buz is usually connected with the E Arabian town of Bazu, mentioned in Assyrian texts (see *ANET*, 284, 290; but this identification is considered "linguistically untenable" by I. Eph(al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [1982], 133 n. 468).

Buzi by*oo*'zi (בּוּזִי *H1001*, perhaps "contempt" or "of Buz"). The father of EZEKIEL (Ezek. 1:3). It is

unclear whether this name should be related to the Arabian tribe of Buz.

Buzite by*oo*'z*i*t. See Buz.

buzzard. This term is used by the NRSV three times, where the NIV has either "red kite" (Lev. 11:14 [*dā)â* ***H1798***]; Deut. 14:13 [*rā)â* ***H8012***]; see KITE) or "falcon" (Isa. 34:15, *dayyâ* ***H1901***). This VULTURE is the fifth in the Levitical list of unclean birds, and by G. R. Driver's argument (in *PEQ* no vol. [1955]: 5-20) this would fit the buzzards and/or FALCONS. (He is incorrect in placing buzzards, harriers, and falcons in the *Falconidae*, to which only the latter belong.) Buzzards are broad-winged soaring HAWKS taking a range of prey, and the Hebrew name may derive from their mewing call. They are well-known in Palestine as both residents and migrants; they include the common buzzard, in dark and pale

Painted wooden sculpture of a buzzard; from Egypt, early 1st millennium B.C.

forms, the honey buzzard, and the long-legged buzzard. (See *FFB*, 40-41.)

G. S. CANSDALE

by and by. A phrase used four times in the KJV to translate Greek words meaning "at once, immediately" (Matt. 13:21; Mk. 6:25; Lk. 17:7; 21:9).

Byblos bib'los. Greek name of the town GEBAL.

Byblos Syllabic Inscriptions. See WRITING V.B.

byways. This English term is used by some versions to render a Hebrew phrase meaning "winding paths" (Jdg. 5:6). Cf. also the term "bypaths" to render a different Hebrew phrase that describes the way an erring people follow, in contrast to an open way or highway (Jer. 18:15).

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byword. This English term is used variously in Bible translations to render several Hebrew words, especially *māšāl* ***H5442***, "proverb, parable" (e.g., 1 Ki. 9:7; Job 17:6). The context is often God's anger focused against a wayward nation, as in Ps. 44:14, "You have made us a byword among the nations; / the peoples shake their heads at us."

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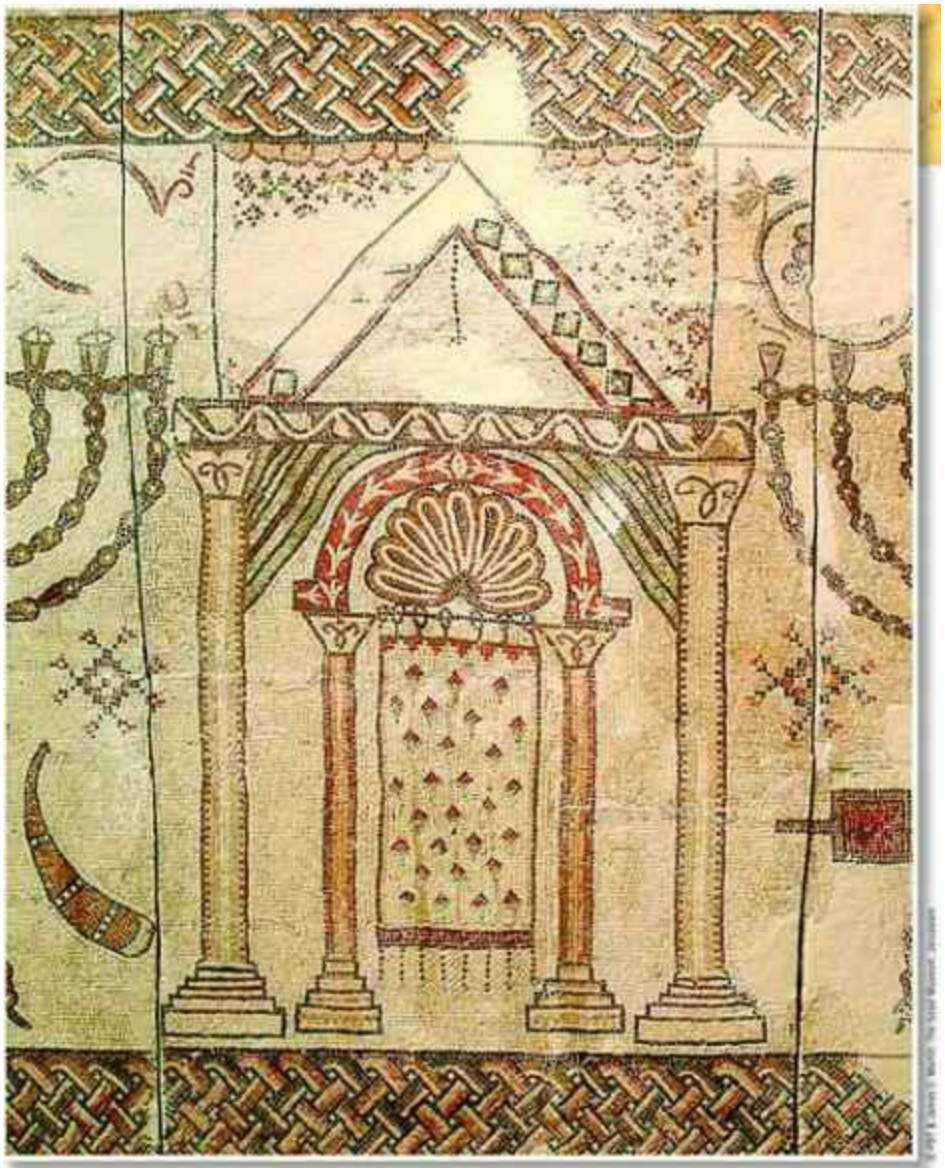
Byzantine text. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT) V.

C



Synagogue mosaic of the temple curtain (3rd-5th cent. A.D.).

C. A symbol used to designate CODEX EPHRAEMI. See also TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

cab. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES III.B.8.

Cabbon kab'uhn (כַּבּוֹן ***H3887***, perhaps from a root meaning "wrap around"). TNIV Kabbon. A city in the SHEPHELAH, near LACHISH (Josh. 15:40). Some scholars have associated Cabbon with MACBENAH (Caleb's descendant according to 1 Chr. 2:49, but usually taken as a reference to a town) on the assumption that the two names are from the same Hebrew root (cf. BDB, 460).

cabin. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew ḥānût ***H2844***, a word that occurs only once (Jer. 37:16; NIV, "vaulted cell"). From the context it is obviously part of the prison.

Cabul kay'buhl (כָּבוּל ***H3886***, meaning uncertain). TNIV Kabul. (1) A town on the E boundary of the

tribe of ASHER (Josh. 19:27). Cabul is no doubt the same as "Chabolo [*Chabōlō*], a village on the frontiers of Ptolemais," where JOSEPHUS stayed with his army (*Life* §213). It is usually identified with modern Kabul, nestled among the hills c. 9 mi. ESE of Acco (Acre), but Z. Gal (in *ZDPV* 101 [1985]: 114-27, esp. 125) argues for nearby Khirbet Ras ez-Zetun (Rosh Zayith). Cabul is not to be identified with Kabura (*kbr* in the Ramses III list, no. 23), which is farther S.

(2) The "Land of Cabul" (1 Ki. 9:13) was a district in N GALILEE comprising twenty towns (presumably including the town of Cabul; see #1 above) that SOLOMON ceded to HIRAM for his help in building the TEMPLE at Jerusalem. When Hiram saw the cities he was so dissatisfied that he called them "Land of Cabul," apparently because this name can be interpreted to mean "like nothing," that is, worthless (the LXX renders *)ereṣ kābûl* with *Horion*, "Boundary"). The motive behind Solomon's "gift" is disputed. Was this part of an original arrangement? Or did it indicate a deficit in the balance of trade with TYRE? (Cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, rev. ed. [1979], 307-9.) The reason for Hiram's reaction is also unclear (he may have returned the cities; cf. 2 Chr. 8:2).

R. C. RIDALL

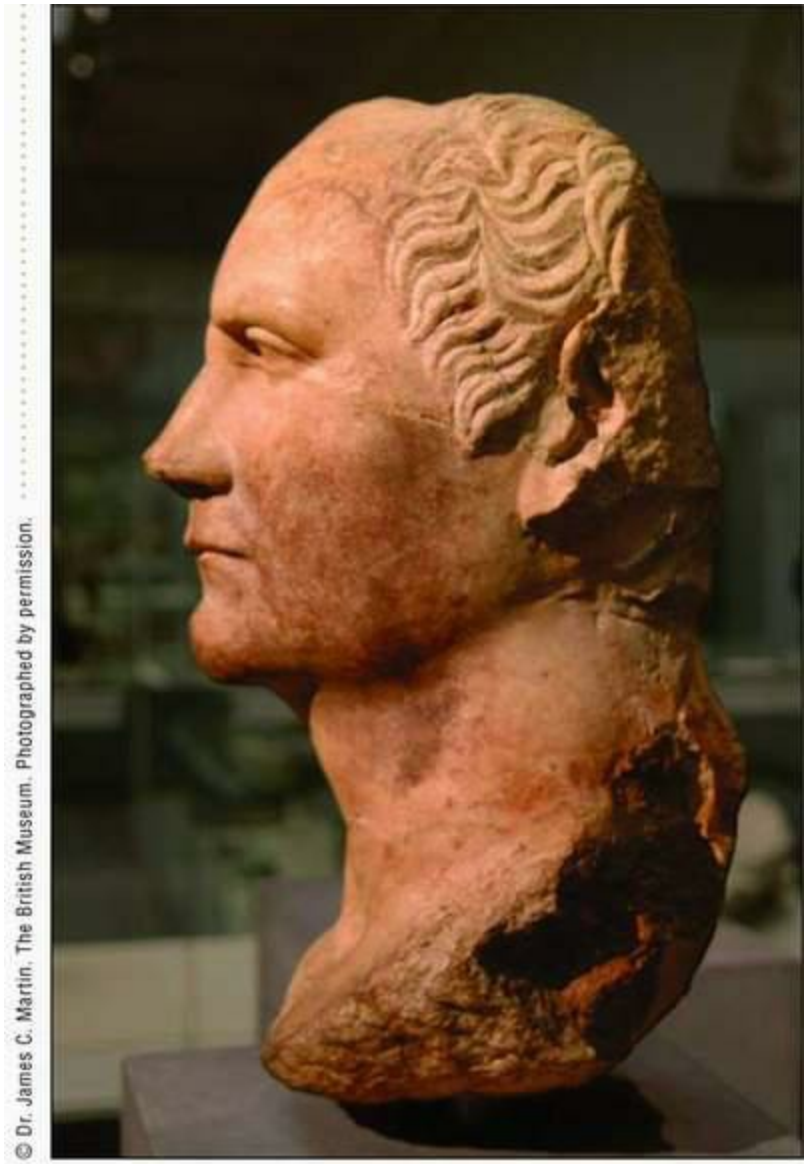
Caddis kad'is. KJV Apoc. form of GADDI (1 Macc. 2:2).

Cades, Cades-barne kay'deez, kay'dees-bahr'nee. KJV Apoc. forms of Kadesh and KADESH BARNEA (Jdt. 5:14; 1 Macc. 11:63, 73).

Cadmiel kad'mee-uhl. KJV Apoc. form of KADMIEL (1 Esd. 5:26, 58).

Caesar see'zuhr (Καῖσαρ ***G2790***). Cognomen of the Julian family, whose most eminent member was Caius Julius Caesar, the great soldier, statesman, orator, and author (102-44 B.C.). Julius Caesar was the last of a series of commanders who, for a full century of constitutional crises and civil strife, had used the power of the army to impose political solutions for ROME'S recurrent breakdowns of law and order, a pernicious practice that was ultimately to destroy the Roman state.

Although he was assassinated in 44 B.C., Caesar's heritage was passed to Octavianus, his adoptive heir, who by legal process became Caius Octavianus Caesar, later termed AUGUSTUS. *Caesar* thus became the dynastic name of all the emperors down



This bust from a marble statue (c. A.D. 50) probably represents Julius Caesar. Found in a sanctuary at Priene (W Turkey).

to HADRIAN (A.D. 117-138), and subsequently of the heir-presumptive. *Tsar* and *Kaiser* are derivations of the same title. (See Matt. 22:17-21 and parallels; Lk. 2:1; 3:1; 23:2; Jn. 19:12; Acts 17:7; 25:8-12; et al.; Phil. 4:22.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Caesar, appeal to. See APPEAL.

Caesarea ses'uh-ree'uh (Καισάρεια ***G2791***). Also known as Caesarea Maritima ("by the sea") to distinguish it from CAESAREA PHILIPPI. A garrison port of Rome on the Palestine coast, 65 mi. from JERUSALEM, Caesarea was a foundation of the first HEROD and a monument to that subtle diplomat's pro-Roman policy. On the long harborless coast of Palestine, JOPPA was the one port S of CARMEL equipped with some natural protection, but Joppa was violently national and rabidly anti-Roman. Herod knew his Jewish subjects too well to make the mistake of turning Joppa into a Roman bridgehead. It was better to begin on neutral, unencumbered ground, in spite of the vast expense entailed in providing the open roadstead of Caesarea with effective harbor works. The building of these was a fine feat of engineering. A breakwater 200 ft. wide was built against the southern gales.

The water ran to 20 fathoms; this depth was filled with enormous

The stadium at Caesarea Maritima. (View to the N.)

The ancient harbor of Caesarea Maritima. (View to the S.)

blocks of limestone, some of them 50 x 10 x 9 ft. On this foundation were a mole and quay with adequate defenses. The enclosed haven was larger than Piraeus (the port that served ATHENS), opening like modern Haifa to the safe N.

The site chosen by Herod had earlier been known as Strato's (or Straton's) Tower. The city took twelve years to build. It had places of assembly, an amphitheater, a temple to Rome and AUGUSTUS, and a drainage system that speaks of Roman engineering. In the theater a dedication stone in fragmentary form has been discovered bearing part of the name of Pontius PILATE. But the harbor dwarfed the magnificence of the town, and a coin of NERO bears the inscription "Caesarea by Augustus' Harbor." "Caesarea," said TACITUS (*Hist*. 2.78), "is the capital of Judaea." It housed the 3,000 troops, an inadequate garrison that was stationed there. It was the procurator's headquarters. The aqueduct, which brought in the water supply, ran over brick arches and was vulnerable to enemy attack. Perhaps there was a supplementary system of tanker ships, for the city seems to have been a safe haven for the Roman administration even during the great Jewish rebellion.

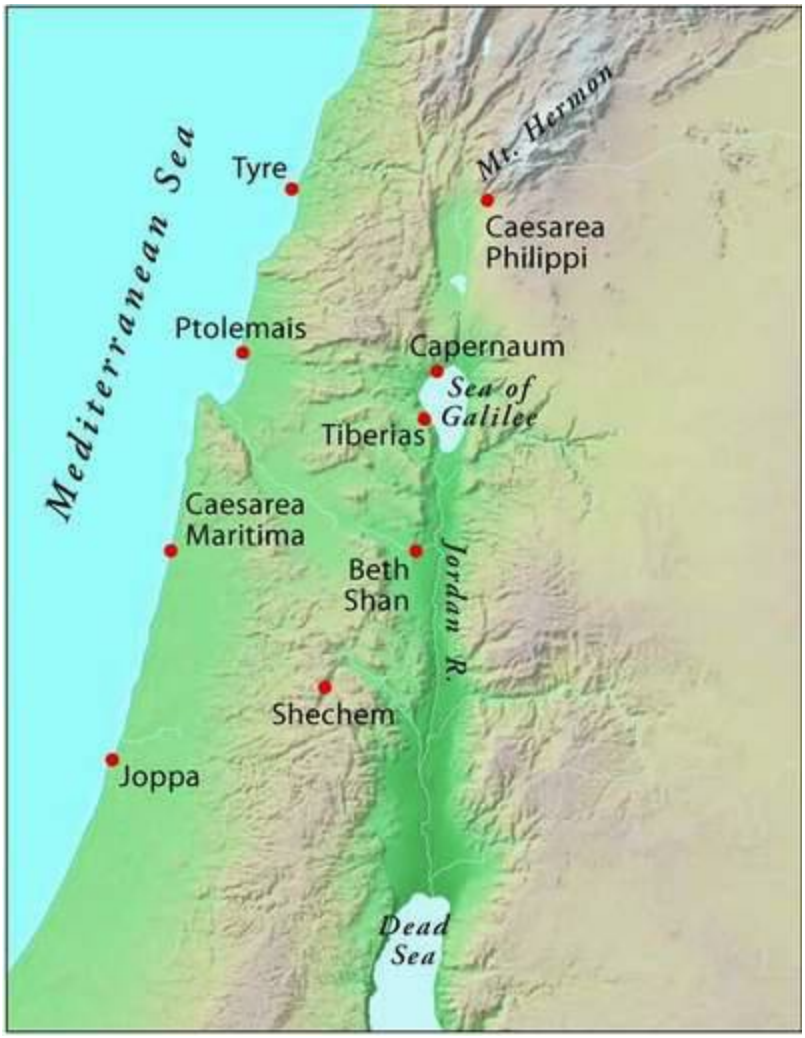
All resident Jews were massacred when the rebellion broke out in A.D. 66. PAUL was

imprisoned here, secure from Jewish assassination plots, and the last of the Herods, Agrippa II and Bernice, found refuge here during the war (see HEROD VIII). After Roman times Caesarea fell into decay. The Arabs fell upon the coast, and the Crusaders, for Rome's reasons, were the only intruders to give attention to the restoration of the port. Their great defenses are visible today, over and mingled with the surviving memorials of Rome. It is a rewarding but demanding site for archaeological investigation. Underwater explorations during the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated that the construction of the harbor under Herod was an engineering marvel. (See E. M. Blaiklock, *Cities of the New Testament* [1965], ch. 14; K. G. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* [1988]; *NEAEHL*, 1:270-91; and the articles by Y. Porath and K. G. Holum in *BAR* 30/5 [Sept.-Oct. 2004]: 24-45, 57.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Caesarean text. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT) V.

Caesarea Philippi ses'us-ree'uh-fil'i-p*i*' (Καισαρεία τῆς Φιλίππου). The town of Caesarea Philippi was one of the centers of the DECAPOLIS, lying some 50 mi. SW of DAMASCUS and 25 mi. N of the Sea of Galilee, in fine hill country on the southern slopes of HERMON. It is situated at a cool height of 1,150 ft., on the easternmost of the four sources of the JORDAN. George Adam Smith, the great geographer of Palestine, wrote one of his purple passages of description on the site. He described "a gorge, through which roars a headlong stream, half stifled by bush. A Roman bridge takes you over, and through a tangle of trees, brushwood, and fern you break into sight of a high cliff…In the cliff is a cavern. Part of the upper rock has fallen, and from the *débris* of boulders and shingle below bursts and bubbles along thirty feet a full-born river. The place is a sanctuary of waters…As you stand within the charm of it…you understand why the early Semites adored the Baalim of the underground waters even before they raised their gods to heaven, and thanked them for the rain. This must have been one of the chief seats of the Baalim—perhaps Baal-gad of the Book of Joshua" (*Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 25th ed. [1931], 304-5).



Caesarea Maritima and Caesarea Philippi.

When the Greeks came and flooded into the area after ALEXANDER THE GREAT, alert as ever for the deity of the place, they founded a shrine for the god Pan and called it Paneion (Jos. *Ant*. 10.3.1; *War* 1.21.3), and the district, Panias. The name survives in modern Banias (see *NEAEHL*, 1:136-43). Here, as always, pursuing his dual policy of placating the Jews and the Romans at the same time, the first HEROD built a temple to Rome and AUGUSTUS in commemoration of the fact that Augustus assigned the town to his royal domains. Its exact position is unknown, because the Roman remains are meager. Herod's son, Philip the tetrarch, also in Augustus's principate, adorned the town and renamed it Caesarea Philippi to honor the prince and to distinguish the foundation from his father's similarly named port on the coast of Palestine (see CAESAREA). Agrippa II gave some attention to the town in Nero's principate, actually renaming it Neronias, a name that failed to survive. Its last use, according to the coinage, was in the time of MARCUS AURELIUS. At Caesarea, TITUS celebrated gladiatorial shows after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The Crusaders had a stronghold there from A.D. 1130 to 1165.

The NT importance of Caesarea is that, in its environs, PETER confessed that Jesus was the MESSIAH but then refused to believe that Jesus would be killed (Matt. 16:13-23; Mk. 8:27-33). The TRANSFIGURATION took place soon after that on the adjacent slopes of Mount Hermon. The party may have avoided entering the town "with its dark memories of Israelitish apostasy, its poor mimicry of Roman imperialism, and the broken statues of its unhallowed and Hellenic cave" (F. W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ* [n.d.], 382).

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Caesar's household (ἡ Καίσαρος οἰκία). The imperial staff composed of both slaves and freedmen. The expression is used by the apostle PAUL: "All the saints send you greetings, especially those who belong to Caesar's household" (Phil. 4:22). The term was used with wide meaning: JOSEPHUS can employ it to describe one of the slaves of TIBERIUS'S wife, Julia (*Ant*. 17.5.8). It was more commonly applied to the imperial civil service, usually at ROME, but also throughout the empire, particularly in the imperial provinces. Thus PHILO

Caesarea Philippi is situated at the southern base of Mount Hermon. (View to the N.)

JUDAEUS says, "If Agrippa had not been a king, but instead one of Caesar's household, would he not have had some privilege or honor?" (*Flacc*. 35). (Cf. P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* [1972].)

Scholars have argued that since Paul's greeting from the household of Caesar could refer to places other than Rome, the epistle to the PHILIPPIANS may have been written while he was imprisoned elsewhere (EPHESUS and CAESAREA have been suggested). J. B. Lightfoot (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* [1868], 171-78) has shown that the imperial household of Nero's time was very large and could easily have included converts to Christianity. He has also shown that in the *columbaria* (sepulchral chambers) of the imperial household there is a high frequency of names that coincide with the names of Rom. 16, thus supporting the view that Rome was the place from which Paul wrote Philippians. (See also G. D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* [1995], 459.)

A. RUPPRECHT

cage. This English term is used in Bible versions to render two rare Hebrew words, referring to an enclosure for confining birds (Jer. 5:27; the Hebrew term here, *kĕlûb* ***H3990***, is used of a fruit basket in Amos 8:1-2) or animals (Ezek. 19:9; Heb. *sûgar* ***H6050***). The KJV uses the word also in the NT, where Babylon is described as "a cage of every unclean and hateful bird" (Rev. 18:2; other versions render Gk. *phylakē G5871* here with "haunt").

Caiaphas kay'uh-fuhs (Καϊάφας ***G2780***, with variant spellings in the MSS). The official high priest during the ministry and trial of Jesus (Matt. 26:3, 57; Lk. 3:2; Jn. 11:49; 18:13-14, 24, 28; Acts 4:6). To assure their control over the total affairs of JUDEA, the Romans reserved the right to appoint not

only the civil ruler but also the religious leader of the Jews, the high priest (see PRIESTS AND LEVITES). JOSEPHUS relates that "Joseph who was also called Caiaphas" was made high priest by the Procurator Valerius Gratus (A.D. 18) and that he was deposed by the Procurator Vitellius (A.D. 36). His successor was "Jonathan the son of Ananus," commonly identified with the ANNAS of the NT (*Ant*. 18.2.2; 18.4.3). Thus the high-priesthood of Caiaphas lasted some eighteen years, standing in marked contrast to the rapid changes in the office both before and after him. It indicates that he was shrewd and adaptable enough to conciliate the Romans. According to Jn. 18:13 he was the son-in-law of Annas, who had been deposed as high priest in A.D. 15 by Valerius Gratus. Neither Caiaphas nor his father-in-law is named in the Gospel of Mark.

Caiaphas is first mentioned in the NT in Luke's sixfold dating of the beginning of JOHN THE BAPTIST'S ministry (Lk. 3:1-2). The form of Luke's statement is arresting, "during the high priesthood [sing.] of Annas and Caiaphas" (v. 2). The expression may indicate an irregularity. The conjecture that "and Caiaphas" is an interpolation receives no MS support. J. M. Creed (*The Gospel according to Luke* [1930], 49-50) thinks the expression reflects Luke's lack of exact information on the priesthood, for he does not name Caiaphas in connection with the trial, and in Acts 4:6 he writes "Annas the high priest." R. Bultmann (*Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 12th ed. [1952], 496-97) suggests that the problem is due to Luke's careless blending of two traditions, one familiar to him, naming Annas as high priest, with another making Caiaphas the high priest. Accepting the accuracy of Luke's statement, conservative scholars hold that it aptly reflects the real situation. As high priest emeritus and head of a powerful family, Annas continued to exert great influence through his son-in-law, who was the official high priest. That Annas did continue to exert great influence after he was deposed seems evident from the fact that he was able to procure appointment to the office for five of his sons. W. Manson says that Annas "exercised unofficial powers which were practically equivalent to full status" (*The Gospel of Luke* [1930], 25).

Following the raising of LAZARUS, the SANHEDRIN met to discuss what to do about Jesus (Jn. 11:47-53). "Caiaphas, who was high priest that year," advised that it was expedient "that one man die for the people" (v. 49). His proposal was adopted by the Sanhedrin. John remarks that the words of Caiaphas were prophetic; they had a higher meaning than he realized. The suggestion to sacrifice Jesus to save the nation expressed the gist of God's plan of salvation for all men through Christ's death. John's thrice-repeated statement that Caiaphas was high priest "that year" (11:49, 51; 18:13) does not imply an annual appointment of the high priest, a practice foreign to the Jews, but rather points to *that memorable year* when these things were done.

The policy of Caiaphas was put into effect with the arrest of Jesus, who was "first" taken to Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas (Jn. 18:13). The examination before Annas (vv. 19-23) had clearly a preliminary function, for John then says that "Annas sent him, still bound, to Caiaphas the high priest" (v. 24). But difficulty is evident, since one of the officers calls Annas "the high priest" (v. 22; the altered verse arrangements in the Sinaitic Syriac and in minuscule 225 are attempts to relieve the difficulty). John's gospel does not relate the night trial before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin (cf. Matt. 26:57-68; Mk. 14:53-65). When witnesses failed to incriminate Jesus, the scheming high priest adjured the prisoner to declare whether or not he was the MESSIAH and then hypocritically professed shock at the answer.

As a SADDUCEE opposed to the teaching of the RESURRECTION, Caiaphas took a leading part in the persecution of the early church. In Acts 4:6 he is named second among the Sadducean leaders who assembled to try Peter and John. That Annas rather than Caiaphas is here called "the high priest" is problematic, but seems to be further evidence of the continued power of the former high priest.

Caiaphas is probably the high priest mentioned in Acts as the bitter persecutor of the Christians (Acts 5:17-21, 27; 7:1; 9:1). (See also *HJP*, rev. ed. [1973-87], 2:216, 230; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* [1969], 64-65, 196-97; H. K. Bond, *Caiaphas: Friend of Rome and Judge of Jesus?* [2004]; J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High*

The Caiaphas ossuary. A beautifully carved stone box (prob. 1st cent.) with the bones of several people, including a man about sixty years old. The rough Aramaic inscription reads, *yhsp br qp*), Joseph son of Caiaphas.

Priests after the Exile [2004], 426 – 36. With regard to the "Caiaphas ossuary," discovered in 1990, see the opposing viewpoints by R. Reich in *BAR* 18/5 [Sept.-Oct. 1992]: 38-44, 76, and W. Horbury in *PEQ* 126 [1994]: 32-48; the latter includes a substantial discussion of the name Caiaphas and of the NT data on the high priesthood.)

D. E. HIEBERT

Cain kayn (קַיִן ***H7803***, possibly "metal worker," but by popular etymology, "acquired" [קָנָה ***H7865***, Gen. 4:1]; Κάϊν ***G2782***). (1) The eldest son of ADAM and EVE. Cain tilled the soil, whereas his younger brother ABEL was a shepherd (Gen. 4:1-2). Cain became a symbol of evil in that he did not exhibit faith in God's revelation. He offered the fruit of the soil as a sacrifice, but God rejected him (4:3-8). Cain is described in the NT as being "of the evil one" (1 Jn. 3:12). When Abel's offering from his flocks was accepted by God, Cain became angry, enticed his brother to join him where they were alone, and killed him. God met him, asked about Abel, and pronounced a curse on Cain because of his sin (Gen. 4:9-16). Cain was sent into the land of NOD (i.e., "wandering") where he feared he might be in danger. God protected him by placing a mark upon him. The nature of the mark is unknown, but it may have been similar to tribal marks known in the Middle East.

Cain built a city and became the progenitor of a large family with diverse occupations (Gen. 4:17-24). The first tent-dwelling herdsmen, metal workers, and musicians were from the line of Cain. Other peoples of the ancient world considered the gods the originators of arts and crafts, but the Bible traces them to human development within the line of Cain. Cain was the first child of Adam and Eve, and he became the first murderer, illustrating the development of sin within the race of Adam.

(2) KJV form of KAIN.

Cainan kay'nuhn (Καϊνάμ ***G2783***). (1) Son of ARPHAXAD and grandson of SHEM, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:36; this name is not found in the MT, but see the LXX at Gen. 10:24 and 11:12).

(2) KJV alternate form (and NRSV NT form) of KENAN (Gen. 5:9-14; Lk. 3:37).

Cairo Genizah. See GENIZAH; TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT) IX.

cake. See BREAD; DATES; RAISIN CAKE.

Calah kay'luh (כָּלַח ***H3996***, possibly "strength"; Akk. *Kalḫu*). One of the capital cities of ASSYRIA. Now called Nimrud and located in the NE angle of the confluence of the TIGRIS and Upper Zab rivers, it is 24 mi. S of NINEVEH on the E bank of the Tigris.

According to Gen. 10:8-12, Calah was built by NIMROD (KJV and NJPS understand the Hebrew text to mean that it was built by ASSHUR). The concluding clause of v. 12, "that is the great city," may apply to Calah, but the reference is ambiguous. The city was apparently rebuilt by SHALMANESER I (1274-1245 B.C.) and then later abandoned until it was restored by ASHURNASIRPAL (883-859). The inscriptions of TIGLATH PILESER III and SARGON II mention their attacks on Israel and Judah launched from this Assyrian military capital. Sargon II stored his booty here, and later ESARHADDON built himself a palace. Calah fell to the Medes and Babylonians in 612 B.C.

Excavations at this site have revealed immense statuary in the form of winged bulls and lions. Austen Henry Layard began his excavations there in 1845 and immediately found the splendid palace of Ashurnasirpal II, including a statue of the king in a state of perfect preservation. Layard also found the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III that portrays, among other captives, JEHU of Israel. The many antiquities from this site may be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the University Museum at Philadelphia, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. (See M. E. L. Mallowan, *Twenty-five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery* [1956]; id., *Nimrud and Its Remains*, 3 vols. [1966]; J. Curtis in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Ancient Near East*, ed. E. M. Meyers [1997], 4:141-44.)

L. WALKER

Calamolalus kal'uh-mol'uh-luhs (Καλαμωλαλος). According to most Greek MSS, Calamolalus was the ancestor of a family of Israelites who returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:22 NRSV; Codex B has *Kalamōkalou*). Most scholars, however, believe this passage is textually corrupt. Rahlfs's *Septuaginta* (also R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, Septuaginta 8/1 [1974]) accepts the conjecture *Kalamō allou*, "the other Calamo." The RSV renders, "the other Elam" (cf. Ezra 2:31 = Neh. 7:34). Others consider "Calamolalus" a corruption of two names combined, Lod and Hadid (cf. Ezra 2:33 = Neh. 7:37).

calamus. See AROMATIC CANE.

Calcol kal'kol (כַּלְכֹּל ***H4004***, possibly "sustaining" [cf. כּוּל ***H3920***]). TNIV Kalkol. Son or descendant of MAHOL and one of the sages whom SOLOMON surpassed in wisdom (1 Ki. 4:31; KJV,

"Chalcol"). Many believe, however, that "the sons of Mahol" refers to a guild of musicians. Calcol is elsewhere listed as a son or descendant of ZERAH, JUDAH'S son by TAMAR (1 Chr. 2:6; cf. v. 4). See also DARDA; ETHAN.

caldron. This English term, referring to a large earthenware or metal kettle or boiler, is variously used in Bible translations to render several Hebrew terms, such as *qallaḥat H7831* (1 Sam. 2:14, where it is distinguished from "pan," "kettle," and "pot"). See also POTTERY.

Caleb kay'luhb (כָּלֵב *H3979*, "dog"). This name is thought by some to go back to totemistic origins. It may rather speak of a man with canine qualities (the rabid one or one who snarls). In CUNEIFORM literature the term *dog* is used of abject servitude. A Canaanite king may call himself the "dog" of the Egyptian Pharaoh, thus indicating self-abasement and willing service. Two (or three) men bear this name in the OT.

(1) Son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite (see KENAZ), from the tribe of JUDAH. Caleb was one of the spies sent to survey the land of Canaan (Num. 13:6 et al.). He and JOSHUA were the only two spies willing to trust the Lord and enter the land. The others agreed that the land was good. They brought back specimens of the fruit of Canaan, but they felt that the inhabitants of the land were so much larger and stronger than the Israelites that there was no hope for Israel.

Caleb, representing the tribe of Judah, was later appointed to the commission created by Moses to assign allotments in the Promised Land to the respective tribes (Num. 34:19). At the time of the conquest, Caleb was eighty-five years old (Josh. 14:7, 10). The town of HEBRON was assigned to him, and he occupied it after expelling the Anakites who had previously dwelt there (Josh. 14:13-14; 1 Chr. 6:56; see ANAK). Caleb offered his younger daughter ACSAH in marriage to the man who would attack and take the nearby town of Kiriath Sepher. See DEBIR (PLACE) #1. The town was taken by OTHNIEL (the son of Caleb's younger brother Kenaz), and ACSAH was given to him (Josh. 15:15-19). Caleb's relationship with the Kenizzites indicates the presence of non-Israelites who became identified with the people and faith of Israel. While he and his descendants were part of the tribe of Judah, they appear to have come from a mixed background.

(2) Son of HEZRON and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ (1 Chr. 2:9, here called *kĕlûbāy* ***H3992*** [KJV, "Chelubai"]). His grandson was BEZALEL (VV. 18-20). This Caleb too is listed as having a daughter named ACSAH (v. 49). Thus the genealogical data associated with the name "Caleb" are difficult to sort out. Caleb son of Hezron is probably the same one mentioned in 1 Chr. 2:50, although some read the Hebrew text differently and posit a third Caleb who was the son of Hur (cf. KJV). According to the SEPTUAGINT (followed by RSV), this Caleb is also mentioned in v. 24 (see CALEB EPHRATHAH).

C. F. PFEIFFER

Caleb Ephrathah kay'luhb-ef'ruh-thuh (כָּלֵב אֶפְרָתָה ***H3980***). Also Caleb-ephrathah. Possibly a village, otherwise unknown, where HEZRON is said to have died (1 Chr. 2:24). Many scholars, however, emend the Hebrew on the basis of the SEPTUAGINT and read, "After the death of Hezron, Caleb went in to Ephrathah, the wife of Hezron his father" (thus RSV). See EPHRATH.

calendar. A system of measuring time by reference to recurring phenomena or to computed intervals.

I. Origins and development

A. Origins. The calendar is one of the oldest forms of applied science; its purpose is not merely to keep records, but also to predict developments. In a community whose livelihood depends on seasonal opportunities (e.g., for agriculture, and also for hunting, where the game moves with the seasons), one must know the right time for action. Religion added incentives for prediction, in the general belief that sacrifices were required to insure success in agriculture or hunting; and success called for thanksgiving as well as joy. In true religion as in false, observances must be scheduled to enable the community to unite in fellowship, or consecration, or desire. It fell to the priests to maintain the calendar, a task certainly beyond the ability of the unskilled. The Samaritan claim was typical: calculations depended partly on the correct text of instructions, partly on an expertise only the priests could have (J. Bowman, review of J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* [1959], in *VT* 15 [1965]: 120-26).

B. Development. As trade increased, a calendar became an essential basis for contracts. Within the more advanced communities, the functions of administration (esp. fiscal and judicial) needed a calendar to fix periods and systematize records. In government and trade, wider horizons and more sophisticated organization called for more compatible, standardized calendars.

An imperial power might impose its own calendar or adopt that of a conquered civilization. The Persian conquerors of Babylon first adopted the Babylonian calendar, then imposed it throughout their later empire (E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* [1968], 24). The Romans found no system in their Greek dominions that commanded any wide acceptance; but their own calendar was so erratic that, eventually, Julius CAESAR carried out a thorough reform. He did this without disturbing the festivals from their places within each month, or removing nominal control from the priests. As J. Segal says (in *JSS* 6 [1961]: 74-94), a calendar that breaks completely with ancient traditions is not

likely to survive for long. Caesar's reconciliation of tradition and science gave Europe a stable solar calendar based on computation, and resolved the tension between conservative and systematizing tendencies.

While there is no absolute need to use a solar year, there are good practical reasons for matching everyday reckoning to the climatic cycle. The history of the calendar is largely concerned with the attempt to reconcile observational and climatic factors; the former proved more complex and subtle than was at first suspected.

II. Natural conditions

A. Weather. Climatic changes (cyclic variations in the weather) control the growth and ripening of the earths produce in two ways. (1) Rainfall promotes growth directly and causes rivers to appear or rise, sometimes in countries that do not themselves receive appreciable rain. (2) Insolation, varying with the sun's altitude, affects the heat of the earth and hence of the atmosphere; this in turn affects the prevailing winds and the rainfall. All climatic conditions, the seasons, and the growth of crops depend ultimately on the sun and on the fact that the earth's axis is not perpendicular to the ecliptic (the imaginary line along which the sun appears to move as viewed from the earth). In many parts of the world, the heating of the land during the day produces an onshore wind, if meteorological conditions are otherwise stable.

B. Observation

1. Solar. Daily change in the sun's meridian altitude corresponds to the climatic cycle. It is possible, but it requires skill and apparatus, to determine the solstices and equinoxes to within a day. (The summer solstice is the longest day of the year; the winter solstice is the shortest. The equinoxes are the two days during the year when the length of day and night are virtually the same.) The solar or tropic year is approximately 365.24 mean solar days. Since the earth's orbit is slightly elliptic, the equinoxes do not split the year in equal halves of 182.62 days: fall equinox comes about 186 days after the spring (vernal) equinox.

2. Lunar. The moon's phases are readily observed, but less easy to determine precisely, except for the phasis (the initial appearance of each new moon). Even this latter phenomenon presents difficulties: since the moon moves half a degree eastward (relative to the sun) in each hour, the crescent might be seen in Palestine on a night when it had not appeared in Babylonia. Cloud or haze may also hinder observation. The altitude of the crescent varies, partly because of the varying inclination of the ecliptic to the horizon, partly because the moon may be up to five degrees N or S of the sun. The moon's synodic period (lunation) is about 29.53 days.

3. Stellar. The stars are the most accurate indicators of time; being so far from the earth, they appear fixed when viewed without the aid of very precise astronomical measurements. From the point of view of the man-in-the-field, their unvarying pattern goes through an annual cycle corresponding to the sun's movement against the stellar backcloth. A constellation appears farther to the W each evening, until it no longer appears before sunset. Soon afterwards, it becomes visible in the E before dawn (heliacal rising) and rises earlier each night until it is again visible at sunset. From very early times the stellar cycle was associated with the seasons, but only after many centuries did the annual

shift become apparent. Precession (a slow gyration of the earth's axis) causes a shift of the solstices and equinoxes with reference to the Zodiac. It also produces a shift of the equatorial plane in relation to the ecliptic, so that stars which once rose or culminated at the same time no longer do so.

SYNCHRONIZED JEWISH CALENDAR				
Nos.		Names of Months		Farm Seasons
1	(7)	Nisan	(Mar-Apr)	Begin barley harvest
2	(8)	Iyyar	(Apr-May)	Barley harvest
3	(9)	Sivan	(May-Jun)	Wheat harvest
4	(10)	Tammuz	(Jun-Jul)	
5	(11)	Ab	(Jul-Aug)	Grape, fig, olive ripe
6	(12)	Elul	(Aug-Sep)	Vintage begins
7	(1)	Tishri	(Sep-Oct)	Early rains; plowing
8	(2)	Heshvan	(Oct-Nov)	Wheat, barley sowing
9	(3)	Kislev	(Nov-Dec)	
10	(4)	Tebeth	(Dec-Jan)	Rainy winter months
11	(5)	Shebat	(Jan-Feb)	New Year for trees
12	(6)	Adar	(Feb-Mar)	Almonds blooming
13		Adar Sheni		Intercalary month

III. Terminology

A. Biblical terms

1. Day. The Hebrew noun *yôm* ***H3427*** (cf. Akk. *ūmu*, "day" or "wind" [see above, II.A]; Phoen. and Ugar. *ym*) refers to daylight as opposed to night but can also refer to the day-night cycle (Gen. 1:5). It is the basic unit of time, used for (a) short periods of days; (b) occasionally for a longer period (rarely for more than fifty, as in Gen. 7:24; 8:3; Esth. 1:4; Ezek. 4:5-6; Dan. 12:11); (c) special periods, probably approximate, using the number "forty"; (d) the period of gestation; (e) a seasonal period (e.g., of harvest); (f) an undefined limited time, especially a lifetime; (g) elapsed time generally (e.g., Gen. 4:3); (h) a year (e.g., Lev. 25:29; Num. 9:22; 1 Sam. 27:7); and (i) in expressions meaning "annual" or perhaps "seasonal."

2. Week. The term *šābûaʿ* ***H8651*** (seven-day period) occurs in the OT mainly in connection with the Feast of Weeks and in the prophecies of Daniel. In the NT, SABBATH is used as a dating reference and as a period (Lk. 6:1). See also below, V.E.

3. Month. Two terms occur in the OT. One of them, *yeraḥ* ***H3732*** (cf. *yārēah* ***H3734***, "moon") is used (a) for a lunation; (b) for a specific month; (c) in counting months. The second term is *ḥōdeš* ***H2544*** (cf. *ḥādāš* ***H2543***, "new"), meaning the crescent or the day of the moon's appearance, hence the reference for dating within a month (see NEW MOON).

4. Season. The word *môʿēd* ***H4595*** often means "appointed time," as for assemblies and feasts, but it has a broad range of meaning. It occurs in connection with astronomical fixing (Gen. 1:14; Ps.

104:19), which may be assumed for festivals (Exod. 13:10; 34:18; Lev. 23:4; Num. 9:2), but that element would not apply in other contexts (e.g., Gen. 17:21; 1 Sam. 13:8. Hos. 2:9, 11). Another term, *ʿēt* ***H6961***, can refer to any period or point of time, including a recurring natural period (e.g., the rainy season, Lev. 26:4; Deut. 28:12). Names of particular seasons are agricultural terms, such as "harvest" and "former/latter rains."

5. Year. The word for *day* can be used with reference to a year (see above, 1.h). The standard term, however, is *šānâ* ***H9102*** (from the verb meaning "to change"), referring to the great cycle that governs all human activity. Connected with it is the word *tĕqûpâ* ***H9543***, meaning "circuit" (Ps. 19:6), but used also of the end of a period or of a year (1 Sam. 1:20; Exod. 34:22; 2 Chr. 24:23); in JUDAISM, it was used of the quarter-days, each of which was the "new year" for a different purpose. The expression "return of the year" refers to the spring (2 Sam. 11:1; 1 Ki. 20:22, 26; 2 Chr. 36:10).

B. Glossary. *Celestial sphere*: the imaginary background on which the movements of the heavenly bodies, as seen from the earth, can be traced. Position is defined by degrees of *declination* from the *celestial equator* toward the N or S *celestial poles* (corresponding to latitude), and by *right ascension* in hours eastward from the vernal equinox, which is the prime reference.

Conjunction: the position of two bodies being in the same direction (longitude) from the earth.

Ecliptic: the apparent path of the sun on the celestial sphere. The plane of the ecliptic is the fundamental reference for the solar system.

Epact (annual): the difference in time between the lunar and solar years (about eleven days).

Epagomenal days: days added in the calendar to compensate the epact or other such difference; distinct from intercalary days as being part of the calendar and not an interruption of it.

Equinox: point on the celestial sphere where the ecliptic intersects the equator. At the *vernal* equinox the sun passes from N to S declination.

Golden number: the remainder from dividing a year date (Anno Domini) by 19, plus 1. This defines the moon's phases (and all dependent dates) for that year, in accordance with the Metonic cycle.

Heliacal rising: the annual date when a star is seen to rise immediately before dawn. Though not a very precise observation, it was the best way of determining a point in the solar year before accurately calibrated instruments were available.

Intercalation: interruption of calendar sequence to insert an extra unit, ad hoc or regularly.

Longitude: measurement of degrees eastward from the vernal equinox in the ecliptic plane.

Lunation: period between two conjunctions of the moon and the sun (also *synodic month*).

Metonic cycle: period of nineteen years, after which the moon's phases repeat their celestial positions; discovered by the Greek astronomer Meton in the 5th cent. B.C. The inaccuracy is only one day in twelve cycles (228 years).

Phase (lunar): the appearance of the moon at a given point in its orbit round the earth.

Phasis: the first appearance of the new moon.

Precession: a steady oscillation of the earth's axis in relation to the ecliptic, in a period of 25,800 years. With reference to the fixed stars, the equinoxes move around the ecliptic, being now about 70° from their position in 3000 B.C. The *Taurus period* denotes the time before about 2500 B.C., when the vernal equinox was in the constellation Taurus.

Solstice: time when the sun reaches its maximum declination; position of the sun at this time.

Year: a *solar* or *tropic year* is the time in which the sun returns to the vernal equinox. A *lunar*

year is twelve lunations.

Zodiac: the ecliptic divided into twelve zones of 30° for computational purposes, named in Babylonian times after the constellations in the zones.

C. Names of months. The names of the months in the various systems may be listed as in the chart below.

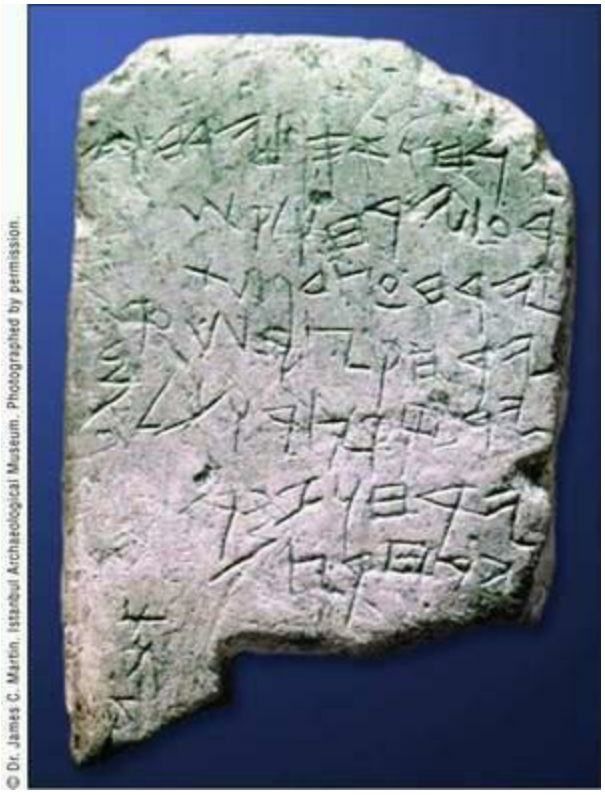
IV. Calendar systems

A. Hebrew calendars and their derivatives

1. Old Testament. The agricultural year ended at the harvest of grapes and fruit (Exod. 23:16; 34:22; cf. Lev. 25:8-9). The seasons had climatic or agricultural names; the Gezer Calendar (see AGRICULTURE V) attempted to correlate these with a system of lunar months, but did not give names to the months. "Canaanite" names, used in official records (1 Ki. 6:1, 37-38; 8:2), apparently required interpretation later.

Numbering of the months, from the Passover month (Exod. 12:2), is applied in the PENTATEUCH and in the few cases arising in the histories (Josh. 4:19; 1 Ki. 12:32-33; 2 Ki. 25; and Esther, where Babylonian names are used but rarely alone; cf. Ezra 6:15; Neh. 1:1; 2:1 only). Numbers are used by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and (without "month") Zechariah. Numbering was important for merchants and administrators, and need not have arisen from Babylonian influence, as J. Morgenstern (in *HUCA* 1 [1924]: 13-78) and others assume. For the general population, the festivals marked the annual cycle. These had to follow lunar and solar (agricultural) indications. Intercalation must have been practiced, but nothing is said about it in the OT; regulations were not yet possible.

Babylonian	Jewish	Macedonian	Julian
Nisanu	Nisan (Abib)	Artemisios	Mar-Apr
Aiaru	Iyyar (Ziv)	Daisios	Apr-May
Simanu	Sivan	Panemos	May-Jun
Duzu	Tammuz	Loos	Jun-Jul
Abu	Ab	Gorpiaios	Jul-Aug
Ululu	Elul	Hyperberetaios	Aug-Sep
Tashritu	Tishri (Ethanim)	Dios	Sep-Oct
Arahsamnu	Marheshvan (Heshvan, Bul)	Apellaios	Oct-Nov
Kislimu	Kislev	Audynaios	Nov-Dec
Tebetu	Tebeth	Peritios	Dec-Jan
Shabatu	Shebat	Dystros	Jan-Feb
Addaru	Adar	Xanthikos	Feb-Mar



One of the earliest Hebrew texts (10th cent. B.C.), this limestone inscription discovered at Gezer lists the agricultural phases of the year.

2. Orthodox Jewish. The Jews had a lunisolar calendar on the Babylonian model, intercalating a second Adar and eventually standardizing seven intercalations in nineteen years, though the Mishnaic rules leave the final decision in the hands of the SANHEDRIN. According to tractate *Roš Haššanah* of the MISHNAH, great attention was paid to the observation of the new moon; but it was laid down that there could not be more than seven, nor fewer than five, thirty-day months in any year.

3. Sectarian. The book of JUBILEES refers to a calendar of much interest, which abandoned the lunar month for one of thirty days. The year was divided into quarters, each of three months and an epagomenal day (i.e., thirteen weeks), so that all dates fell always on the same day of the week, and festivals never clashed with the Sabbath. At the same time, it kept clear of Hellenistic systems which, like the Babylonian, were tending to a nineteen-year cycle. The discovery of *Jubilees* texts at QUMRAN has revived debate as to whether this calendar could ever have been used in a community (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). It would have meant abandoning the solar year; no scheme of intercalation seems to avoid compromising its fundamental principles.

In Qumran itself, discrepancy between the orthodox and "covenanter" calendars was a major ground of contention, illustrated by the story that the Wicked Priest affronted the Teacher of Righteousness on what the Teacher, but evidently not the Priest, held to be the Day of Atonement. Qumran seems to have agreed with *Jubilees* at least in regarding the week as primary, and the calendar as a matter of revelation. Reference to the moon is disputed (cf. S. Talmon in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, 2nd ed. [1965], 162-99; J. Bowman in *PEQ* 91 [1959]: 23-37). E. Kutsch (in *VT* 11 [1961]: 39-47) considers intercalation only of weeks, but E. Vogt (in *Bib* 39 [1958]: 72-77) believes that it was used to reconcile Essene and solar years. (See further J. C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* [1998].)

The syncretistic community in ELEPHANTINE, probably from Northern Israel, used Persian (i.e.,

Babylonian) and Egyptian dating, but observed at least the Passover according to Jewish tradition. Among the SAMARITANS, the *Tolidah* (a 12th-cent. chronicle) shows points of contact with *Jubilees* (Bowman in *VT* 15 [1965]: 120); but certain prayers show that the month could begin on the Sabbath. J. M. Baumgarten (in *VT* 16 [1966]: 277-86) regards the calendar as basically lunar.

4. Theories of development. The Pentateuch does not describe a calendar; it assumes a lunisolar

The sectarian community at Qumran used sundials to determine not only the time of day but also the seasons of the year to establish precise dates for various holy days.

basis. The historical books only give information sporadically; little is known of the observance of festivals under the judges, or during the ebb and flow of religion under the kings. A series of articles by J. Morgenstern (in *HUCA* 20-21 [1947-48]) demonstrates the scope available to speculation. His theory of an original "Canaanite" solar calendar, replaced in the 6th cent. by one of Babylonian type, was later withdrawn (in *VT* 5 [1955]: 35-76; *JBL* 83 [1964]: 109-18) in favor of the pentecontad theory of J. and H. Lewy (*HUCA* 17 [1941]: 1-152); both ignore the evidence of the Gezer Calendar and the OT references to the new moon. Derivation of a pentecontad (fifty-day period) from a module of seven, squared and "rounded up," is suspect both in assumptions and logic (fifty is not "round" unless a base other than seven is already used). J. Segal (in *VT* 7 [1957]: 250-307) points out that natural events rather than computed intervals must dominate the calendar of an agricultural people. Morgenstern redefined Solomon's calendar as lunisolar and "Tyrian" (*HUCA* 21 [1948]: 376-77); after many vicissitudes, the pentecontad is said to have been revived by the deuteronomists (p. 433), although they numbered the months ordinally (p. 436). Many inconsistencies reveal the unsound methodology of these theories.

B. Gentile calendars

1. Mesopotamian. Calendars were developed by each of the principal cities; that of NIPPUR, adopted by Sargon I, became standard. The text *Enbu bel arḫim* (Nineveh, 7th cent. B.C.) is the oldest full account, but some "menologies" of propitious and unlucky days date from the 2nd millennium. The earliest calendars were probably lunisolar; according to S. Langdon (*Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* [1935], 142), intercalation was used to keep the barley harvest in Adar. A

cycle of seven intercalations in nineteen years was in use by the 4th cent.; but a 7th-cent. prism provides for beginning a year at the new moon nearest the vernal equinox. By the 2nd cent. conjunction and phasis were found by computation.

2. Canaanite. Little is known beyond the names of certain months (Ethanim and Bul, as in 1 Ki. 6 and 8; also Lezib and Hiyyar, see E. Koffmahn in *BZ* 10 [1966]: 197-219, esp. 206-9). Worship of the heavenly bodies figured largely in Phoenician religion, but it does not appear that they worshiped the sun more than the moon, nor does their knowledge of the Zodiac imply that they used a standardized month.

3. Egyptian. The Egyptian year began at the NILE flood and was divided into four seasons of three months. The heliacal rising of Sirius marked this year; but the official calendar (twelve months of thirty days, and five epagomenal) was allowed to creep forward, rotating through the year in what became known as the "Sothic" (Sirius) cycle.

4. Greek. State calendars were the responsibility of the magistrates; varying use was made of the schemes proposed by astronomers for establishing a regular cycle of intercalation. The Macedonian calendar, known chiefly from its use in Egypt by the Ptolemies, had months of twenty-nine days and thirty, alternately; intercalation was irregular. By 117 B.C., the Egyptian calendar was readopted, using Macedonian month names. The Seleucids used the Babylonian calendar with Macedonian names.

5. Roman. Many features of our calendar are Roman in origin: the January new year (adopted 53 B.C.), the short February, and the names of the months. The Romans neither observed a lunar month, nor did they master intercalation. Caesar introduced a solar year based on a value of 365¼ days, which Hipparchus had already shown to be slightly too large; but as the cumulative error is only a day in a century, it continues to serve, with the Gregorian adjustment.

V. Some problems

A. The new year. Both spring and fall new years are recognized in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod. 12:2; 34:22) and implied in the historical books. Some have maintained that the spring new year came to Judah with the Babylonians (so J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, rev. ed. [1998], §§67-68; it is a non sequitur that the later use of Babylonian names with the numbers indicates a Babylonian origin of the number-system). Morgenstern sees agricultural grounds for both fall and spring—in his original and later theories respectively.

B. Date of the Passover. In the Pentateuch, the PASSOVER is firmly dated on the fourteenth day of the first month; but the lack of any historical reference between JOSHUA (Josh. 5) and HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 30) has been taken to support the hypothesis that the relevant legislation was postexilic; there are grounds for holding that Hezekiah and JOSIAH gave a new slant to a familiar observance, making it a pilgrimage rather than a local festival (see the discussion by J. Wilcoxen in *Biblical Research* 8 [1963]: 13-27). According to the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 26:17; Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:7), the Last Supper was eaten as a Passover; Jn. 18:28 indicates that the Jews had not yet eaten it. Discoveries at Qumran, while not directly relevant, open the possibility of differences of practice within Judaism,

particularly when a feast fell on the eve of a sabbath.

C. Fall observances. The Day of Atonement (Exod. 30:10; Lev. 16) is not mentioned in the books of Kings, nor, more surprisingly, in Nehemiah. A later origin has therefore been supposed, but this conclusion is not inevitable, in view of the general ignorance of the law even in Ezra's time. Morgenstern (in *HUCA* 1 [1924]: 22-23) argues from several passages (Exod. 23:16; 34:22; Deut. 31:10) that the harvest festival formerly preceded New Year's Day; but this rests on too strict an interpretation. It would be more natural to hold such a festival at full moon.

D. The northern kingdom. JEROBOAM I instituted a feast at BETHEL on the fifteenth of the eighth month. This action may well reflect the later harvest in the N; and if he, in fact, altered the calendar by one lunar month, this change may partly explain the second-month Passover of Hezekiah when he was canvassing support in Israel (cf. S. Talmon in *VT* 8 [1958]: 48-74).

E. The Sabbath. The word *šabbāt* ***H8701*** ("pause, rest") was probably not derived from *šeba(* ***H8679*** ("seven"). See SABBATH. A cognate Akkadian term, *sapattu*, denoted the 15th of a month, though it may have been used earlier for the epagomenal period (J. and H. Lewy in *HUCA* 17 [1941]: 78ff.); the 7th, 14th, and 28th, though especially marked, were not rest-days in our sense (cf. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies*, 83).

(For further details, see B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* [1915]; R. Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt* [1950]; O. Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed. [1957]; E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* [1968]; J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, rev. ed. [1998]; R. T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental, and Patristic Studies* [2003]; R. Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars: Constructions of Time in the Classical World* [2005]; J. A. Wage-naar, *Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Calendar* [2005].)

J. LILLEY

calf. See CATTLE.

calf, golden. This term is commonly used to refer to the image made by AARON at the foot of Mount SINAI (Exod. 32:4 ["an idol cast in the shape of a calf"]; Deut. 9:16; Neh. 9:18; Ps. 106:19; Acts 7:41) and the two statues set up by JEROBOAM I (1 Ki. 12:28-33; 2 Ki. 10:29; 17:16; 2 Chr. 11:15; 13:8; Hos. 8:5-6; 13:2). These are the two major incidents in Israelite history in which the official religion involved the use of golden calves in worship. They are not unrelated.

I. Exodus 32. Aaron, brother of MOSES and newly appointed high priest, yielded to pressure from the people, who thought Moses had forsaken them (Exod. 24:18; 32:1), and fashioned a calf out of the people's golden earrings. The picture is one of stark contrast between Moses on the mount receiving the commandments and tabernacle details so that Israel could worship God aright, and the debacle going on at the foot of the mountain.

A careful reading of the narrative makes it clear that Aaron was confused, for Exod. 34:5 seems to imply that he still meant to uphold the worship of Yahweh in calling for a feast of the Lord and by building an altar for him in front of the calf. In other words, in Aaron's mind the calf was only the place where Yahweh dwelt. But the people did not understand it the same way, for they cried, "These

are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of Egypt" (vv. 4, 8). Moses made very clear the enormity of this sin by showing to the people that they had indeed "made themselves gods of gold" (v. 31). Moses in his anger at this sorry sight destroyed the law tablets, for at this point the people were not ready to receive them (cf. ch. 34). He burnt the calf and ground it to powder, forcing the people to drink foul water polluted by it (cf. Num. 5:17-27).

Despite Aaron's naïveté, he was greatly responsible. His excuse was weak to the point of being ludicrous when he said that he threw the gold into the fire and the calf came out (Exod. 32:24). But his responsibility is clear from v. 25, which says that Aaron had let the people "get out of control" (KJV, "made them naked"). If, as Aaron said, they were a people prone to evil (v. 22), then as leader he should have used every moral restraint for their own good. The account is a great lesson on the responsibilities of leadership.

II. 1 Kings 12:26-33. Jeroboam I, upon breaking with the tribe of Judah and Jerusalem, built two sanctuaries of the Lord, one at BETHEL and the other at DAN (PLACE). His purpose was to obviate the necessity for his subjects to go to Jerusalem to worship (1 Ki. 12:27). Jeroboam probably took as precedent for his golden calves the two cherubim in Solomon's temple. Since the invisible Yahweh was represented as enthroned between these cherubim, so Jeroboam considered Yahweh still as an invisible deity standing or enthroned on a calf of gold. W. F. Albright (*From the Stone Age to Christianity* [1957], 299) seems to be correct when he observes that it is a gross misconception, unparalleled in biblical tradition, to view these golden calves as direct representations of Yahweh. While it was indeed a common Egyptian practice to represent deities in animal form, this was not the case among the peoples of Syro-Palestine, whose iconography often pictured the deity as enthroned or standing on the back of animals. Could Jeroboam have won the confidence of the northern tribes had he called for blatant and outright IDOLATRY? Like Aaron of old he may have rationalized to the point where he convinced himself that he was advancing the cause of Yahweh.

If this is true, Jeroboam like Aaron was involved in the worst kind of duplicity. On the one hand he set up a religious calendar similar to the one in Jerusalem, appointed priests, and made the required sacrifices. All this, says the author of 1 Kings, "he had devised of his own heart" (1 Ki. 12:33 KJV). He would not have gone to all this trouble had he been instituting a wholly new religion. On the other hand, the iconography he instituted was so closely associated with the worship of BAAL and the vile fertility cult of the Canaanites that it was bound to move in that direction, as indeed it did (Hos. 13:1-2). He may have been attempting a synthesis of Yahwism and certain tenets of popular polytheism. According to 1 Ki. 12:28 he said to the people, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem. Here are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of Egypt."

One may ask why the representations of cherubim (winged sphinxes) in the tabernacle and Solomon's temple did not also lead to idolatry. The answer must be that these figures did not have the same insidious association with a long-established idolatrous and immediately present Canaanite cult. The Hebrews viewed them as representing heavenly creatures whose purpose it was to enhance the majesty of Yahweh. As kings of the day were often enthroned between such creatures, so the sovereignty of Yahweh was thus asserted. Not only in visual arts but also in poetry, the Hebrews did not hesitate so to represent their sole God as one who "mounted the cherubim" (2 Sam. 22:11) or is enthroned between them (2 Ki. 19:15). See CHERUB.

The church has repeatedly faced the problem of idolatry versus iconoclasm. Postbiblical JUDAISM sought to solve the problem by severely restricting artistic expression. The iconoclastic controversy raged in the Byzantine wing of the church. After the Reformation, the Puritans stripped

their churches of every adornment. It appears that the Bible itself indulges in neither of these extremes but reckons with idolatry as that which comes out of the sinful heart of man when he willfully chooses to glorify the creature more than the Creator (Rom. 1:21-23). The psalmist expresses this truth succinctly in Ps. 106:19-21: "At Horeb they made a calf/ and worshiped an idol cast from metal. /They exchanged their Glory / for an image of a bull, which eats grass. / They forgot the God who saved them, / who had done great things in Egypt."

E. B. SMICK

Caligula kuh-lig'yuh-luh. Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus, nicknamed Caligula ("Little Boots") by the soldiers of the Rhine, was born to Germanicus and Agrippina in A.D. 12. After his father's death in 19 and his mother's arrest in 29, he lived with his uncle, the aging TIBERIUS. After the death of his elder brother Drusus in 33, Gaius was named coheir with Drusus' son, Tiberius Gemullus, who was seven years his junior. On the death of Tiberius in 37, Gaius was acclaimed emperor, thanks to the support of Macro, prefect of the praetorian troops. The senate invalidated Tiberius's will. In the first year of his principate Gaius was seriously ill, and on his recovery manifested those symptoms of sadistic madness and irresponsible folly for which he is chiefly remembered. He executed Macro and Tiberius Gemellus, and generally acted with petulant autocracy.

Gaius's assassination in 41 ended a period of odious cruelty and dangerous tyranny, one effect of which would have been to anticipate the Jewish rebellion by thirty years. Gaius had given the order to set up his statue in the Jerusalem Holy of Holies.

Silver coin from Crete depicting Emperor Caligula; evoking the Cretan deity Dictaean Zeus, he is shown with a scepter in his hand.

It was only the brave temporizing of the legate of SYRIA, and Gaius's death, which averted disaster.

PHILO JUDAEUS, the Alexandrian Jewish scholar, headed an embassy to Gaius in 39 or 40, and his vivid account (*Legatio ad Gaium*) sheds lurid light on the horrors of the young madman's brief principate. (See Jos. *Ant*. 18.8 §§257-301 and 19.1 §§1—113; Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars: Gaius Caligula;* Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist*. 59; A. Barrett, *Caligula: The Corruption of Power* [1990]; A. Ferrill, *Caligula: Emperor of Rome* [1991]; D. Wardle, *Suetonius' Life of Caligula: A Commentary* [1994].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Calitas kuh-l*i*'tuhs. KJV Apoc. form of Kelita (1 Esd. 9:48). See KELAIAH.

calker. See CAULK.

call. This English term is very common in the Bible, representing over twenty Hebrew and Greek words. In the OT the emphasis is on Israel's corporate destiny, whereas the NT focuses on the call of the individual to repentance, faith, and service. In some contexts, those who are called comprise a larger group than the chosen who respond (Matt. 22:14). In Pauline theology, however, the concept almost always denotes that sort of call which is issued by the Father and is made effective through the Spirit. It is such a call that produces a response of FAITH in Christ (Rom. 8:30; 1 Cor. 1:9; Gal. 1:15; 2 Thess. 2:13-14; 2 Tim. 1:9; cf. Heb. 9:15; 1 Pet. 2:9; 2 Pet. 1:3; et al.). In the discussion of the *ordo salutis* (the order or way of SALVATION), classical Reformed theology generally speaks of this "effectual call" as the first act of God's saving grace in the life of the elect. (See Rom. 8:28-30; 9:23-26.) Two other applications of this terminology may be noted in the NT: (1) God's call to a special office or service, such as apostleship (Rom. 1:1), missionary preaching (Acts 13:2; 16:10), and priesthood (Heb. 5:4); (2) God's call to a providentially ordered occupation (1 Cor. 7:20 possibly).

In general, one may say that calling is a semitechnical term for that act of God in Christ whereby, through the proclamation of the Word and the inner witness of the Spirit, sinners are effectually drawn in faith and repentance into the kingdom of God. As the message of the gospel is heralded to every creature and the general call is issued, God works by his Spirit in the hearts of those chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world to draw them to the Son. Such a call is issued by the Father, made effective by the Spirit through the Word, and draws us into fellowship with the Son. (See H. O.Wiley, *Christian Theology*, 3 vols. [1940-43], 2:334—57; J. Murray, *Redemption: Accomplished and Applied* [1955], 88-94; M. J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 3 vols. [1983-85], 3:929-33; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 33.)

C. H. HORNE

Callisthenes kuh-lis'thuh-neez (Καλλισθένες). A member of NICANOR'S Seleucid army, accused of setting the gates of the temple on fire when ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes destroyed Jerusalem in 168 B.C. When the Jews celebrated their victory over the invaders in 165 B.C., they burned Callisthenes and others "who had fled into one little house" (2 Macc. 8:33 NRSV). See MACCABEE.

E. RUSSELL

Calneh, Calno kal'neh, kal'noh (כַּלְנֵה ***H4011;*** כַּלְנוֹ ***H4012***). TNIV Kalneh, Kalno. (1) One of the cities founded by NIMROD in SHINAR and cited in association with BABEL, ERECH, and AKKAD (Gen. 10:10). The location of the city, however, is unknown. As a result, some suggest a change in the

vowel pointing so that the Hebrew would read *kullānâ* (cf. Gen. 42:36), yielding the translation "all of them" (cf. NRSV; W. F. Albright in *JNES* 3 [1944]: 254-55).

(2) A city named "Calneh" appears in association with HAMATH and GATH (Amos 6:2). Elsewhere "Calno" is associated with CARCHEMISH (Isa. 10:9). Calneh and Calno are doubtless to be regarded as identical. The sequence of names in Amos 6:2, as well as the association with Carchemish, would seem to warrant a location to the N for Calneh rather than in the area of Babel, Erech, and Akkad (see #1 above). Further support for a location in the N is claimed by those who identify Calneh with CANNEH (Ezek. 27:23). Many scholars identify Calneh with Kullania, a town mentioned in Assyrian documents in frequent association with Arpad. It is quite probably the modern Kullan Köy, located about 8 mi. NE of ALEPPO in SYRIA. (Cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 433.)

T. E. MCCOMISKEY

Calphi kal'f*i*. KJV Apoc. form of CHALPHI (1 Macc. 11:70).

Calvary. See GOLGOTHA.

calves of our lips. The clause "so we will render the calves of our lips" is the KJV's rendering of the Hebrew words *ûnĕšalmâ pārîm śĕpātênû* (Hos. 14:2 [MT v. 3]). A more literal translation would be, "and we will pay [i.e., in fulfillment of a vow] bulls, our lips," meaning probably, "and instead of bulls, we will offer as sacrifice our lips in praise." On the basis of the SEPTUAGINT, many scholars emend the second Hebrew word to read *pĕrî* and render, "and we will offer the fruit of our lips" (cf. NRSV). The NIV also uses the word "fruit," but apparently as an interpretative rendering of the Hebrew text rather than as a textual emendation. The clear NT allusion to this passage in Heb. 13:15 leaves no doubt about the meaning that early Christians attached to the phrase.

Cambyses cam-b*i*'seez. Cambyses II was the eldest son and successor of CYRUS II the Great, the conqueror of BABYLON (Cyrus's father also bore the name Cambyses). He is mentioned in both the Nabonidus Chronicle and the Cyrus Cylinder as "son of Cyrus" in Babylon shortly after the conquest of the city in Oct., 539 B.C. (cf. *ANET*, 306, 316). Cambyses was formerly thought to be the "Ahasuerus" of Ezra 4:6, but the latter is now identified as XERXES (VV. 6-23 constitute a parenthetical history of opposition to the Jews down to Ezra's time). Cambyses does not appear in the OT except by implication (Dan. 11:2), where he must be the first of three kings that followed Cyrus.

After turning the administration of Babylonia over to Gubaru his governor, Cyrus departed for Ecbatana, leaving his son Cambyses as his personal representative to carry on the ritual prescribed for the king at the New Year festival of Nisan 1 (i.e., 27 March 538 B.C.). Eight years later, Cyrus died in a campaign at the NE frontier, and Cambyses became sole ruler of the great Persian empire. He then secured his position on the throne by having his brother Smerdis (or Bardiya) murdered, and by 525 B.C. completed preparations for the long-awaited invasion of Egypt. The Egyptian armies under Psammetichus III were totally defeated at the Battle of Pelusium in the eastern delta, and Cambyses took the throne as the first king of the twenty-seventh dynasty, organizing the land as a satrapy of the Persian empire. However, his efforts to conquer Carthage, Ethiopia, and the Oasis of Ammon in the Egyptian desert failed.

To gain favor with his new subjects, Cambyses took the Egyptian royal name and titulary, wore the royal costume, and antedated his rule in Egypt to the beginning of his rule in Persia. On his way

back to Babylon in 522 B.C., he received news that one Gaumata (who claimed to be his murdered brother Smerdis) had usurped the throne and had been widely accepted in eastern provinces. He died near Mount Carmel in Palestine, probably by suicide, leaving no heirs. Darius Hystaspes, a Persian officer of a collateral royal line, succeeded in killing the Pseudo-Smerdis within a few months and consolidated the empire. The reign of Cambyses fell within the period of Gentile opposition to the building of the second temple (Ezra 4:5; Hag. 1:4). (See A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire* [1948], 85-93; J. C. Whitcomb, Jr., *Darius the Mede* [1963]; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 3; P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* [2002], pp. 49-61.)

J. C. WHITCOMB, JR.

camel. The English word *camel* is derived from Hebrew (*gāmāl* ***H1695***) through Greek (*kamēlos* ***G2823)***. *Camelidae* is the family to which both true camels and closely related llamas belong. The term *dromedary* (cf. Isa. 66:20 NRSV, translating *kirkārâ* ***H4140***) has both precise and more popular meanings. Derived from Greek (*dromas*, "runner") through Latin, it is applied strictly to thoroughbred Arabian camels used for riding and racing; more generally, but less correctly, it refers to the Arabian camel in contrast to the Bactrian. Another Hebrew word, used only once, refers to a young she-camel (*bikrâ* ***H1149***, Jer. 2:23). The English terms for male, female, and young are *bull, cow*, and *calf*.

I. Origin and definition. Camels are known today to exist in two forms, both of which are familiar zoo animals throughout the world. The Bactrian, or two-humped, camel is associated with the steppes of central Asia; also with N Australia, where it was introduced in the 19th cent. The Arabian, or one-humped, camel is the form used in N Africa and the Middle East. For a long time they were regarded as distinct species unable to hybridize, but this is not entirely correct. The humps are of soft tissue only and the two are much more alike

Camels grazing in the Negev during winter.

in skeleton than, for example, a heavy draught horse and a thoroughbred. Their breeding habits differ, largely because they now live in different climates, but there is reason to regard them as geographical races of one species. Many authorities hold that the wild forebears of both forms disappeared many centuries ago, even though reports are received from time to time of wild Bactrian camels.

Opinions are divided as to whether they are truly wild or merely descendants of escaped animals, which are well able to survive and breed around the Gobi Desert. Domestication has

brought no major skeletal changes, with the result that remains cannot be classified with any certainty as wild or domestic, as is possible in other species such as cattle, and therefore used as evidence for early domestication on the one hand, or for late survival of the wild form on the other. Like most domesticated forms, camels sometimes show variation in color, and albino and melanistic specimens are known.

II. History in Palestine and Egypt. The camel's presence in Palestine as a wild animal is confirmed by material from Pleistocene deposits and also from some beds dated as Neolithic. Its later history there is unknown, but Strabo and others recorded wild dromedaries in Arabia in the early years of the Christian era. Evidence for the period when it was brought into the service of humans and, later, when it was first used in Palestine, is far from complete. Such facts as are available are detailed by F. E. Zeuner (*A History of Domesticated Animals* [1963], ch. 13), who differs from W. F. Albright (*The Archaeology of Palestine* [1954], 106ff.) and others in accepting camels in the story of Rebekah (Gen. 24) c. 1750 B.C.

Zeuner considers the first biblical reference (Gen. 12:16) a later addition by scribes, for there is no evidence that camels were being kept in Egypt at that time. The position of the camel there is anomalous, for there seems to be no word for camel, nor is it illustrated in what are otherwise complete galleries of fauna. It seems impossible that the camel was unknown, and the most attractive theory is that it was not only unclean for food, as it was to the Israelites, but also tabu. Recently discovered evidence, given by Zeuner as a footnote, is in the form of a limestone receptacle shaped like a camel and complete with load, which confirms that the Arabian camel was domesticated by about the first dynasty (4th millennium B.C.). The next evidence is for the fourth Egyptian dynasty (mid-3rd millennium) and then the nineteenth (c. 1300 B.C.). It was not until the reign of PTOLEMY Phila-delphus (285-247 B.C.) and the early part of the Roman period in Egypt that camels became the important transport animals that they continued to be for the next 2,000 years.

III. Camels in patriarchal times. Although the biblical record contains the earliest clear statement about the camel's use in Palestine, there is ample confirmation for its presence in a number of town remains of a century or so later. As early as 1800 B.C. it was used for transdesert traffic between Mesopotamia and Palestine, where it was widely distributed by the 16th cent. B.C. at the latest. The spread of the camel is in part correlated with the drying up of areas of Palestine and nearby countries, following soil destruction caused by bad farming of marginal land. The center of the camel business continued to be farther SE, in Arabia, from whence came the Midianites, whose camels were without number (Jdg. 6:5) c. 1100 B.C.; and the QUEEN OF SHEBA, whose baggage was carried on camels (1 Ki. 10:2). Throughout the historical books the camel appears as a part of the setting, serving as a beast of burden, a sign of wealth. The numbers owned by JOB (3,000, Job 1:3) may seem excessive, but great areas were involved, not yet so seriously degraded, where such large numbers could have found food. Archaeological evidence of camels in S Arabia dates only from about the 8th cent. B.C., which is as far back as evidence takes us in that area. Central Arabia is still a closed book.

IV. Adaptation to desert life. Although a camel's performance often has been exaggerated, its ability to live off its hump made it valuable for crossing desert stages previously almost impassable, and its use gave rise to desert nomadism. It is, in fact, anatomically and physiologically well adapted to live as a working animal around the desert edge. The nostrils close to slits and help to filter out blown sand, while the eyes are largely protected by overhanging brows and copious lashes. Much of the

natural vegetation normally available to the camel is dry and spiny, to which the lips and tongue are apparently insensitive. In most areas camels would have to browse rather than graze when allowed to roam in search of food. Working animals must be better supplied, and a common sight in Jordan and N Israel today is a camel returning from work in the fields and carrying a great load of foliage and other green stuff for the evening feed. After the barley harvest in N NEGEV—in April—the camels are hobbled, often with a young calf at heel, and allowed to graze the short stubble. The camel is a true ruminant, using a method of digestion that extracts the maximum from poor fibrous food. The hump is used as a storage organ, where fat is laid down in spongy tissue to be used when needed. After an exhausting journey these reserves may be so reduced that the hump becomes flabby.

V. Performance and uses. On ordinary journeys a camel can carry c. 400 lbs. in addition to its rider, but for stretches such as the Sinai Desert only about half that would be allowed. Their owners prefer to feed and water them properly every day, but they can easily go three or four days without drinking, and there are many records of loaded camels passing a week without water. An average of up to 28 mi. a day can be maintained, but a fast dromedary, carrying only its rider, has been known to cover nearly 100 mi. in thirteen hours, though it could not do this every day.

As the Mosaic food law points out (Lev. 11:4), the camel is unclean, because although it chews the cud it is not cloven-hoofed. The feet are in fact unique, being broad cushions that are almost equally effective on sand, gravel, and rock, any of which may be met in the desert. A thick growth of hair protects the camel from winter cold, often made more unpleasant by the nearly continuous desert winds. In April this coat is shed in great lumps, and this hair was woven into the rough cloth from which JOHN THE BAPTIST'S garments were made. Sometimes the hair was clipped off before the moult. Such cloth was coarse and cheap, and not to be confused with the expensive "camel's hair" coat of modern times, which is made from the soft underhair of the Bactrian camel. The coarse hair has long been used for weaving, but its earliest recorded use (early fourth dynasty) is for making a cord, of purpose unknown, in the Fayum.

The camel was always forbidden meat to the Jews, but it was not so regarded by most of the surrounding peoples and it is eaten widely today. By and large this was no disadvantage to the Hebrews, for most of them lived in a country unsuitable for camels, and better meat was obtainable from other domestic stock. This applies also to the camel's milk, which is rich though not plentiful; the yield may start at nearly two gallons a day, but this soon drops to under half a gallon. However, a camel normally has a calf every second spring, after a gestation of nearly eleven months, which may stay on milk for nearly two years. There is no direct biblical reference to camel's milk and no suggestion that "thirty female *[lit.*, suckling] camels and their colts" in the present prepared for Esau (Gen. 32:15) were used for milking. Camel hides were made into leather and used for a range of purposes. Even the droppings were utilized; camels' food contains a high percentage of fiber, which passes through unchanged, and in the hot desert air the droppings are soon dry enough for fuel. This dung also was the source of sal ammoniac, obtained by heating it in closed vessels.

VI. Importance to Hebrews. Although camels carried their loads into cities and towns, they became important only in and around the desert, where they filled a unique niche. However, they always remained intractable and bad tempered, the adult males often being dangerous. When other domestic animals were available, as they would be in those parts of Palestine effectively occupied by the Hebrews, these would always be preferred. In addition, camels need very large areas for pasturing. It seems that by NT times camels had become of little importance to the Jews themselves, though they

continued to be used extensively by inhabitants of drier lands to the E and S, from where they no doubt came regularly, bringing merchandise for sale and barter. So they were a familiar sight to the Lord and his disciples, although he is recorded as referring to them only twice.

VII. Place in OT. Including the occurrences in prophetic books, all fifty-seven mentions of the camel or dromedary are wholly literal and no figurative meaning can be detected. It is twice listed as forbidden meat; all other passages refer to it as possessions or transport, and in only two cases the word is singular. The KJV uses the phrase "a chariot of camels" once (Isa. 21:7, following the MT; the NIV and other versions vocalize the text differently and read "riders on camels"). This passage would be the only possible biblical mention of camels used for draught, which has little purpose in the desert. Where nomads live on the edge of cultivable lands, the camel's strength makes it useful for drawing a plow, and sometimes it is even paired with a donkey. Since very early times camels have been harnessed and used to turn a capstan for pumping, grinding grain, etc. In more recent times camels have been used to pull a wide range of wheeled vehicles, especially in India.

VIII. Place in NT. The camel is mentioned six times only, all in the Gospels. The only literal reference is to John the Baptist's clothes (Matt. 3:4 = Mk. 1:6; see p. 721, section V). In a proverb, Jesus contrasts the camel with the gnat (Matt. 23:24). Such a comparison is typical eastern hyperbole, which also is found in the other proverb, "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle" (Matt. 19:24 = Mk. 10:25 = Lk. 18:25). Some popular commentators have seen a more precise picture, stating that "the eye of a needle" was a name given to the small emergency gate, alongside or in the main gate of the city, through which travelers were sometimes allowed to enter after the large gate was shut. The comparison would be apt, for the implication is that the camel might enter only after shedding its harness and ornamental trappings (Jdg. 8:21, 26) and all its loads, but the evidence for this interpretation is meager, and most scholars reject it (see NEEDLE).

G. S. CANSDALE

camel's hair. The longer hair of a camel from the neck and region of the hump, used especially for weaving. Mentioned in the Bible only as the material of the outer garment of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Matt. 3:4; Mk. 1:6), camel's hair cloth can be a relatively expensive woven material. Since Jesus contrasted John's attire with the "soft raiment" of noblemen (Matt. 11:8; cf. a similar contrast in Jos. *War* 1.24.3 §480), some think that John's hairy mantle may have been of dressed camel's skin. On the other hand, a scratchy cloak of camel's hair is still worn by desert BEDOUIN. A mantle made of hair was a mark of a prophet (Zech. 13:4); and ELIJAH, of whom John was the successor (Matt. 11:13-14; 17:10-13), wore a garment of haircloth as well as a leather girdle (2 Ki. 1:8). The longer, woolly hair of a camel can easily be pulled away in tufts from the skin as warmer spring weather comes, and is woven into cloth for tents and coats.

J. REA

camel's thorn. This fragrant plant is mentioned once in the APOCRYPHA, "Like cassia and camel's thorn [Gk. *aspalathos*] I gave forth perfume" (Sir. 24:15 NRSV; KJV, "aspalathus"). It is generally agreed that the plant is *Alhagi camelorum* (synonyms *A. maurorum* and *A. pseudahalgi*). The shrub is thorny, thick, and many-stemmed. It is well known in Palestine. PLINY the Elder states that the *Aspalathus* grew in Cyprus and Spain as a thorny, white shrub of medium size, and that it was used in ointments and perfume (*Nat. Hist*. 12.52 §110 et passim).

Camon kay'muhn. KJV form of KAMON.

camp. The camp or encampment (Heb. *maḥăneh* ***H4722***) of the Israelites during their wanderings is mentioned frequently in the book of Exodus (e.g., Exod. 16:13; 19:16-17) and is described in detail in Numbers. From the time of the first pause after crossing the RED SEA until the crossing of the JORDAN River, the twelve tribes arranged themselves according to a plan which called for "facing the tent of meeting on every side" (Num. 2:2 NRSV). The four fronts faced the cardinal points (N, S, E, and W). The TABERNACLE was surrounded by the twelve tribes forming the outer sides of the rectangle. Those on the E side were Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun. On the S side were Reuben, Simeon, and Gad. On the W side were Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. Dan, Asher, and Naphtali were on the N side. Within the larger square the tabernacle was surrounded by the tribe of Levi and the baggage carriers, the baggage, and the stalls of the domestic animals. No reference is made in Numbers to a line of defense being thrown up for the protection of the camp.

Later in the history of Israel, when single armies fought against each other, the encampment was not necessarily quadrangular in shape. Sometimes the crest of steep hills provided the line of the camp. The space occupied was that in keeping with the nature of the terrain, and defense lines were sometimes thrown up (1 Sam. 17:20; 26:5). The camp was constantly guarded (Jdg. 7:19). While the battle was taking place, a remnant stayed behind watching the camp (1 Sam. 30:24).

In the NT the barracks or headquarters of the Roman troops in Jerusalem are referred to as a *parembolē* ***G4213*** (Acts 21:34, 37; 22:24; 23:10, 16, 32). The writer to the Hebrews uses the term in speaking of armies in battle array (Heb. 11:34) as well as of an encampment (13:11, 13; cf. also Rev. 20:9). While the terminology bearing upon the camp is applicable to either nomads or troops, it is generally related to the business of war.

H. JAMIESON

camphire. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *kōper* ***H4110*** (Cant. 1:14; 4:13), which refers to the HENNA plant.

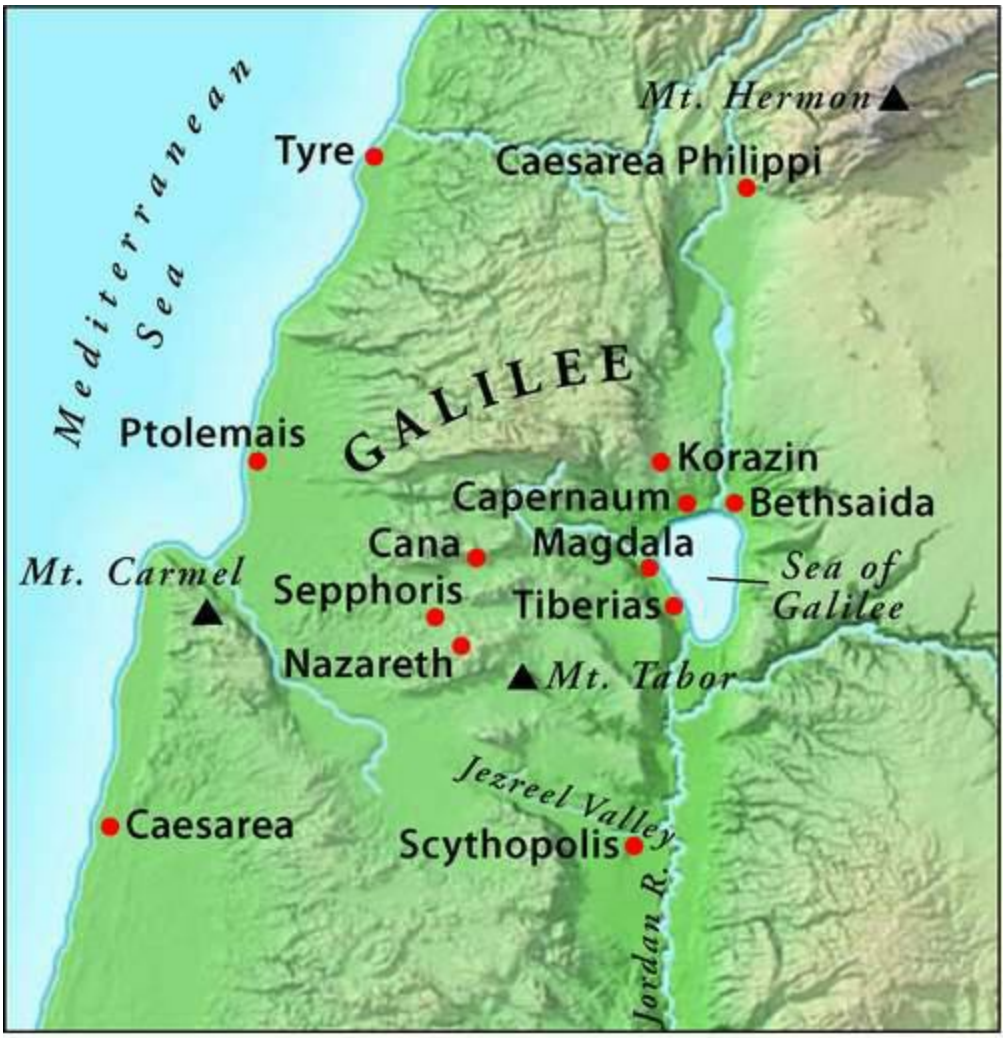
Cana kay'nuh (Κανά ***G2830***, meaning prob. "reed"). A village in GALILEE, noted as the location of Christ's first miracle, where at the marriage feast he turned water into wine (Jn. 2:1-11). Following a period of travel he again visited Cana (4:46). The only other mention of this place is in 21:2, as the home of NATHANAEL. There was also a village named KANAH near TYRE (Josh. 19:28), hence it became necessary to designate the "Cana of Galilee" as such in order to clarify its provenience. The actual location of this site is still in some doubt, though many scholars favor the second of the two following locations.

(1) *Kefr Kenna*. This is the traditional association, some 3-4 mi. NE of NAZARETH, on the road to TIBERIAS. It lies on the S side of the plain called Sahl Tor)an, adjacent to a range of hills, and has a good spring, but not the marshes and reeds expected from its name. A Greek Orthodox church near the road has several stone jars allegedly used in the miracle; and another commemorative church, built by the Franciscans and located near the village center, has some archaeological evidence for a 3rd-4th cent. structure. This consists of a mosaic floor fragment with an ancient Hebrew-Aramaic inscription, and is thought by some archaeologists to have been part of a synagogue. A small chapel,

commemorating the location of the house of Nathanael, is also shown. There is some reason to believe that this village became identified with the gospel miracle as a convenience for pilgrims to the holy places, traveling, in this case, from Nazareth toward CAPERNAUM and BETHSAIDA.

(2) *Khirbet Qana*. Called in Arabic Qana el-Jelil ("Cana of Galilee"), this site is the best identification, being located some 8-9 mi. directly N of Nazareth, and is so shown on maps in most newer atlases. It is situated on the N edge of the plain called Sahl el-Baṭṭof or Bet Netofa (called in early times the Plain of Asochis). The topography includes marshes, and the site, though not as yet excavated, shows potsherds from the Roman and Byzantine periods, together with some sherds and coins from the time of Christ. There is also evidence of cisterns and other construction.

The Crusaders seem to have identified this place as Cana of Galilee, and the location fits the reports of medieval travelers, who speak of a monastery and church that had one of the original water jars. JOSEPHUS spent some time living at "Cana, a village in Galilee," in the plain of Asochis (*Life* 16 §86; 41 §207), not far from the N Galilean Jewish fortress



Cana of Galilee.

The exposed bedrock (lower right of photo) reveals the partially excavated site of Khirbet Qana (prob. Cana of Galilee), situated on the lower slopes of the Bet Netofa ridge. (View to the NW.)

of Jodephath (Yotapata). It was at this place that he was taken prisoner by the Romans, an event that finished his military career. The miracle of Cana was commemorated by a reported annual flowing with wine in the "Cathedral" (St. Theodore's) Church at Gerasa. The large basilica faced a paved court in which the fountain stood. This miraculous occurrence is described by EPIPHANIUS, Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus (*Panarion* 51.30.1-2). (See further *ABD*, 1:827.)

M. H. HEICKSEN

Canaan, Canaanite kay'nuhn, kay'nuh-n*i*t (כְּנַעַן ***H4046***, gentilic כְּנַעֲנִי ***H4050;*** Χανάαν ***G5913*** [KJV NT, "Chanaan"], gentilic Χαναναῖος ***G5914***). Fourth son of HAM, father of SIDON, and ancestor of many Canaanite people groups, such as the HITTITES, the Jebusites (see JEBUS), and the AMORITES (Gen. 10:6, 15-18). For reasons that are unclear, he received the curse from NOAH as a result of Ham's offense (9:22-27). In the Bible, the name is used almost always to designate the land W of JORDAN occupied by the Israelites at the time of the Conquest, though in a wider sense it included part of SYRIA. The inhabitants of the area were Canaanites (a term that is used in a few passages with the meaning "trader, merchant").

I. The name. Biblically the name of both the people and the land derives from the ancestor Canaan referred to in Gen. 10:15-18. The same derivation is proposed in Canaanite-Phoenician tradition preserved by PHILO OF BYBLOS (reporting the statement of Sanchuniathon, a Phoenician writer). Parallels to the name appear in Greek sources from Philo of Byblos to Stephanus of Byzantium, and on coins from Phoenicia. The meaning of the root *kn*ʿ*n* is uncertain. Outside the Bible it occurs both with and without the final *n*. This final *n* is known in Semitic languages and also in HURRIAN as a suffix, and such it may be here.

The earliest document referring to Canaanites is an inscription of Pharaoh Amenophis II (c. 1440 B.C.) reporting two campaigns in Asia. Among the war captives were 550 *maryana* and 640 *kyn*ʿ*n.w.* The *maryana* were a Hurrian military aristocracy and the *kyn*ʿ*n.w.* another social group, probably the merchant aristocracy of the coastal and trading centers of Syria and Palestine (cf. B. Maisler in *BASOR* 102 [April 1946]: 9). Ugaritic texts from the 14th-13th cent. B.C. also refer to *kn*ʿ*n*, and so

this spelling is known both in Egypt and in UGARIT. The form *kn(n.w.* corresponds to the Akkadian *kinaḫnia, kinnaḫḫu*, which is found in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters. A lost Semitic word **kn((*kina-),* meaning "murex" (a shell fish that produces purple dye), has been proposed; on this basis, the name Canaan is understood to mean "belonging to [the land of] Purple." The Greek name PHOENICIA (from *phoinix,* "purple-red") refers to the purple industry; and the Hurrian texts from NUZI, E of the TIGRIS, mention *qinaḫḫu,* "red purple," "dyed cloth," or *"kna(-ian* dye." However, this etymology is disputed. The restricted meaning of *kĕna(ănî H4051* as "merchant" (Job 41:6; Isa. 23:8; Ezek. 17:4; Hos. 12:7; Zeph. 1:11; Zech. 11:7, 11) can probably be traced to the fact that trading (particularly in purple dye) was a characteristic Canaanite occupation.

II. Geographical extent. The term Canaan has both a restricted and a more extensive meaning, not merely in the Bible but also in the nonbiblical sources. In some passages the term denotes the area of the Syro-Palestinian coastland, especially Phoenicia proper to the N of Israel. In Gen. 10:11–19 the sons of Canaan are enumerated as Sidon the first-born, Heth (or the Hittites), the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, the Hivites, the Arkites (modern Tell (Arqa in Lebanon preserves the name), the Sinites (modern Nahr as-Sinn, Sinn ad-Darb, Phoen. *Usnu,* Assyr. *Usana* or *Sianu,* Ugar. *)sn*), the Arva-dites, the Zemarites (modern Sumra, N of Tripoli), and the Hamathites. In this list several items refer to towns along the coastal strip from N Palestine to the ORONTES. Canaan is identified as a son of Ham (9:18; 10:6), implying that the Canaanites were a Hamitic group, or perhaps under Egyptian domination. More specifically, some passages (e.g., Num. 13:29; 14:25; Josh. 5:1; 11:3; Jdg. 1:21–36) located the Canaanites on the coastlands and in the valleys and plains (including the Jordan Valley). Some support for this picture comes from the inscription of Idrimi, king of ALALAKH (15th cent. B.C.), who refers to his flight to the seaport of Ammia in Canaan.

In such passages as Gen. 12:5 and Num. 33:51, the land of Canaan denotes the lands to the W of the Jordan; the Canaanites are the inhabitants of this area (Gen. 12:6; 50:11; Josh. 7:9). However, the list in Gen. 10:15 – 19 concludes with the statement that the families of the Canaanites were spread abroad (10:18) and that the territory of the Canaanites was from SIDON to GAZA, inland to SODOM and GOMORRAH, and northward via ADMAH and ZEBOIIM (in the Jordan Valley) to LASHA (location uncertain). Other important passages are Gen. 12:5; 13:12; Num. 13:11–21; 34:1–2 (where the verses following define Canaan as approximately equivalent to Palestine). JABIN, whose capital was HAZOR, is called "king of Canaan" (Jdg. 4:2, 21–24). This wider use of the term Canaan is known also in external sources. The Amarna letters of the 14th cent. B.C. refer to Canaan in terms that suggest the whole Syro-Palestine territory of Egypt. The Egyptian Papyrus Anastasi IIIA (lines 1–6) and IV (16: line 4) of the 13th cent. B.C. mention "Canaanite slaves from Hurru" (i.e., Syria-Palestine).

III. The people. The list of the sons of Canaan in Gen. 10:11–19 includes a variety of peoples, such as HITTITES, Jebusites (see JEBUS), AMORITES, GIRGASHITES, and HIVITES, alongside the inhabitants of specific towns. Similar lists occur in Gen. 15:11–21; Num. 13:29; Josh. 5:1; 11:3; et al.

Canaan.

This region of the northern hill country in the land of Canaan was allotted to the tribe of Ephraim. (View to the NNW.)

Some of these evidently represent smaller groups of people living in the general area of Canaan. The

Hittites of Gen. 23 should probably be identified with the sons of HETH of Gen. 10:15 and not with the Hittites of ASIA MINOR. The Hivites may represent HURRIANS. Some of the groups have not yet been identified.

Of particular interest are the AMORITES; like the Canaanites, they represent both a specific and a wider group. Specifically, there were Amorite elements in the land, descended from the wave of migrants who entered W Asia early in the 2nd millennium B.C. These were to be found in the hill country both E and W of Jordan (Num. 13:29; 21:21–35; Josh. 5:1; 11:3). More generally, the terms "Amorite" and "Canaanite" seem to overlap. Thus in Gen. 10:11–16 the sons of Canaan include Amorites, and in Num. 13:11–21 Israelite spies search the land of Canaan although eventually the Hebrew nation occupies the land of the Amorites (Josh. 24:15, 18). ABRAHAM is promised the land of Canaan (Gen. 12:1–6; 15:11–21), but there is a delay in occupation because "the sin of the Amorites has not yet reached its full measure" (15:16). The town of SHECHEM was in the land of Canaan (12:5–6) under the rule of HAMOR the Hivite (34:2, 30), but the territory of JOSEPH, which included Shechem, is called Amorite territory (48:22).

Nonbiblical sources likewise refer to the area of Syria-Palestine as the land of the Amorites. Thus the Alalakh tablets of the 18th cent. B.C. mention Amurru as part of Syria, and the MARI documents refer to Amorite princes in HAZOR, the large Canaanite city in N Palestine. The Amarna letters of the 14th-13th centuries B.C. point to Amorite control of the coastal regions of Canaan. Petty kings like Abdi-aširta and Aziru, of the kingdom of Amurru in the mountains of Lebanon, secured a hold on the coastal regions "from Byblos to Ugarit" (Amarna Letter No. 98). RAMSES II (13th cent. B.C.), in his report of the Battle of Kadesh, refers to the arrival of troops from "a port in the land of Amurru."

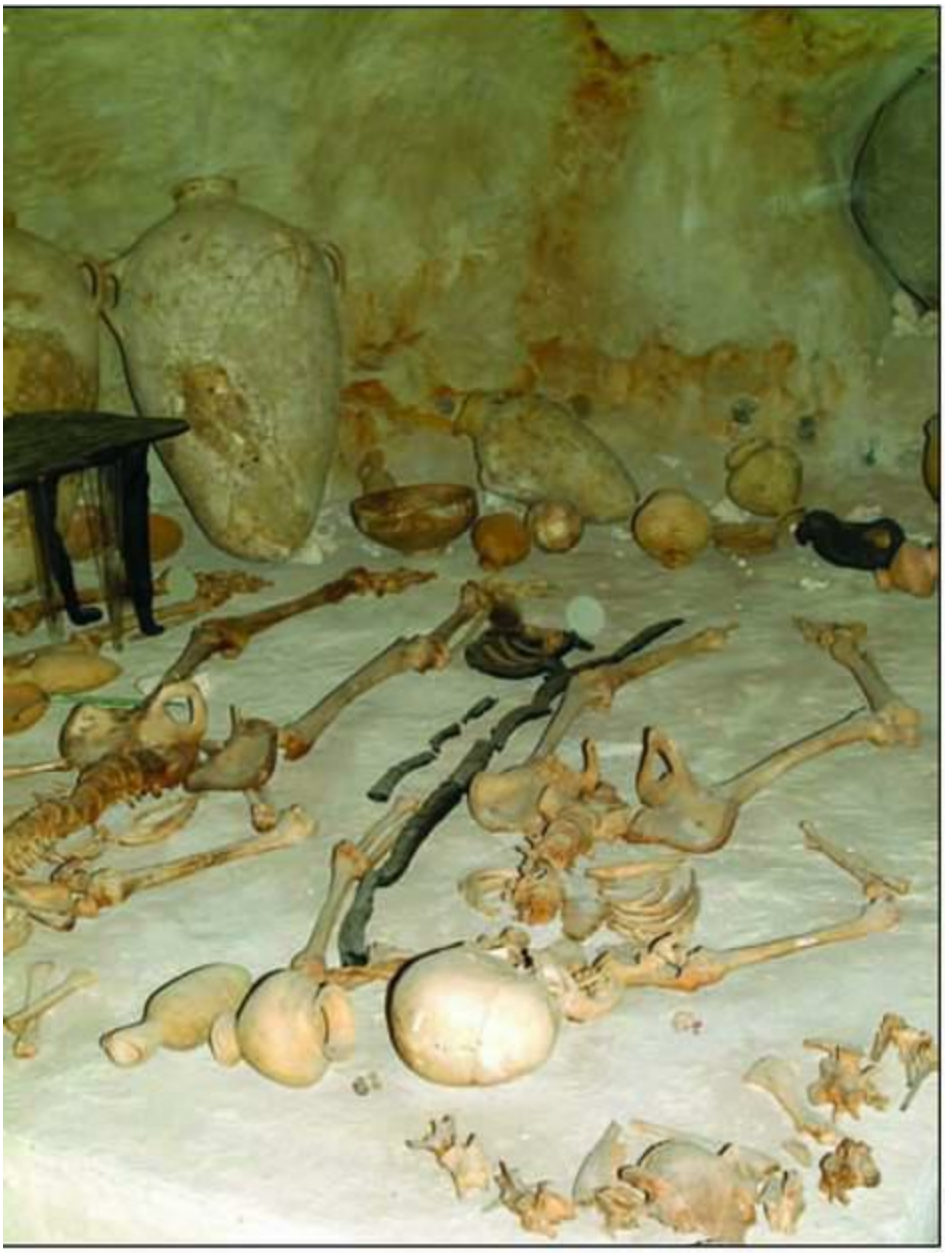
In both the biblical and nonbiblical records two major groups of people are said to occupy Palestine in the early stages of the Israelite conquest—Amorites and Canaanites. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF IV. Solid opposition to the Israelites in TRANSJORDAN and in the southern mountain areas W of Jordan came from Amorites (Num. 21:21–23; Josh. 7:7; 10:5), whereas the Canaanites were in the S at ARAD in the NEGEV (Num. 21:1–3), the SE (Josh. 13:3), at GEZER (Josh. 16:10), along the coastal plains (Josh. 17:11–12), and around Hazor, "the head of all these kingdoms" in the N (Josh. 11:10; Jdg. 4:2). Both groups were, in any case, Semitic, and they spoke a related language. The archaeological picture seems to be that the Amorites arrived in Palestine c. 2300 B.C. as nomads and destroyers of a preexisting urban civilization. During four centuries, they left little behind them. Farther N the Amorites amalgamated with the civilized population, and out of the synthesis arose the Canaanite culture, which spread S throughout coastal Syria and Palestine to reestablish urban life in Palestine in the Middle Bronze age. It was this culture that the incoming Israelites found and largely adopted on the material side, although their distinctive faith enabled them to emerge from its influence eventually.

IV. Archaeological discovery. The 20th cent. witnessed spectacular archaeological discoveries in the area of Canaanite studies. Significant excavations in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria have revolutionized the knowledge of the Canaanites in regard to their own culture as well as the links between them and neighboring peoples. French and British archaeologists have conducted large-scale, systematic excavations in Syria, for example, at Byblos (see GEBAL #2) under P. Montet and M. Dunand, at Ugarit under C. F. A. Schaeffer, at Khadattu (Arslan Tash) under F. Thureau Dangin, at Hamath on the Orontes under H. Ingholt, at three mounds in the plains of Antioch under C. W. McEwan, at Mari on the Euphrates under A. Parrot, and at Alalakh under Sir Leonard Woolley. These

excavations have thrown light on the history and civilization of the early Canaanites. The Canaanite background of the later Phoenicians has been enormously broadened by the discovery at UGARIT (Ras Shamra) of thousands of baked clay tablets written both in regular Akkadian cuneiform and in an alphabetic cuneiform script deciphered by H. Bauer, E. Dhorme, and Ch. Virolleaud. Numerous inscriptions in Phoenician from about the 10th cent. B.C. onward have become available.

In Palestine a new era of archaeological work began when Sir Flinders Petrie undertook his epochal excavation of Tell el-Ḥesi in 1890. In the years following, Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo, and Jericho were investigated. Between the two World Wars important sites like Beth Shan, Jericho, Megiddo, Lachish, Tell el-ʿAjjul, Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, Bethel, Ai, Beth Yerah, Hazor, and Shechem were excavated. Since World War II work has gone on at Bethel, Dothan, Gibeon, Hazor, Jericho, Qasileh, Shechem, Tirzah, and other sites in Israel and Jordan, as well as at Dibon and Aroʿer in Transjordan. All these have made it possible to write the story of the development of Canaanite material culture in Palestine.

A synthesis of the archaeological material was undertaken by K. M. Kenyon in the 1963 Schweich Lectures of the British Academy (*Amorites and Canaanites* [1966]), where she has attempted to produce a coherent picture of the material culture of the Syro-Palestine coastal area for the thousand years or so preceding the entry of the Israelites into Palestine. She has shown that the origins of the Canaanite culture in Palestine are to be sought to the N and E of the land. The importance of both the Amorites and the population that lived along the Syrian littoral in the development of Canaanite culture has now become evident. This culture spread S among related groups of people in Palestine and gave shape to the Palestinian Canaanite culture, which was able to survive other



This Canaanite tomb from Jericho (Tomb P 19) contains the remains of seven individuals and dates to the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

influences, such as the superimposed warrior aristocracy centered in the walled cities they built.

V. The language. The ancient texts that have become available make clear that Canaanite belongs to the NW group of Semitic languages, as distinct from the NE group (Akkadian), the SW group (Arabic), and the SE group (South Arabian). See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II. There is some evidence that up to about 1750 B.C. there was a broadly Amorite dialect extending from N Mesopotamia westward into Syria-Palestine. Between c. 1750 and 1450 some divergence appeared between Early Canaanite in Syria-Palestine and Amorite to the E. Between c. 1800 and 1000 dialectical distinctions became clear in the Canaanite area, leading to a break between Hebrew and Phoenician (with proto-Aramaic beginning to take on a recognizable form). After c. 1000, Hebrew, Moabite, and Phoenician (also ARAMAIC, which is distinct from Canaanite) are attested in inscriptions as separate languages. Later developments resulted in further divisions.

Within this broad classification, biblical Hebrew (Isa. 19:18), the W Semitic terms in the Amarna letters, Moabite, and Phoenician might be termed "S Canaanite." Separate, but related, is the

Aramaic group. The language of Ugarit lies between the two, although its exact classification is not clear. Many scholars regard it as belonging to a N Canaanite group and recognize a closer tie between N Canaanite and Amorite than between N and S Canaanite during the period c. 1750–1400 B.C. There is a development, however, in Ugaritic: its late prose (14th–13th cent.) has a tense system that differs somewhat from the earlier epics and has links with biblical Hebrew prose (see W. F. Albright in *BASOR* 150 [April 1958]: 36–38). In broad terms NW Semitic included S Canaanite (Hebrew, Moabite, etc.), N Canaanite (Ugaritic etc.), and Aramaic.

Like other Semitic languages, Canaanite shows the distinguishing mark of three consonantal roots that give the basic idea, although biconsonantal and quadriliteral roots exist. The verb structure makes use of affixes, prefixes, and duplication of the middle radical. The nouns in earlier times were inflected as in Akkadian and Arabic, and the case vowel was followed by *m* (mimmation). Later the case inflection was dropped. In Canaanite dialects an initial *y* replaces the initial *w* that occurs in word stems in Akkadian and Arabic, a feature common to NW Semitic languages such as Canaanite, Amorite, Hebrew, and Aramaic. The definite article (*ha-),* which does not appear in early dialects like Ugarit, came later.

Canaanite was written first in a special script with an undetermined number of characters, related to the Egyptian hieroglyphic system. Several inscriptions in this script on metal and stone have been found at Byblos. At Ras Shamra (Ugarit) the cuneiform alphabet was used. Ultimately the typical NW Semitic ALPHABET replaced the others and became standard. The ancient Hebrew and Phoenician scripts are closely related.

VI. The history of the Canaanites. There is some uncertainty about the exact date when Canaanites appeared first in Syria-Palestine. Certainly there were Semitic-speaking peoples in the area in the 3rd millennium, judging by a few Canaanite place names and loanwords in Egyptian records. The oldest towns in Palestine have Canaanite names (e.g., Megiddo, Beth Shan, Bethyerah, Jericho). In Syria, the names Ugarit, Gabala, Acre (ʿIrqatum), Tyre (Ṣur) are Canaanite.

It is certain that the Canaanites and the related Amorites were well established in the region by 2000 B.C., when Syria-Palestine was divided among a varying number of Canaanite/Amorite city states. After the Amorite invasions had subsided, cultural influences from the N produced the standard Palestinian Middle Bronze Age Canaanite culture, which was only slightly disturbed by the HYKSOS movement.

After the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt c. 1570 B.C., Egypt dominated Palestine-Syria once again during the 18th and 19th dynasties (c. 1571–1200 B.C.), when numerous petty states existed in Canaan. During the 14th cent. northern city states like Ugarit came under Hittite suzerainty. After the confusion of the Amarna age in the first half of the 14th cent. B.C. caused by HABIRU incursions, Egypt regained control under the 19th dynasty, but lost it before the inroads of the SEA PEOPLES (c. 1200 B.C.). MERNEPTAH'S raid of c. 1220 B.C. was at best abortive, and the raid of RAMSES III c. 1180 B.C. was superficial, being confined to the main routes.

The Israelites soon gained control of the highlands, but possession of the valleys and coastal regions was a slow process. In Canaan as a whole, areas to the SW of old Canaan fell to the Sea Peoples (PHILISTINES), Syria itself was occupied by Arameans (see ARAM), and the Canaanites were confined to the coastal areas that became known as Phoenicia. In Palestine the surviving Canaanites were absorbed by the Israelites.

VII. Society. The Canaanite social structure was akin to that which prevailed all over the ANE; that

is, it was comprised of city states in which the king had wide powers to appoint and conscript his subjects for military service, to control lands and lease them for services rendered, to impose taxation of various kinds, and to compel his subjects to undertake public works (corvée). This state of affairs is implied in 1 Sam. 8 (c. 1050 B.C.) and is seen at first hand in the Alalakh tablets (18th – 15th centuries) and at Ugarit (14th–13th centuries B.C.). Military, economic, and religious matters were under the king's control. The queen held a significant place and was appealed to at times by high officials. In larger states the court was highly organized.

There were several strata in society, such as freemen, semifreemen (clients), and slaves. The slaves comprised war captives, foreign slaves, and native Canaanites who became slaves because of debt or unemployment, or because parents sold them or exposed them as children. Slaves might belong to the state, to the temple, to private landowners, or to craftsmen.

The economy was based on AGRICULTURE. All land was owned by the state, the temples, and private landowners, although tenant farmers, the *ḥupši,* possessed small areas. One of the Amarna letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos tells how *ḫupši* farmers were forced at times to sell the wood of their houses and even their children to buy food. Guilds were widespread throughout society among farmers, artisans, traders, priests, musicians, and warriors. One important group of professional warriors was the *maryannu,* who possessed superior equipment such as the horse-drawn chariot. They rendered special services to the king and received special privileges.

Since society was basically feudal, much of the land was held as a grant from the king. Members of the royal family, state officials, the *maryannu,* and others, owed the king specified services and taxation in return for their lands. There was a severe difference in living standards between the upper class patricians and the wide range of lower-class people such as half-free serfs, slaves, etc. Some evidence of class distinction comes from excavations that reveal some fine houses and many inferior houses. The population was distributed in the larger towns and their numerous associated villages or suburbs (many references in Josh. 13–19).

VIII. Literature. The excavations at Ugarit revealed an unsuspected world of Canaanite literature. The texts, which date from the early 14th cent. B.C., are written on clay tablets in the special thirty-letter cuneiform alphabet. Among the more important epics are three: the Baal Epic, which recounts the deeds and fortunes of Baal or Hadad; the legend of Aqhat, the only son of the good King Dan) the story of King Keret, who was bereft of his family and took another wife by conquest, thus incurring the wrath of the gods. There are fragments of other stories as well as a wide variety of letters, treaties, etc. Important insights into Canaanite religious beliefs and into numerous aspects of national and family life shine through these epics. See UGARIT.

IX. Religion

A. The pantheon. The OT gives hints of a Canaanite pantheon that is now known to have been extensive. The senior deity was EL, to whom matters were referred by other gods. For practical purposes, however, BAAL (Lord) was more significant. He is known in the OT in his various local manifestations as the FERTILITY god par excellence and is to be equated with HADAD the storm god. Both he and DAGON had a temple in Ugarit. The god Aṯtar was Baal's substitute during his absence in the underworld. He was the son of Aṯerat, the consort of El. Among the goddesses were ANATH, ASHERAH, and ASHTORETH, goddesses of sex and war. Anath was important in agricultural rituals. She is associated with Aṯtarat, the Canaanite Astarte deliberately misvocalized by Jewish scribes as

Ashtoreth. The third goddess, Asherah (Aṭerat), was consort of El though confused with Astarte in Palestine. Some doubt remains as to whether a god Yah or Ya ʾu was known among the Canaanites, but the gods Shaḥru (Dawn Star), Shalmu (Evening Star), and Yarhu (the Moon God) and his consort Nikkal were certainly worshiped. Others were RESHEPH, the god of pestilence and death, and MOT, the power of drought and death, the antagonist of Baal.

B. The cult. The Ras Shamra texts enable one to make some kind of reconstruction of the cult at Ugarit. One text gives a list of gods and their appropriate offerings. Among the offerings were the *šrp* or burnt offering, wholly offered to the deity, and *šlmm* or communion offering, in which both worshipers and deity shared. Among the technical terms that are paralleled in Hebrew are *dbh* "sacrifice," *mtn* "gift," *ndr* "vow." Among the animals offered in sacrifice were sheep and oxen. There were singers and some kind of psalmody, and times and seasons were observed. The phases of the farmer's year were celebrated by appropriate rites and the recital of the proper myths.

C. Cultic personnel. At Ugarit there was a high priest and no less than twelve families of priests *(khnm)*. In ancient times the king exercised some priestly functions, which he retained in part in later times. Among the cultic functionaries were priests *(khnm),* consecrated persons *(qdšm),* singers *(šrm),* makers of vestments, sculptors, and others. The priests were also custodians of the literary tradition they taught. There seem also to have been women among the temple personnel associated with the fertility cult.

D. The temples. Canaanite temples have been excavated in Syria and Palestine. Among the most famous of these is the Late Bronze Temple of LACHISH, the temples at MEGIDDO and JERICHO from c. 3000 B.C., three at Megiddo from c. 1900 B.C., two at BETH SHAN from the Late Bronze Age, and several important temples at HAZOR from the Late Bronze Age also. A wide variety of cultic objects, altars, incense stands, knives, tongs, libation vessels, etc., is available for study. The debris on the floors of the temples often yields bones of animals that give an idea of the types of sacrifices offered.

X. Israel and Canaan. Israel owed a great deal to Canaan on the level of material culture, in which the Canaanites were superior. It is not easy to say how much Israel owed to the Canaanites in the area of literature, although Canaanite themes and language are common in the Psalms. There was considerable correspondence between Hebrew and Canaanite religion, at least in a superficial way. It is the essential differences between Canaanites and Israelites that are important, however, for it was these that enabled Israel to break away from what was essentially a baneful influence. Those in Israel who worked at a superficial level were attracted to the Canaanite way of life, which lacked the austerity and high ethical demands of the faith of Israel. It was the task of the prophets to draw the lines strongly between the worship of Baal and the worship of Yahweh. The way of AHAB, challenged by ELIJAH, could end only in the destruction of Israel, for it confused Baal with Yahweh and destroyed the unique COVENANT relationship between Yahweh and Israel. The challenge of Elijah on Mount CARMEL, "If the LORD [Yahweh] is God, follow him; but if Baal is God, follow him" (1 Ki. 18:21), summarizes in succinct form the problem that the prophets faced over many centuries.

(See further J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan* [1965]; W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* [1968]; G. R. Driver and J. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends,* 2nd ed. [1978]; K. N. Schoville in *Peoples of the Old Testament World,* ed. A. J. Hoerth et al. [1994], 157–82; J. N. Tubb, *Canaanites* [1998]; G. del Olmo Lete,

Canaanite Religion according to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit [1999]; D. I. Block, *The Gods of the Nations,* 2nd ed. [2000]; John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* [2000]; B. A. Nakhai, *Archaeology and the Religions of Canaan and Israel* [2001]; S. L. Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections: The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt* [2002]; M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel,* 2nd ed. [2002]; C. S. Cowles et al., *Show Them No Mercy: Four Views on God and Canaanite Genocide* [2003].)

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

Canaanite, Simon the. See CANANAEAN.

canals. This English term is used in Bible versions to translate the plural form of Hebrew *yĕʾōr H3284* (Exod. 7:19; 8:5). The singular normally refers to the Nile, so the relevant passages indicate irrigation canals branching off from this river. Other Hebrew words for "river" are also rendered "canal" in the NIV (*nāhār H5643,* Ezra 8:15 et al.; *ʾubāl H67,* Dan. 8:2–3, 6).

Cananaean kay'nuh-nee'uhn (Καναναῖος *G2831;* variant form Κανανίτης). Surname given to SIMON, one of Jesus' disciples (NRSV and other versions at Matt. 10:4; Mk. 3:18; NIV, "Simon the Zealot"). This epithet served to distinguish him from Simon PETER. The KJV, following many Greek MSS, reads the incorrect form "Canaanite"; the latter is properly the rendering of a different Gk. term, *Chananaios G5914,* which occurs only in Matt. 15:22 with reference to the Syro-Phoenician woman (see CANAAN). The term "Cananaean" is rather a Greek transliteration of the Aramaic *qanʿān,* meaning "zealot, enthusiast." Accordingly, the Lukan lists have "the *Zealot"* (Lk. 6:15 and Acts 1:13; these passages are the basis for the NIV rendering in Matt. 10:4 and Mk. 3:18). Thus the identification of this Simon is essentially the same in all four accounts. The surname presumably was given to him because he had been a member of the ZEALOTS, a religio-political party in 1st-cent. Palestine. Apart from the appearance in the list of the apostles, nothing more about this Simon is recorded in the NT.

B. VAN ELDEREN

Candace kan'duh-see (Κανδάκη *G2833).* TNIV Kandake. The title of the queen of ETHIOPIA, whose treasurer was baptized between Jerusalem and Gaza by PHILIP the evangelist (Acts 8:21–27). By Ethiopia is meant the kingdom of Nubia in the N Sudan, whose capital was Meroē. Classical writers refer to several queens of Meroē in the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. who had the title Candace (e.g., Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.54; Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist.* 54.5.1–6; Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 6.35.186). The form in which this title is written with the names of queens in Meroitic inscriptions is Kadake. The Candace of Acts 8:27 was probably Amantitere, who ruled about A.D. 21–41. She and her husband built or added to several Nubian temples, and her pyramid and tomb have been discovered in Meroē. (Cf. E. Ullendorff in *NTS 2* [1955]: 51–55; D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush,* vol.4: *Royal Tombs of Meroē and Barkal* [1957].) See also ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.

J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

candle. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *nēr H5944* (e.g., Job 18:6) and Greek *lychnon G3394* (e.g., Matt. 5:15), words that are more properly translated LAMP. Similarly, the words rendered "candlestick" (*mĕnôâ H4963; lychnia G3393)* really mean "lampstand." The

ancients used clay or metal oil lamps rather than candles.

candlestick, golden. Traditional term for a lampstand (Heb. *mĕnôrâ H4963)* made of gold, used to furnish light in the TABERNACLE and the TEMPLE. The Israelites did not know the use of candles; OIL was used instead.

Directions for the making of this lampstand are given in Exod. 25:31–39: a central stem rising up

This relief on the Arch of Titus depicts the seven-branched candlestick taken from Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

from the base; three arms curving upward coming out at the side of the stem, ending at the top in a straight row of holders in which the lamps were put in one row; the material used was gold; the arms and the stem were highly ornate with almond blossom design. It is almost impossible to determine the exact nature of the flowery ornamentation. The necessary "snuffers and trays" for the lampstand were also to be of gold. A pattern of the whole had been shown to MOSES on the mountain. A second account indicates how the prescriptions were carried out to the letter (Exod. 37:17–24).

When finished, the lampstand was placed in the Holy Place of the tabernacle, opposite the table of showbread. When the temple of SOLOMON was built, in harmony with the much greater size of that structure, ten golden lampstands were provided (1 Ki. 7:49). For reasons not known, only one lampstand was set up in the second temple, which continued in use until it was removed from its place by ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes. However, in the restoration brought about by Judas MACCABEE, a new lampstand was made and put into use (1 Macc. 4:41–50). The same pattern seems to have prevailed in the temple of HEROD until its destruction by TITUS (A.D. 70).

Rather important is the symbolism of the lampstand. The one safe lead, though occurring in a NT statement, is Rev. 1:20, which indicates: "the seven lampstands are the seven churches." The same symbolism may have been intended for the OT original. Still the number seven leaves a problem, which may be solved by regarding it, as many do, as the number of the COVENANT. The CHURCH is composed of God's covenant people. The material, gold, is chosen because it well represents how precious the church is in the sight of the Lord. The oil may represent the HOLY SPIRIT (cf. 1 Sam. 16:13).

H. C. LEUPOLD

cane. See AROMATIC CANE; REED; STAFF.

canker. This English term is used in the KJV to translate Greek *gangraina G1121,* which means "gangrene" (2 Tim. 2:17).

cankerworm. The larva of two different moths, destructive of vegetation. The term is used by the KJV (only in Joel 1:4; 2:25; Nah. 3:11–16) to render Hebrew *yeleq H3540,* which refers to some type of LOCUST.

Canneh kan'uh (כַּנֵּה *H4034).* TNIV Kanneh. A city in N MESOPOTAMIA, mentioned alongside HARAN and EDEN as places with which TYRE traded garments and fabric (Ezek. 27:21–24). Some scholars have identified Canneh with CALNEH (Amos 6:2). Others believe it is the same place as Kannu), a city attested in Assyrian texts and apparently located on an important trade route on the E side of the TIGRIS, near ASSHUR (see J. N. Postgate in *Real-lexikon der Assyriologie,* 5:390, with reference to E. Lipiński in *Orientalia* 45 [1976]: 51–63). In either case, Canneh must have been a significant commercial center.

canon (OT). The authoritative collection of OT books accepted as Holy Scripture. This subject includes the history of the acceptance of the books and the reasons why they and not others (such as the APOCRYPHA) were accepted and collected.

1. Introduction
2. Conservative view of canonicity
3. Traditional views on authorship
    1. Brief survey of liberal views
    2. The Pentateuch
    3. Witness of other OT books
4. Conservative view of the origin of the OT
    1. The concept of a prophet
    2. The sequence of writing prophets
    3. Interrelation of prophets and histories
    4. Books of uncertain authorship
    5. Reception of the OT books
5. The collection of the books
    1. The natural twofold division
    2. The threefold canon of the Hebrew Bible
    3. The threefold development view
    4. Green's explanation of the threefold canon
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6. Witness of Christ and the early church
    1. NT use of the OT
    2. The question of the apocryphal books and NT quotations
    3. The LXX and early church witness
    4. Sundberg's view of the apocryphal additions
    5. Refutation of Sundberg's view

7. The principles of the formation of the canon
    1. Prophetic authorship
    2. Testimony of the Holy Spirit
    3. Providential care
    4. Validation by Christ

I. Introduction. The word *canon* derives from the Greek word *kanōn G2834,* meaning "rule." It has come to refer largely to the standards of the church. Church rules are called "canon law"; clerical vestments are sometimes called "canonics."The most widely used sense of the word refers to the canon of Scripture, that is, the list of books regarded by the church as authoritative and divine. There are actually two points to consider in discussing the principles of canonicity; first, why the books are authoritative and divine; and second, when and how they were accepted by the church and collected into a canon. Especially in the OT field, the matter is complicated by the fact that much of this process took place in the distant past, for which historical evidence is very scanty. Opinions may, therefore, differ somewhat, depending upon the viewpoint of the observer and the confidence one places in the evidence that is available.

In the last two centuries there has arisen a sharp divergence of opinion among biblical scholars that deeply affects questions of canonicity. In former ages most of the students of the Bible believed this book to be true and accepted its supernatural teachings. Since the rise of rationalism and its penetration into the citadels of the Christian faith, it has become common to deny the possibility of the supernatural, and with this denial the Bible has been dissected and challenged in many ways. Study of the OT canon in such circles is a study of the history of the growth of the error of biblical acceptance and belief on the part of the Christian church. It is therefore important to assess with care the evidence bearing on the subject, and also to judge whether opposition to the historic view of the canon stems from compelling argument or from theories previously adopted on other grounds.

Conservative scholars are not without their bias. They freely confess that full information on the OT canon is no longer available, while utilizing every scrap of evidence remaining. They are also heavily influenced in all these matters by the teaching and work of Christ, which guarantee to the church the possibility of a real factual revelation from God, and also that the OT canon embodies that very revelation as Scripture. In a real sense the study of the OT canon could begin and end with the witness of Jesus Christ. It need not end there, however, for there is ancient factual, extant witness in full accord with the teachings of Jesus Christ on the canon.

To be more specific: The conservative scholar has always believed that the OT is what it says it is, and that it arose in the way it claims. The PENTATEUCH was written by MOSES, the prophetic writings by those men whose names are mentioned as authors, the Davidic Psalms by DAVID, and the history books written shortly after the events that are recorded. The whole was completed about 400 B.C. The school of thought often called *higher criticism* includes several varied positions (see BIBLICAL CRITICISM). Almost all deny the genuineness and early date of the OT books as a whole. Some extreme views, as the Swedish view of oral tradition, hardly admit any of the OT may have been written down before 400 B.C. Older critics said that the Pentateuch was written by four or more authors or schools of authors (labeled J, E, D, and P) as late as 1,000 years after Moses. David and Solomon wrote very little. The prophetic books should be divided among the prophetic authors and several of their successors, or the prophets wrote nothing at all.

There is today wide diversity in the critical camp, but there is unanimity in the belief that the historic Christian view of the origin of the OT and its canonization is wrong. The corollary to the

critical view is that the OT is full of error—historical, factual, and doctrinal. It may be a REVELATION from God only in a general sense of experiential revelation, not in the sense of factual divine truth. The presence of these widely divergent opinions complicates greatly the study of the OT canon. Similar problems of criticism beset the NT canon, but in that case the sources are much nearer to the events concerned. See CANON (NT).

II. Conservative view of canonicity. The classic statement of the Protestant position on the OT canon is in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* of 1647, which on this point is in agreement with most historic Protestant denominations. It says: "Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the Books of the Old and New Testaments, which are these…"; then there follow the thirty-nine books of the OT and the twenty-seven of the NT, "all which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life" (1.2). "The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man, or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God" (1.4).

The historic Roman Catholic position is not so much different as is commonly supposed. The Council of Trent in 1546 declared that it received "with an equal affection of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and New Testaments—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions as well as those appertaining to faith as to morals, as having been dictated either by Christ's own word of mouth or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continuous succession" (Fourth Session; see P. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* [1877], 2:80). There follows a list of the OT books with the Apocrypha and the NT books. Note that both standards express full belief in the Bible as the Word of God, and as true precisely because it is the Word of God. The Catholic creed differs by holding, in addition to the OT, the Apocryphal books and Catholic tradition. The decrees of the First Vatican Council of 1870 are in accord with this teaching.

These views on the infallibility of the Bible and its origin from God himself have characterized the entire Christian church of the ages up to the liberal movements of recent times, as is widely recognized. (See R. L. Harris, *Inspiration and Canonicity of the Bible* [1957], 71–77.) They depend partly upon external testimony, partly on the testimony of the books themselves, and appeal finally to Christ himself. Note that the conservative Protestant position holds that the OT canon is a list of authoritative books. The Roman position has been said to be an authoritative list of books. This summary is not entirely accurate. Both Roman and Protestant creeds stress the idea that the books have God for their author. Their authority is inherent. They are the Word of God, the truth. It often has been emphasized that the Protestant view makes INSPIRATION the test of canonicity, which is generally correct (without denying that there may have been inspired utterances and writings that God chose not to include in the canon). But how does one determine what is inspired? The Roman Church holds apparently that church decision is the criterion of inspiration and canonicity. The Protestant tests of inspiration will be discussed below.

III. Traditional views on authorship

A. Brief survey of liberal views. The liberal position in most of its varieties holds that the OT canon is a list of books agreed upon by people and (mistakenly) accepted as divine. Liberals differ as to why the particular books were elevated to such eminence. Some stress the action of religious councils

(though the evidence is very scanty). Others claim that the books written in Hebrew were considered authoritative, but that there were other old Hebrew books not so received. Still others suggest antiquity as the cause of such recognition, but allegedly younger books were canonized when older books were not. These varying views will be remembered and tested as the subject develops. To investigate and weigh in detail the evidence for the genuineness of all the OT books would require a volume (see separate articles on each OT book). Standard OT introductions are available on the subject. The outlines of the argument should be given as a background to the study of the canon. The OT canon is made up of individual books, which therefore need to be studied at least in brief.

B. The Pentateuch. The church always has believed that the PENTATEUCH came from the hand of MOSES. The three arguments are the claims of the books themselves, the evidence of the later writings, and the assurances of Christ himself.

Regarding the claims of the books themselves, they are not always appreciated. It is true that the story of Genesis, which deals with the pre-Mosaic

This mezuzah fragment from Qumran (4Q149) contains parts of Exod. 20:1–12 and Deut. 5:11–16.

age, makes no claim of any authorship. It is, however, closely integrated with the following books. The last chapter of Genesis sets the stage for the opening of Exodus, and the listings of Jacob's family in Gen. 46:1–27 are repeated as far as Levi in Exod. 6:11–16. Obviously the writer of Exod. 6 had the list of Gen. 46 before him. There are other touches. Moses took with him from Egypt the bones of Joseph (Exod. 13:19), as Joseph had commanded (Gen. 50:25). The God of Moses is the "God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" (Exod. 3:6). The children of Esau are called brothers of Israel (Deut. 2:4), a matter that had been explained in Gen. 25:26 and elsewhere. Moab and Ammon are also called children of Lot in Deut. 2:9 and 19 in agreement with Gen. 19:31–38. The Sabbath command depends on the creation narrative (Exod. 23:12; Gen. 1:1—2:2). The whole thrust of the exodus is to bring the Israelites into the land promised by an oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as recorded in Genesis (Deut. 1:8 et al.). Obviously Genesis is bound by many links to the other four books of Moses.

That Moses wrote Exodus-Deuteronomy is claimed repeatedly. No one else could have written

these details of Moses' life nor recorded the words of the Lord to Moses, unless the books are a colossal invention. The expression "the Lord said to Moses" or a similar phrase occurs over seventy-five times in Exodus alone. A similar situation prevails in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The books record what the Lord told Moses alone at the bush, as well as on Mount Sinai. No one but Moses knew the things here written. Certain parts of these books are directly ascribed to the writing of Moses—the poetry of Exod. 15 and Deut. 31–33, the travel logbook of Num. 33, the covenantal law of Exod. 21–24, the section called "this law" referred to in Deut. 28:58; 31:9 (probably including at least 27:1—31:9), and other passages. Almost the whole book of Deuteronomy claims to be Moses' spoken words. Most of the chapters of Leviticus begin with the words, "the LORD spoke to Moses, saying" (NRSV). There is a tendency in critical thought to minimize the self-testimony of the Pentateuch, but it should not be allowed. It could be said that the Pentateuch is a forgery or a pious fraud, but it should be admitted that it clearly claims Mosaic authorship.

Furthermore, this claim is in accordance with the facts of Moses' life. A leader, a scholar, a man of God, he was chosen to receive God's word face to face (Num. 12:1–8). Called a prophet by the 8th-cent. prophet Hosea (Hos. 12:13), Moses stands at the head of that noble line of servants who revealed God's will to Israel and wrote much of it down for all time (Deut. 18:11–22).

C. Witness of other OT books. The following books echo the testimony that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. There is no extrabiblical literature at all by Israelites from the biblical period of Hebrew history. The other OT books are united in their testimony to Moses' authorship, and some of these books are admittedly quite early. Moses is mentioned fifty-six times in Joshua, and his written law is referred to four times (Josh. 1:7; 8:31–32; 23:6). Joshua wrote Moses' law on plastered stones as Moses had commanded (8:34; Deut. 27:1—28:68; et al.). Joshua allocated forty-eight cities to the Levites (Josh. 20:1—21:41) as "the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses" (Num. 36:13 KJV). He also named the cities of refuge that had been promised in Exod. 21:13, specified as six in Num. 35:6—half of them in Transjordan (Deut. 4:41–43) and three more W of Jordan (Deut. 19:2). In short, the narrative of the book of Joshua moves on smoothly until we read that "Joshua recorded these things in the Book of the Law of God" (Josh. 24:26).

The law or commands of Moses are mentioned in Jdg. 3:4; 1 Ki. 2:3; 8:9; 2 Ki. 18:6 (a quotation of Deut. 24:16); 18:1–6, 12; 21:8; 23:25. These references are only the more important ones. They show that throughout the history of the monarchy Moses was regarded as the fountain of Israel's law. It is not that Moses was widely regarded as a great leader and that a law book was later attributed to him by pious fraud. Rather Moses was remembered throughout the centuries as the author of the law of Israel under God.

Nowhere is this more specific than in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. These related history books were written, many believe, by EZRA himself (W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [1960], 226). In them the law in written form is ascribed to Moses a dozen times. Portions from most of the books of the Pentateuch are quoted as Mosaic (Neh. 9:14 = Exod. 20:10; Deut. 5:12; 2 Chr. 25:4 = Deut. 24:16; Neh. 13:1–2 = Deut. 23:1–4). This witness of Chronicles-Nehemiah was regarded of less value formerly when the date of Chronicles was put as late as 250 B.C. Now, however, on the basis of evidence from Qumran they are often dated not long after 400 B.C. (e.g., F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran,* 3rd ed. [1995], 139). This dating gives valid testimony to Israel's belief back into the Persian period. It is no answer to say that Ezra and his fellows were merely glorifying Moses. Close attention to the documents shows that these books ascribe nothing to Moses that is not in the Pentateuch. They quite accurately ascribe the liturgy of the

temple worship to David and name several of his associates, such as Heman and Ethan. They are aware that the temple was built only in the time of Solomon, but the law is regarded as Mosaic in all its parts.

Moses is mentioned also in the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Micah, and Malachi. In the Psalms, one poem is attributed to "Moses the man of God" (Ps. 90 title). The expression "man of God" is used many times in the OT as equivalent to "prophet" (e.g., 1 Ki. 13:21–23). In Ps. 103, a Psalm of David, the revelation of God to Moses is mentioned, then a verse from Exod. 34:6 is quoted. Several Psalms mention Moses' and Aaron's leadership; Ps. 106 gives a detailed history of Moses' leading the people out of Egypt, and remarks that at the Red Sea Israel believed God's word, but later when they refused to enter Palestine they "did not believe his promise" (v. 24). The implication, against the background of the history cited, is that Israel refused God's word spoken by Moses.

According to the critical view, the Pentateuch was not even in existence as a unit in the days of the monarchy, but was written down much later and falsely attributed to Moses. Such a view automatically rules out any conservative position on the OT canon. It is essential, therefore, to realize the strength of the witness available for the early date and Mosaic origin of the first division of the Scripture.

The testimony to the Pentateuch during the period of the monarchy is a bit difficult to give because critical scholarship is divided in its estimate of the date and value of the books of history and the prophetical books allegedly written during this time. The older critics held that Joshua and Judges were written largely by the same four schools (J, E, D, P) that wrote the Pentateuch. Therefore their witness for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch would be late and valueless. Samuel, however, was regarded as largely J and E, and therefore in the time of the monarchy. Kings was late; Hosea, Amos, Micah, and the "first" Isaiah were early. The rest were late. The Psalms and other books were in part as late as the Maccabean period (c. 168 B.C.; see MACCABEE). These views seem somewhat strange now as a result of the findings of the DSS, which will be discussed below.

It is now fashionable to regard the books of Samuel as a priceless, almost contemporary account of the rise of the monarchy (cf. J. Bright, *A History of Israel,* 4th ed. [2000], 184). Followers of Martin Noth give great credit to the accuracy of the historical books, Joshua to 2 Kings, but argue that they were all "redacted" by the "Deuteronomist" at about 620 B.C. They speak of a Tetrateuch (Genesis to Numbers) and a Deuteronomic Work (Deuteronomy to 2 Kings). Albright, however, would place many Psalms as early as David and even put Proverbs in the monarchy; he argues that no Psalms are later than the 4th cent. *(The Archaeology of Palestine,* 221–27).

Many scholars still hold such prophets as Amos, Hosea, Micah, and parts of Isaiah to be genuine (John D. W. Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in Amos* [1958], 13 n. 1). Others, however, follow the more skeptical Swedish school, which argues that nothing of any extent was written in Israel before the EXILE. All was in the shape of oral tradition, and the great bulk of the OT was written down after the exile—apparently in that short time after ZERUBBABEL and before the new dating of Chronicles in 400 B.C. Little of Israel's condition during this period is known, but it would seem that the nation was under duress in Babylon and in a wretched condition in Palestine. It does not seem a likely time for the monumental achievement of the collecting of ancient traditions and writing them up in a form that has ever since impressed all mankind with its genius, moral force, and spiritual power.

In view of these uncertainties among critical scholars, it seems worthwhile to gather some of the evidences that the historical books, the Psalms, and the early prophets clearly allude to and quote from the Pentateuch (including "P") or the allegedly postexilic Tetrateuch of the Swedish school. The preexilic evidence agrees with that of the Chronicles at 400 B.C.

An early prophet like Hosea makes definite allusions to every one of the five books of the Pentateuch, including all four of the alleged documentary sources (J, E, D, P). Hosea 12:1–4 refers to the birth of Jacob, his wrestling with the angel, and his vision at Bethel (all J). Hosea 12:9a and 13:4 quote from the commandments (Exod. 20:2, attributed to E). Hosea 12:9 refers to dwelling in booths in the feast of Tabernacles, a detail found only in Lev. 23:42 (P). Hosea 9:10 mentions Israel's apostasy at Baal Peor, recorded in Numbers (also in Deut.). Hosea 11:8 refers to the destruction of the cities of Admah and Zeboiim, which is reported only in Deut. 29:23 (D). Hosea 9:9 and 10:9 refer also to the battle in Jdg. 20. There are several allusions in Hosea to other OT books, but as is usual, there is no quotation of other books or allusions to any ancient traditions not found in the OT books. Hosea does not witness to Moses' writing, but it does clearly witness to the ancient existence of the Pentateuch. The date of Hosea in the days of JEROBOAM II is well before the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.

There are many other cases of allusions to the history and wording of the Pentateuch in the Psalms and the early prophetical books written probably during the monarchy. The book of Joshua according to Noth and others is Deuteronomic and comes from before the exile. How then does it refer so frequently to the Tetrateuch and the P document supposedly written after the exile? A table of the more striking correspondence will be helpful:

Josh. 5:6	Num. 14:23	(J,E)	Generation condemned
Josh. 8:30–31	Deut. 27:4–5	(D)	Altar not engraved by iron
Josh. 8:32–35	Deut. 27:2–4, 8	(D)	Moses' law written in plaster
Josh. 13:21–22	Num. 31:8	(P)	Balaam slain
Josh. 14:4	Gen. 48:5–6	(P)	Manasseh and Ephraim to inherit
Josh. 15:14	Num. 13:22	(J,E)	Sons of Anak in Hebron
Josh. 17:3	Num. 26:33	(P)	Daughters of Zelophehad
Josh. 22:17	Num. 25:5	(P)	Plague of Baal Peor
Josh. 23:7	Exod. 20:5	(E)	Versus idolatry
Josh. 24:2–3	Gen. 12:1	(J)	Terah and Abraham called out
Josh. 24:7	Exod. 14:10, 20	(J)	Darkness between Israel and Egyptians
Josh. 24:32	Gen. 33:19	(E)	Jacob's purchase of land in Shechem

Actually, Josh. 24 summarizes much history from Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. It is clear that, whoever wrote Joshua, he was familiar with the books of the Pentateuch, however one divides them. He frequently refers to the ancient history of the patriarchs, the commands of Moses, and the history of the nation under Moses; but he never refers to any other history or tradition except what the Pentateuch gives. The picture in the other books is similar:

Jdg. 5:4–5	Exod. 19:18–20	(J,E)	The theophany on Sinai (Jdg. 5:4–5, quoted verbatim in the early Ps. 68:8)
Jdg. 7:3	Deut. 20:8	(D)	Offer to fearful to return home
Jdg. 11:17	Num. 20:17–18	(J,E)	Edom refuses passage
Jdg. 11:25	Num. 22:5–6	(P)	Reference to Balak found again only in Josh. 24:9 and Mic. 6:5
1 Sam. 12:8	Gen. 46:6	(P)	Descent of Jacob to Egypt
1 Sam. 15:29	Num. 23:19	(E)	God will not lie nor repent
1 Ki. 2:3	Deut. 11:1	(D)	Keep statutes as in Moses' law
1 Ki. 18:31	Gen. 35:10	(P)	"Your name shall be Israel"
1 Ki. 19:8	Exod. 3:1	(E)	Horeb, the Mt. of God
2 Ki. 18:4	Num. 21:8	(J,E)	The brazen serpent
2 Ki. 23:25	Deut. 6:5	(D)	"Love the Lord with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength" (cf. Deut. 11:13; Josh. 22:5).

The subject has a fascination, and actually leads to innumerable references. Numbers 10:35 (J, E) is quoted by Ps. 68:1–2, a psalm studied linguistically and dated to the early monarchy by W. F. Albright (in *HUCA23* [1951–51]: 10). Note the other reference of Ps. 68 to the Song of Deborah (Jdg. 5:1–5) mentioned above. The first commandment (Exod. 20:2) has been referred to above as quoted in Hos. 12:9; 13:4. It is also quoted in Ps. 81:10. This psalm refers to other incidents of the exodus, such as the blowing of trumpets on the New Moon (Ps. 81:3), which is mentioned elsewhere only in Num. 10:10 (though sacrifices on the New Moon are often mentioned). The waters of Meribah (Ps. 81:7) are referred to in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

There should be mentioned also the great summary passages in the OT. These recall more or less of the history of Israel, alluding briefly to many books. Jephthah in Jdg. 11:1–22 mentions particularly the Transjordan conquest related in Numbers and Deuteronomy. Joshua 24:1–18 ranges through much of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Samuel's speech in 1 Sam. 12 has already been cited for the Pentateuch. He also refers to the wars fought by Barak against Sisera, by Gideon (called Jerub-Baal), and by Jephthah. Several historical psalms (Pss. 78; 105; 106; 135; 136) repeat the same story, once with an actual quotation (Ps. 135:14 = Deut. 32:36). Parts of Pss. 105 and 106 are in turn quoted extensively in 1 Chr. 16.

There are other interrelations of OT books. Isaiah 7:12 quotes from Deut. 6:16 as Jesus did years later (Matt. 4:7). Isaiah 10:26 alludes to Gideon's victory in Jdg. 7:25. Isaiah 12:2 quotes from Exod. 15:2, as does also Ps. 118:14. Micah 3:12 is quoted by name in Jer. 26:18. Jeremiah depends heavily on Isa. 15 and 16 in his own denunciation of Moab (Jer. 48). Jeremiah also quotes from Hosea (Jer. 30:9 = Hos. 3:5) and from Numbers (Jer. 48:41–46 = Num. 21:21–29). It is interesting to observe that Jeremiah stops his quotation from Numbers just before the reference to Sihon, which

The OT books are characterized by many interrelationships. For example, Isa. 10:26 alludes to Gideon's victory against the • Midianites (Jdg. 7:25), which took place here at the Harod Valley. This view (looking W from Beth Shan) also shows Mount Gilboa (left) and Mount Moreh (right).

is applicable to the early time but not to Jeremiah's day. In all these summaries of ancient history and allusions to other books and events, there are none or next to none that cannot be explained by the Pentateuchal books. If these books were passed on for years by oral tradition as some argue, it seems clear that all the tradition was at last written down. There is no hint of selectivity.

The bearing of the above study on the OT canon is obvious: the OT books were written as they claim, stage by stage and year by year throughout Israel's history from Moses on down to the later prophets. There is no ancient extrabiblical witness to prove this, but there is a great deal of inner biblical witness, whereby one book gives witness to another's antiquity.

IV. Conservative view of the origin of the OT

A. The concept of a prophet. Ingrained into the faith of both OT and NT is the principle that God has revealed himself. A great verse on the subject is Heb. 1:1, "In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets." The OT prophet was a man who claimed to speak truly the Word of God. A prophet was not one who trained for a work or who was appointed to an office or inherited a position. He was one called of God. Several of the prophets recount the experience of their call. Ezekiel saw a vision in which God on his throne gave him a book and commanded him to eat it so that he might speak to the people using God's words (Ezek. 3:1–4). Isaiah too saw a vision of the Lord: after the angel had cleansed Isaiah's lips, God commissioned him to go and speak to the people (Isa. 6:1–9). Jeremiah heard the Lord's call to be a prophet, but replied that he was poor in speaking. Then the Lord touched his mouth and said, "Now, I have put my words in your mouth" (Jer. 1:1–9).

Moses, the great prophet at the start of Israel's national life, was called at the burning bush. He also objected that he could not speak well. God's reply was, "I will help you speak and teach you what to say" (Exod. 4:11–12). Later God gave more detail concerning his freedom of speaking to Moses. When Miriam and Aaron spoke against their brother, God said, "When a prophet of the LORD is among you, I reveal myself to him in visions, I speak to him in dreams. But this is not true of my servant Moses; he is faithful in all my house. With him I speak face to face" (Num. 12:1–8). Moses is not distinguished from a prophet but is regarded as the prophet par excellence, for God revealed himself to Moses with special clarity. Elsewhere Moses is clearly referred to as a prophet (Hos.

12:13), and indeed he is the type of all the prophets to follow including Christ himself (Deut. 18:15, 18). Other examples could be given, although all prophets are not always as detailed in speaking of their call. See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

Israel had many prophets through her long history, and the documents repeatedly assert that the faithful of the nation listened to these prophets, accepting their words as the words of God. One could hold that the prophets were self-deceived and the people mistaken, but clearly ancient Israel believed that God spoke by the prophets. The evidence is not clear that the nations surrounding ancient Israel also recognized prophets. There is a questionable reference to this effect in the MARI letters, but evidence is scarce (cf. E. J. Young, *My Servants the Prophets* [1955], 191–98). It is clear from the Bible, however, that false prophets and prophets of Baal abounded in Israel. The question therefore arises, how were Israelites to distinguish true prophets from false? The Bible gives three signs of a true prophet: (1) his word must be in accord with the true religion (Deut. 13:1–5). (2) His predictions must come to pass (18:21–22). (3) His word may be accompanied with miraculous

In this cuneiform tablet from the 7th cent. B.C., Assyrian leaders request an oracle from the sun-idol Shamash as to whether they will be able to recover a captured fortress. Unlike such requests, true prophets spoke forth the words of the King of the Universe.

signs (Exod. 4:1–9; 1 Ki. 13:1–5; 2 Ki. 20:1–11; et al.). It is curious and significant that the false prophets are not credited with performing miracles. The only exceptions seem to be the Egyptian magicians and the witch of Endor. Many times the predictions of the false prophets are proved false. Not every prophet was believed in Israel, but some were believed even at great odds.

The conclusion is that throughout the history of Israel (and even before, because Enoch, Noah, and Abraham were prophets) many prophets were recognized as spokesmen for God and their word was regarded as true by the faithful in the nation. It may be remarked that this recognition was not given to others. Priests did not declare the Word of God except by the use of the URIM AND THUMMIM, which seem only to have given a yes-no answer to questions. Kings also had no such power. Of course, priests and kings could also be prophets (e.g., Ezekiel and David), but priests as priests did not receive revelations from God. Their work was to instruct from the existing law.

It stands to reason that since what these prophets spoke was regarded as the Word of God, what they may have written was also so regarded. For this reason, the Pentateuch was accepted as being the work of Moses. Those who refuse to accept the idea that there were prophets who delivered supernatural revelations from God find it hard to believe that a prophet's word would have been accepted by his contemporaries. They feel that some interval must exist or must be claimed from the time of writing of an ancient writer to the time of its reception. The time for such an acceptance was probably short in the case of the NT. Those who saw the risen Christ were convinced at once of his power to reveal. Those who heard the apostle Paul speak with power evidently accepted his epistles without delay or demur. There is therefore no inherent reason why the writings of the OT should not have been accepted by the authors' contemporaries; the conservative view is that they were so accepted.

B. The sequence of writing prophets. According to the claim of Joshua, he accepted at once Moses' Book of the Law (Josh. 1:8) and proceeded to follow in the footsteps of the great leader. The Jordan opened up before Joshua as the Red Sea had done for Moses. The captain of the Lord's host humbled Joshua and instructed him (5:15—6:2) as God had done with Moses (Exod. 3:5, 10). Joshua acted as a prophet, in the areas of both prediction and miracle (Josh. 6:26; 10:11–14). Later generations remembered him as a prophet (1 Ki. 16:34). It is stated that his writing was added to the Book of the Law of God (Josh. 24:26). The claim is evident that the book of Joshua was written by Joshua the prophet and added to the Pentateuch.

It is believed by many that this is a preposterous conclusion because Joshua is a much later writing. The claim is made that the cities listed as distributed by Joshua reflect a later time of Israel's history. However, following A. Alt (*Kleine Schriften,* 3 vols. [1951–59], 1:201) one may hold that the material fits an early age regardless of the writing. The date and authenticity of Joshua is a literary question where much subjectivity comes into play. Space does not allow a discussion here, but conservative scholars are capable of arguing for a date of Joshua contemporary to the events described.

The book of Judges follows Joshua. In old Hebrew listings Judges and Ruth were evidently one book. This is natural, for the book of Judges consists of two major parts. The first is a framework that tells the story of the successive oppressions and deliverances of Israel. The second part is a kind of appendix containing two stories (Jdg. 11–18; 11–21) which tell of incidents occurring during the period of the judges. The two incidents tell of sinful situations, and both are concerned with Bethlehem (17:7; 19:1). The book of Ruth is a similar story only telling of a godly family, and it too is concerned with Bethlehem. Who wrote the book of Judges is not known. Presumably it was written by someone at the end of this period, who had by oral and/or written tradition a knowledge of the facts. All the Hebrew classifications—though they are quite late—ascribe Judges to a prophet. There is no adequate evidence for or against this conclusion. It should be noted, however, that Judges is purposefully tied in with the connected history of Israel.

Note that the book of Joshua ends with Joshua's death (Josh. 24:21–31). These verses are also found in Judges (Jdg. 2:1–9). Joshua could notwrite about his death, but it seems that the author of Judges appended a few verses ("After these things," Josh. 24:29) to the preceding book as a kind of catch-line to show the connection of his book. Exactly the same thing is done in Judges-Ruth. At the end of Ruth the genealogy of the baby born to Ruth and Boaz is carried down to the time of David and is obviously written in the days of the monarchy, not in the days of the judges. This by no means suggests that all of Judges-Ruth was written in the monarchy. Rather it suggests that the author of the

history of David in Samuel was using the catch-line principle.

The same thing was done in 2 Chronicles – Ezra. Chronicles ends with two verses that are identical with Ezra 1:1–3a. Examination will show that 2 Chronicles ends in the middle of a sentence; Ezra 1:3 has the completion of that sentence. Evidently it was the practice for the author of a second book to place a concluding appendix or catch-line on the previous book to show the connection. An exceedingly curious item is available to prove that these two verses were added to 2 Chronicles as a catch-line. There is an apocryphal book called 1 Esdras (see ESDRAS, FIRST) which is little more than a copy of 2 Chr. 35:1 through Ezra with a brief part of Nehemiah. It is most interesting that where this book makes the joining between 2 Chronicles and Ezra, the two-verse catch-line of 2 Chr. 36:21–23 is omitted.

This catch-line practice was common in antiquity. Before bound books were invented, it was necessary to write them on several scrolls or (in Mesopotamia) on several clay tablets. To show the connection between individual scrolls or tablets the catch-line principle was often adopted. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh* this device is clearly illustrated in those tablets that are not broken at the beginning or end (see GILGAMESH). It was a common and logical device. This use of a connecting paragraph between books is a significant evidence of the intention of the authors to represent a continued story of Israel's history. It also answers an old question: How could Moses write about his own death in Deut. 34? The answer is that Moses in all likelihood did not write this passage. His writing stopped with the Song of Moses in Deut. 33, a "swansong" uttered just before his death. The concluding chapter is Joshua's appendix, tying together his own writing and that of his great predecessor. Thus there is a continued story of Israel's history from the beginning to the Babylonian captivity, with which 2 Kings ends.

There is more, however, to this concept. The books of Samuel–Kings were written by successive prophets; the evidence is found in the books of Chronicles. It will be remembered that the books of Kings end the record of each reign with a notation that more information is available in the books of the records of the kingdom. For Solomon it is called "the book of the annals of Solomon" (1 Ki. 11:41). For Rehoboam it is "the book of the annals of the kings of Judah" (14:29). For Jeroboam it is referred to as "the book of the annals of the kings of Israel" (14:19). Such a notation is found for almost all the following kings of Israel and Judah. No other sourcebook is mentioned in Kings. The mention of these chronicles is not surprising. Other kings kept chronicles and their records have been found (cf. D.J.Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* [1956]). That the records were the official court records of Judah and Samaria is hinted at by the fact that no mention is made of records of the final kings of each kingdom who were carried away captive. Clearly the book of Kings was compiled from such court records.

The book of Chronicles, however, cites other sources. It was written, according to Jewish traditions, by Ezra. But Chronicles after each king of Judah (no detailed history of the northern kings is given) cites a different history book as its source.

A record of cities conquered by Thutmose III (relief wall at Karnak, 15th cent. B.C.). Many ancient kings preserved a written record of their rule.

Typical is the notation after David's death: "As for the events of King David's reign, from beginning to end, they are written in the records of Samuel the seer, the records of Nathan the prophet and the records of Gad the seer" (1 Chr. 29:29). After Solomon there is a similar reference to books of the prophets Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo (2 Chr. 9:29). After Rehoboam, the work of the prophets Shemaiah and Iddo is mentioned (2 Chr. 12:15). Of the following kings, five are cited as having their story written by the prophets (Abijah, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Hezekiah, and, questionably, Josiah). Six others have no historian cited (Jehoram, Ahaziah, Amon, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah). Most of these died in a foreign land. For eight others there is a mention of "the book of the kings" (Joash), the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah—along with the writing of Isaiah—and Josiah and Jehoiachim). The source for Manasseh is the book of the kings of Israel (i.e., Judah, since Israel had fallen).

It may be noticed that the sources of the Chronicles are usually not the same as they were for the authors of Samuel-Kings. The Chronicler in some cases used the same or similar court records. In many cases he also used the histories written by successive prophets. What were these histories? Actually one can be relatively sure what these histories were, because it is clear that the books of Samuel-Kings were one of the sources of the book of Chronicles. The Chronicler knew and used some of the court records and also knew and used the books of Samuel-Kings. It would seem therefore that his references to the books of Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, Hanani, Jehu the son of Hanani, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, are really references to the books of Samuel-Kings. Therefore the books of Samuel-Kings were written by this succession of writing prophets who carried the history of God's people on down from the days of the judges to the exile. The books of Samuel-Kings are regarded in all Jewish classifications as books of the prophets.

C. Interrelation of prophets and histories. In Jewish tradition there was not the division between prophetical books and historical books that the English Bible seems to reflect. The division in the TALMUD calls the books from Joshua to Kings the Early Prophets, while Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets are called the Latter Prophets. The NT, as will be pointed out later,

calls all the OT books after Moses "Prophets." This outlook is reflected in the situation referred to above that the major historical books of Samuel-Kings were apparently written by prophets.

A further illustration of this tendency for prophets to write history are the parallels to the prophetical books found in the books of Kings. Most readers are aware that Isa. 36–39 is paralleled by 2 Ki. 18:17—20:20. Only the prayer of Heze-kiah (Isa. 38:1–20) is omitted. Why is this section found in both books? The reason is clear, for it continues the historical sequence of that book, and it belongs there. According to the testimony of 2 Chr. 32:32, Isaiah wrote such a history. The book of Kings does not claim to abstract anything from Isaiah. Rather it cites the court records of Judah as a further source of information. The conclusion is natural that this part of Kings was written by Isaiah from court records available to him. When he wrote his own book, this section was put into it also as a prelude to the latter division of Isaiah.

These chapters make a suitable background for Isa. 40:1—48:22. The present writer espouses the chronology that recognizes Hezekiah as coregent with his father Ahaz from 728 to 715 B.C. (see H. Stigers in *Wycliffe Bible Commentary* [1962], 351–58), then as sole king from 715 to 686. Isaiah outlived Hezekiah by a few years and wrote of Sennacherib's death in 681 (Isa. 37:38). By this time the city of Babylon apparently had a rebirth of power and was visible as a threat to Assyria. It will be remembered that Manasseh was shortly to be carried captive to Babylon (2 Chr. 33:11). Isaiah saw the growing Babylonian menace, rebuked Hezekiah for toying with a treaty with Merodach-Baladan, the Babylonian rebel against Sennacherib, and was shown by God's revelation the woes of the Babylonian captivity to come and God's deliverance from it. Isaiah 31–39 forms a suitable backdrop to this prophecy. Isaiah had written it for the historical book. He repeated it in his prophetical book just as many an author today reprints a magazine article as a chapter in a book.

The book of Jeremiah has a similar phenomenon. The downfall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. is written in detail in 2 Ki. 24:18—25:30. Except for a few verses (25:21–26), this section is also given in Jer. 52:1–34 (and there is an extra section in Jer. 52:21–30). The matter is more complicated, however, because a part of the same section (2 Ki. 25:1–12) appears a third time, in Jer. 39:1–10, where it fits perfectly in the narrative of the book. Furthermore, the verses of Kings (2 Ki. 25:21–26) that do not occur in Jer. 52 do occur elsewhere in Jeremiah, scattered through the sequel to the fall of the city (Jer. 40:1–10; 41:1–3). It is said in Chronicles that Jeremiah gave his lamentations for Josiah, condemned Zedekiah, and predicted Jerusalem's fall (2 Chr. 35:25; 36:12, 21). It is most natural to suppose that Jeremiah wrote in 2 Kings the final history of Jerusalem. Some of this history appears in the body of the book of Jeremiah; some is appended as a summary at the end.

To summarize: There was a body of historical literature in ancient Israel written by a succession of prophets. Two of the prophets cited as contributing to this history were Isaiah and Jeremiah. These prophets have left books of their messages that parallel in interesting ways the appropriate parts of the history books. The witness is cumulative, for the prophets of Israel were the recognized authors of its sacred history, as well as the authors of the oracles of God's will for its life and duty.

D. Books of uncertain authorship. It would be gratifying to say that the case is closed; all the OT books were written by prophets and were for this reason accepted by the faithful in the nation. Unfortunately, all the old extrabiblical testimony has perished and the testimony of the OT books themselves is not complete. There are a few books that can not be proved to be authored by prophets. On the other hand, neither can it be proved they were not. It is only that evidence is lacking.

Opinion again will differ with one's viewpoint. Did DAVID write the seventy-three Psalms

ascribed to him, or were they Maccabean? Did Solomon write Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, or are they much later? Critical scholarship alleges varying dates for these books. Until this dating is agreed upon, opinions on canonicity will be divided. The extremely critical views of the past must now be surrendered. Some few scholars once held that Ecclesiastes was written in the days of Herod the Great. This was obviously wrong, for the DSS now include a fragmentary copy dating from about 150 B.C.

The Psalms also were called late—all postexilic and several Maccabean. Now scholars like Albright recognize them as of the monarchy. If they are of the monarchy, why deny Davidic authorship to many of them? David was famous for his music (Amos 6:5). Early witnesses point to David as the founder of psalmody (1 Chr. 15:11–21; 16:1–34). This last section repeats Pss. 96:1–13; 105:1–15; 106:1–2, 48 and calls them Davidic. It is customary to call the psalm titles worthless, but the testimony of Christ is to the contrary (Mk. 12:36, referring to Ps. 110). Reference to other ancient poems will show that it was common to use titles for such pieces (2 Sam. 1:17; 22:1; 23:1; Isa. 38:9; Hab. 3:1, 19). See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

The conclusion that David could not have written the psalms attributed to him is the conclusion of critical scholars based upon internal evidence usually approached with a subjective interpretation. This is doubtless the reason for the extremes of thought from the late date assigned in the commentary of M. Buttenwieser (1938) to the commentary of M. Dahood (1966), which agrees largely with the position taken above. Of course, not all the psalms are by David. Several are attributed to Ethan, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the sons of Korah. Chronicles names these as prophets (1 Chr. 25:1–5). Several of the psalms have no author specified either in the Hebrew or SEPTUAGINT. There is no evidence that they were written by prophets, nor is there any evidence to the contrary. Two of these orphan psalms are cited in 1 Chr. 16 as Davidic. Another is so cited by the NT (Acts 4:25). For the rest they were written, it now appears, during the time when prophets were active in Israel. They are included in the collection called the Law and the Prophets, as will be seen. The matter must rest until more information is discovered.

The books of SOLOMON may be considered together. Was Solomon their author, and was he a prophet? The evidence is not compelling, but it is considerable. Some would question Solomon's right to write inspired material because they resent his large harem. It should be observed that many of Solomon's wives were no more than political hostages. In ancient times foreign treaties were often celebrated by intermarriage, and Solomon, as his kingdom extended over many smaller city states, contracted many marriages that were probably purely political. This is not to deny that Solomon was polygamous, as was his father David, but the Bible does not picture Solomon as a creature of lust. Actually, its condemnation is that Solomon allowed his foreign wives, important people as some of them were, to introduce their alien worship into the environs of Jerusalem. His error in his later years was not lust so much as religious compromise (1 Ki. 11:1–8). In his earlier days Solomon was a man of God. His prayer in 1 Ki. 8:21–53 breathes pure devotion. The Lord spoke to Solomon by revelation (3:1–14; 6:11–13; 9:1–9). At least two psalms are attributed to him (Pss. 72 and 127). There is no inherent reason why Solomon may not be called a prophet and be credited with the writing of Scripture.

The bulk of PROVERBS is clearly credited to him (Prov. 1:1; 10:1; 25:1). The proverbs at the end of the book, notably chs. 30 and 31, may be by another hand, but the references to Agur and King Lemuel are so figurative and poetical that they could actually be alternative names for Solomon himself. In any case, these words are called words of prophecy (Prov. 30:1; 31:1; cf. the writer's discussion of these verses in *Wycliffe Bible Commentary* [1962], 581–82). There are many

arguments against the Solomonic authorship of Proverbs, but they are all general and subjective. Some claim that the book depends on the ancient wisdom literature of Babylon and Egypt. This may be admitted, but who in Israel would be more apt to know such literature than Solomon? The format of Solomon's work may show certain similarity, but in any case the teaching of Proverbs is quite different from that of the surrounding proverbial literature (see the writer's discussion in ibid., 551–57).

ECCLESIASTES has generally been attributed to Solomon. A. Bentzen's quite critical introduction remarks, "The superscription evidently identifies the speaker with Solomon" *(Introduction to the Old Testament* [1958], 2:188). Of course, Bentzen does not accept this ascription. As mentioned above, a fragment was found among the DSS dating to about 171–150 B.C. (F. M. Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumran,* 3rd ed. [1995], 122). As the MS shows a history of textual tradition back of it, Cross and others suggest a date at least as early as the 3rd cent. There is no need to deny the Solomonic authorship. Bentzen's argument for a late date is based on the presence of ARAMAIC words and expressions, which prove much less than formerly, since forms alleged to be Aramaisms are now in Ugaritic literature of 1400 B.C. (see UGARIT). The dialect of Hebrew used in the book also is said to be late, which is not easily proved. It is not particularly like the Hebrew of the Dead Sea literature. The language has unusual dialectal peculiarities, but since there is little extrabiblical literature from 930 to 250 B.C. to compare it with, it is unsafe to date the book by its style and language. The material in the book has been likened to Greek skepticism as well as to Egyptian and Babylonian philosophy. Since there is disagreement about interpretation of the book, such parallels of thought are also uncertain. The conclusion is that there is no positive argument against the Solomonic authorship. The Hebrew style is not like Proverbs, but the subject matter and literary format also differ, and authors often use different style for different books.

The same can be said of the Song of Solomon. The author appears to be Solomon, although the claim is not quite as sure as in the case of Ecclesiastes. The language includes foreign words that even Driver thought were suitable enough for Solomon's cosmopolitan day. There is no sufficient reason to depart from the traditional authorship (cf. E. J. Young, *Introduction to the Old Testament,* rev. ed. [1964], 332, and others).

There are other books of which the authorship by a prophet cannot be proved: Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job (Lamentations may fairly be ascribed to Jeremiah; cf. Young, *Introduction,* 341–45). Apparently Ezra wrote his book and Chronicles, and his companion Nehemiah wrote the book that bears his name. Nowhere in early sources are these men called prophets, though Ezra is so called in later literature The authorship and date of Job is disputed, though the Dead Sea finds include a copy of 200 B.C. Esther is missing in the DSS, though JOSEPHUS knew the book well and the feast of Purim was familiar to the author of 2 Maccabees (2 Macc. 15:36). Jewish tradition assigns Esther to the time of Ezra. It is no problem to place Job as early as 400 B.C. (this writer would place it much earlier).

All these books of uncertain origin may be placed within the period when well-known prophets were active. Unknown prophets also may have been present. Nehemiah tells of false prophets with whom he had to contend (Neh. 6:7, 14). Nowhere in the OT is David himself specifically called a prophet, but he clearly was, which the NT makes plain (Acts 2:30). There is no definite evidence against the prophetic authorship of these books, but some in their favor. It will be shown that they were classed among the prophets by Christ and the apostles.

E. Reception of the OT books. Why were the OT books received by the Jews of their day? One view

has already been suggested: they were written by men whom their own contemporaries recognized to be prophets of God. The believers in Israel accepted the words of the prophets and naturally treasured their writings. This view as developed above adequately explains most of the OT books, though there are several for which information is incomplete. There is no proof that any of these books were not written by prophets, except for the theories of destructive criticism that would reduce all of the OT to a naturalistic compilation. This view must be studied in the various OT introductions and especially conservative works on the Pentateuch (e.g., G. L. Archer, *Survey of Old Testament Introduction,* rev. ed. [1994]).

An alternative view that will be further considered below is that the OT was written by three classes of individuals. First, Moses was the lawgiver to whom God spoke "face to face" (Num. 12:8). Other books, namely Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets were written by prophets and therefore received. Still other books, called "Writings" in the Hebrew Bible, were written by persons who were inspired of God but did not have the office of a prophet. This view is propounded by W. H. Green *(General Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon* [1899], 81) and followed by many others.

There is another view that really complements either of the positions taken above, for inspired writings bear upon their face the marks of divinity. All of the OT, prophetical or not, was regarded as inspired because of the testimony of the Holy Spirit witnessing to them in the hearts of believers. This biblical view is held by many, and with the others must be considered further. First, however, the writer turns to the collection of the canonical books.

V. The collection of the books

A. The natural twofold division. On the theory of canonization that the books were received because they were written by prophets, the collection of the books was a simple task. As books were written they were added to the collection. Moses' writing was doubtless divided originally into the five books of the Pentateuch. The division is partly due to subject matter, for all the breaks are logical, but the division was probably dictated by necessity because the writing was presumably done on papyrus scrolls and the books would make five scrolls of convenient length (for instance, the Qumran scroll of Isaiah was 24 ft. long). Succeeding books as written would have been placed on individual scrolls, or joined as may have been convenient, and the growing Bible would have been a collection of scrolls.

This is actually the situation as it is found in the Qumran Community of the 1st cent. B.C.

Facsimile of the 24-ft. long Isaiah scroll from Qumran (1QIsa[a]).

See DEAD SEA SCROLLS. The men had hundreds of scrolls of the OT books, fragments of which remain. It is evident that their sacred writings consisted of a collection of individual scrolls. Of course, the twelve Minor Prophets were, for convenience' sake, written on one scroll, as evidently had been the practice since before 180 B.C., the time of Ecclesiasticus (Sir. 49:10). This is also the situation as reflected in the copies of the LXX and in the early listings of this era. Copies of the LXX come from later times—the earliest complete ones from about A.D. 325. Robert Dick Wilson gives sixty early lists or MSS of the OT and declares that "no two present exactly the same order for the books comprising the OT Canon" (*Studies in the Book of Daniel,* Second Series [1938], 38). This is the situation one should expect if the order of the books was unimportant and variable from the start.

After about A.D. 100, when books began to be bound in the CODEX form instead of scrolls, the order would tend to become more stereotyped, but since even the codices were copied by hand, there

was still some variation. The Jews still maintained the scroll form for many of their copies. In process of time, however, there was a tendency to group together certain books. It is difficult to trace this collecting process, for the information is scanty. The tendency—and danger—has been to assume that the later format and collections were the same as the original. Some variations over the centuries can be proved.

The OT itself gives no indication of divisions, except that the law of Moses is repeatedly set apart. The expression "former prophets" of Zech. 1:4 (NRSV) probably refers to earlier prophets rather than to a grouping of the canon. At least the grouping called "former prophets" in Hebrew Bibles consists of history books (Joshua to 2 Kings) and hardly fits Zechariah's description. Daniel 9:2 speaks of "the books" (NIV, "the Scriptures") as if there were a well-known collection that included Jeremiah. He also speaks of the law of Moses (9:11, 13) but is no more specific than that.

The collection of the Psalms into one book is also obscure. A common critical view is that the various titles refer not to authors, but to various collections of alleged authorship. There is little to commend this view, though it has been carried to extremes by some (e.g., C. A. and E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms,* ICC [1906]). A different type of collection of the Psalms into groups is the five books of Psalms, the end of each book being marked by a doxology (Pss. 41:13; 72:11–20; 89:52; 106:48). These doxologies are already present in the LXX, indicating that the present fivefold division is early. One of these doxologies is in the portion of the Psalter quoted in 1 Chr. 16:36 (Ps. 106:48), which would argue that the Psalms were thus gathered into five books probably for liturgical use by the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. The Qumran text of the Psalms does not invalidate this conclusion. In the view of some, the Psalm scroll (11QP^{a}) is a liturgical hymn book based on the standard canonical Psalter (P. W. Skehan in *BA* 28 [1965]: 100). In short, the LXX is good evidence that the Psalm collection antedated 200 B.C., and the reference in Chronicles supports the idea that the Psalter was collected by Nehemiah's day. As to early subordinate collections aside from the Pentateuch, the Minor Prophets, and the canonical Psalms, one has no knowledge before the 2nd cent. B.C.

During the 2nd cent. B.C., however, there is some important evidence from both apocryphal books and Qumran. The Qumran *Manual of Discipline* at the very beginning refers to the commandments of God "through Moses and through all his servants the prophets" (1QS I, 3). Several times in this work the Law of Moses is mentioned. Again there is a reference to "the Law which God commanded through Moses" and "what the prophets also have revealed through God's holy Spirit" (VIII, 11–16; trans. in T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* [1964], 46 and 61–65). These passages do not indicate the extent of the "prophets." No other term is used for the sacred writings, and the community at Qumran clearly possessed and used practically all the OT (only Esther has not been identified).

Another popular writing at Qumran was the *Damascus Document* (CD), also called the *Zadokite Fragments*. This document is found only in pieces at Qumran, but it was also found preserved in the Cairo GENIZAH brought to light by S. Schechter. It is true that the extensive copies are late, but they are in agreement with the portions preserved in the caves, except for some parts that are missing in the later copies. They can apparently be used as valid witnesses for the early usages. This document refers a score of times to the Book of the Law, or the Law of Moses, or what Moses commanded. It also refers to the sacred writings as a twofold corpus. Commenting on Amos 5:26, it remarks: "The Books of the Law are the Tabernacle of the King…and the Chiun of the images, they are the books of the prophets" (CD VII, 15–17; see C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* [1954], 28–30). These texts do not give a listing of the books of the prophets, but their use of Scripture is quite

extensive. According to Rabin's index (ibid., 71–80), all but six OT books are utilized. There are many explicit quotations with expressions such as "Isaiah said," "as God said" (quoting Malachi), "It is written" (quoting Deuteronomy, Numbers, Leviticus, Proverbs, and others). There are allusions to Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, and Chronicles. The six books omitted are Joshua, Ruth, Lamentations, Joel, Jonah, and Haggai. The books of Malachi, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles are perhaps questionable. The omission of Joel, Jonah, Haggai, and Malachi is surely accidental, because other books of the scroll of the Minor Prophets are quoted by name. In brief, the *Zadokite Document* recognizes a sacred corpus, which in most cases can be shown to include the OT books, and which is referred to as the Law and the Prophets.

Other Qumran information is in accord with this view. The Psalms were clearly regarded as inspired, for there are commentaries written upon them. Joshua and Samuel are quoted among Messianic Testimonies (cf. Gaster, *Dead Sea Scriptures,* 337). The Qumran *Thanksgiving Psalms* are said to be "mosaics of Biblical quotation" (ibid., 124) with passages utilized from many OT books. It should be added that apocryphal literature was also known at Qumran and significant portions of such books have been recovered. The book of JUBILEES is referred to by name (though not as authoritative) in the *Zadokite Document* (CD XVI, 4) and there are allusions to other books. No commentaries were written upon them and they were not referred to as authoritative, or as the work of God or his Holy Spirit. There is no evidence that any of the apocryphal books were regarded as canonical, although they were known and used. The evidence is covered by the view that the Qumran community had a sacred collection called the Law and the Prophets which included all the OT books, except that full proof is lacking for Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon. Copies of these books have been found, however, excepting only Esther.

The apocryphal books also add something to our knowledge. One of them records that Judas Maccabeus comforted his soldiers "from the Law and the Prophets" (2 Macc. 15:9). It is obvious that the phrase refers to the law of Moses (cf. 7:30). The content of the section called "prophets" is nowhere recorded. However, 2 Macc. 2:11–14 relates that Nehemiah "founded a library and collected the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and letters of kings about votive offerings. In the same way Judas also collected all the books that had been lost on account of the war which had come upon us, and they are in our possession. So if you have need of them, send people to get them for you." The Syriac version says that Nehemiah "assembled and arranged in order the books of the kingdoms and of the prophets and of David and the letters of the kings which concern offerings and sacrifices" (quoted in R. D. Wilson, *Studies in the Book of Daniel,* Second Series [1938], 15).

By the days of 2 Maccabees all the OT books were written. Even the feast of Purim mentioned in Esther is referred to in 2 Macc. 15:36. The description of Nehemiah's library or collection (*bibliothēkē)* looks much like the histories of Samuel–Chronicles, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the letters of the Persian kings found in Ezra. These writings collected by Nehemiah are paralleled with the Scriptures regathered by Judas, which are mentioned as continuing into the days of the author of the book, probably after 120 B.C. (cf. B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* [1957], 141). In view of the contemporary Qumran evidence, the books thus referred to must surely be our OT. The author of 2 Maccabees at least calls the entire sacred corpus "the Law and the Prophets."

The same situation applies to the NT. A dozen times the phrase "Moses and the Prophets," or similar terminology, is used by Christ and the apostles to refer to the sacred literature of the OT (Lk. 16:16, 29; Acts 26:22; 28:23; et al.). The content of the law of Moses is plain. The content of the section called "Prophets" must be gathered by inference. It can be established from current usage or

from other NT information.

The NT does not leave one in much doubt that the "Prophets" includes all the rest of the OT books. The table of quotations and allusions in the Nestle-Aland edition of the Greek NT includes all the OT books except Ruth, Ezra, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon, which are all small books. They were well known and were accepted by Jews before Christ. It seems clear that they are not referred to merely for lack of occasion. Actually, Nestle-Aland's table errs on the generous side. Some of the other books are also possibly not clearly mentioned. Metzger says, "Nowhere in the NT is there a direct quotation from the canonical books of Joshua, Judges, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Obadiah, Zephaniah and Nahum; and NT allusions to them are few in number" *(Introduction to the Apocrypha,* 171). The difference between these two listings is not great. Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Nahum are short books. That Joshua, Judges, and Chronicles were fully accepted by the Jews of Jesus' day is unquestionable. Lack of reference to these OT books proves nothing inasmuch as one has reference to them both before and after NT times. The word "Prophets" in the NT terminology clearly covers most of the OT books after the Pentateuch and should be considered to cover them all.

This conclusion becomes positive in the 1st cent. after the apostles. Melito, Bishop of Sardis (c. A.D. 170), says that he had gone "to the east and reached the place where these things were preached and done," in order to get answers to his friend Onesimus so that he might "have extracts from the Law and the Prophets." In this case one is not left to inference concerning which books were intended. Melito gives in this extract the first list of OT books. He says: "These are their names: five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kingdoms, two books of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon and his Wisdom *[or,* also (called) the Wisdom], Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve in a single book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 4.26.11–14). It should be remarked that this list agrees exactly with the OT, except that Esther is not explicitly mentioned. Lamentations is evidently included in Jeremiah. Ezra includes Nehemiah combined and possibly Esther, but it is likely that Esther is omitted as it was in some other lists yet to be discussed. Notice also that the order of Melito, although he obtained his listing in Palestine, is rather similar to the order of books in the LXX. There are no noncanonical books included (unless the phrase *hē kai Sophia* is a reference to the Wisdom of Solomon). For Melito at A.D. 170 the law of Moses included five books, and the Prophets included all the rest of the OT canon.

B. The threefold canon of the Hebrew Bible. There is another system of dividing the OT books, however, and this division is threefold. The present Hebrew Bible is divided into the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. The TALMUD also shows this threefold division, as does JEROME about A.D. 400. Earlier authors with a threefold division are JOSEPHUS, PHILO JUDAEUS, the NT (Lk. 24:44), and the prologue to ECCLESIASTICUS (132 B.C.). Critical students assume that the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible was original. The view of W. H. Green, referred to above, also assumes this, but draws different conclusions. What was the relation of the threefold division to the twofold division?

To begin with, it must be emphasized that there is no evidence before A.D. 400 for the threefold division as given in the Hebrew Bible. This division places five books in the Law, eight books in the Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets. The remaining eleven books are called Writings: Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles. These three divisions

are given in the Talmud listing of *Baba Bathra* (14b-15a). The writing down of the Talmud would have been about A.D. 401–500, although the MSS of it are much later. This section in *Baba Bathra* is called a Baraitha, that is, a tradition from the time of the MISHNAH (A.D. 200), although not included in that codification. The value of this oral tradition for the opinion of early times may be questioned. The witness of Jerome *(Prologus Galeatus)* agrees with the Talmud except that he joins Ruth to Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah, leaving five books of Moses, eight books of Prophets, and nine books of Writings. His order within the divisions is also slightly different.

An earlier author giving a threefold division is Josephus (c. A.D. 90), the learned Jew who first fought against the Romans, then attempted to act as a go-between. As a token of friendship, TITUS gave Josephus the sacred scrolls of the temple after its destruction in A.D. 70, as he tells in his autobiography. That Josephus is an accurate historian has been remarkably confirmed by the excavations at Masada under Y. Yadin (*Masada* [1966], 11–16). It is therefore of considerable consequence that Josephus says, "five belong to Moses…the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life" (*Against Apion* 1.8 §§41–41). This listing differs decidedly from the five, eight, and thirteen of the later Talmud.

Almost all authors neglect or brush aside the witness of Josephus. Bentzen mentions Josephus's date but totally neglects its consequences (*Introduction,* 1:21–26). S. R. Driver says, "Josephus disregards the more historical tripartite division of the OT accepted in Palestine, and follows both the arrangement and computation current in Alexandria" (*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* new ed. [1913], xxxi, note). The only thing this statement of Driver lacks is evidence. Green says, "Josephus classifies the books for a purpose of his own without designing to give the arrangement in the canon" (*General Introduction,* 83), but he does not explain further why Josephus's order is not to be considered the order in his canon. It is much more logical to believe that Josephus reflects an early order of the books in the canon, and that the Talmud and Jerome reflect a later order.

The witness from Philo (A.D. 40) seems to support Josephus. In *De vita contemplativa* he speaks of "the laws, and the oracles uttered by the prophets, and the hymns and other books by which knowledge and piety are augmented and perfected." The terminology of Philo's three divisions is like that of Josephus and suggests that Josephus's division was the common one of the 1st cent. A.D.

The next previous testimony on the subject is Christ's reference in Lk. 24:44 to the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms. Bentzen writes that in NT times the canon of the Writings "has not been formally fixed. Lk. 24:44 has it represented by the Psalms only" *(Introduction,* 28). This is a curious remark. The verses in Luke give no hint that the third division included the Psalms only. It is just as reasonable to consider it as including the Psalms principally, which would fit the witness of Josephus and Philo perfectly.

Much is sometimes made of the verse in Matthew that speaks of the martyrs between Abel and Zechariah, the son of Berekiah (Matt. 23:35). This is thought to refer to Zechariah son of Jehoiada (2 Chr. 24:20). The conclusion is drawn that 2 Chronicles was at that time the last book in the Writings, as it is in the Hebrew Bible today, and that Jesus thus referred to the whole OT from Genesis to 2 Chronicles. But this interpretation is debatable. The name of the father of this Zechariah is different. Zechariah is a common name, and Jesus may well have been referring to a Zechariah of recent times and meant to include in his comparison all history from Abel to his own day. No conclusion can fairly be based on this passage.

The next witness back in time is the prologue of Ecclesiasticus (132 B.C.). It refers three times to the sacred writings using these terms: "through the law and the prophets and the others that

followed them," "the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers," "the law itself and the prophecies, and the rest of the books." It has been argued that the slight variation in the name of the third division shows that "Outside Law and Prophets other writings were extant which were regarded as holy, and were read for purposes of edification, but for which clearly no special class name had at that time yet been coined" (C. Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament,* trans. G. H. Box [1907], 477). Such a conclusion was desired by those who thought that the books of the third division were not all written by 132 B.C. and that as a group they were canonized later. Evidence for such a view from Ecclesiasticus is slim indeed.

One may notice that the second division is called both "prophets" and "prophecies." The variant form of the name of the third division is partly due to a different context of the three references. The first instance is speaking about the witness of men ("the prophets and the others"). The second instance speaks of books the grandfathers had studied (law, prophets, and other books). The last instance is like the second ("law…prophecies, and the rest of the books"). It is indeed true that the name of the third division was not fixed. Jesus uses a different name in Lk. 24:44. Josephus and Philo use still a third designation. Not until the Talmud is the modern name "Writings" used.

One may go further. There was clearly some uncertainty as to which books went into the second division, and which went into the third division. Josephus and several others, including Jerome, count a total of twenty-two books, a system that includes Ruth and Lamentations among the prophetical books. Others, including 2 Esd. 14:41–46 and Tertullian, count twenty-four books, as does the Talmud, which means that Ruth and Lamentations have been moved to the Writings. In view of this provable switch of books, it seems logical to suppose that Josephus's listing, which puts only Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon among the Writings, was the earlier one from which the Talmud listing later grew.

Why the Talmud may have shifted books is not entirely clear. The present Talmud division, however, is rather clearly influenced by the liturgy of the SYNAGOGUE. The books of Law and of Prophets were the books from which the weekly synagogue readings were taken. The books of the Writings were used otherwise. The five small scrolls or MEGILLOTH—Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther—are read at the five Jewish annual feast days. The Psalms are naturally in a class by themselves, liturgically. Chronicles would easily be displaced from the Prophets as it overlaps Samuel-Kings too much to be used in synagogue reading. It seems that the later Hebrew classification can well be explained as a liturgical development, though proof is not complete (this liturgical theory is ably advocated by A. A. MacRae in unpublished class notes).

If the threefold division were early and original, it seems difficult to explain the LXX order of books, which is generally similar to the English Bibles and which would fit the twofold division, but by no means the later threefold system. As mentioned earlier, the order in ancient times could naturally be quite fluid, for the books were written on individual scrolls. It might be expected that a general twofold division was common, but that subdivisions on the basis of subject matter (Josephus) or liturgical use (Talmud) might well arise. The four books that are associated in Josephus's division are found grouped together in almost every major listing of the LXX MSS and early church authors. This would seem to strengthen the idea that Josephus's listing was not merely an individual idiosyncrasy.

C. The threefold development view. For many years critical scholars have built upon the threefold division of the present Hebrew Bible and have held that it represents a three stage development. This view was expressed by Cornill (*Introduction,* 471–80, the German original being written in 1891) and is found with slight modification in O. Eissfeldt *(The Old Testament: An Introduction*

[1964],561–68).

The claim in brief is that there were three stages of canonization of the OT. First the Pentateuch was canonized about 400 B.C. This date is based upon traditional higher-critical theory. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch being denied, it is supposedly made up of various documents (J, E, D, P) written from about 950 to 450 B.C. There is now considerable variation of opinion concerning the documentary view. Some feel that the Tetrateuch of Genesis-Numbers is made up of the J, E, and P documents, and that the work of the Deuteronomist goes from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings. In this case it seems remarkable that Deuteronomy alone was joined with Genesis–Numbers in the first unit canonized. In any case, Genesis-Deuteronomy had become a unit by about 450 and was canonized rather promptly after that. Still others feel that the J, E, D, and P documents cannot be traced as literary units, but that the whole of the Pentateuchal history was passed on in oral form and was written down after the exile. It is notable that the Pentateuch and only the Pentateuch was so quickly canonized. It was regarded as sacred by about 400, for the rather definite evidence from Chronicles-Nehemiah admittedly comes close to this time.

The Prophets, however, were not canonized until about 200 B.C. By the "Prophets," all these authors understand the eight books called "Prophets" in the present Hebrew Bible, the Talmud, and Jerome: they include the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve. These books apparently were not written in this final form in time to get into the canon of the Pentateuch. Presumably all the worthy books written by 400 B.C. were included in the Pentateuchal canon. The Prophets were completed later and therefore accepted later. For instance, Bentzen discusses the growth of the book of Isaiah and concludes, "We therefore cannot come nearer to an exact date than these two years, between c. 480 and 200 B.C." *(Introduction,* 2:115). The Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll is datable to about 151–125 B.C. and has an obvious history of transmission behind it.

That the "Prophets" were canonized by 200 B.C. is clear because of two special landmarks. In Ecclesiasticus (written about 191–180 B.C.), there is a reference to the Minor Prophets already collected as a unit (Sir. 49:10). If this collection were complete, surely the rest of the books had also been completed. Second, this canon of the "Prophets" did not include DANIEL. It is, of course, a cardinal point of criticism that Daniel was written at about 168 B.C. as a tract to bolster morale in the Maccabean struggles. The claim is that if Daniel had been written before 200 B.C. it would surely have been included among the Prophets. The only way to explain this book's absence from the Prophets is to place the close of the prophetic canon about 200, before the writing of Daniel.

It is obvious that this argument is quite invalid for those who hold to the genuineness of Daniel. The threefold development view is possible only for those who hold the critical dating of the books concerned. There is another objection to it, however. Extensive evidence was given above to show that there is no early evidence to limit the canon of the Prophets to the eight books named in the Talmud division. There is the positive evidence of Josephus against this view. The considerable evidence of an early twofold division witnessed from Qumran to Melito brings into question this limitation. According to the twofold division, Daniel was among the Prophets whenever it was written. According to the division of Josephus, Daniel (and Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Ruth, Lamentations, and Job) were originally among the Prophets.

It once was more possible than now to hold to a canonization of the eight "Prophets" at 200 B.C. Today, however, it seems difficult to explain how Samuel-Kings got into the canon of the Prophets in 200 while the similar book of Chronicles, now usually dated to about 400, did not get in. The Psalms are now admitted by many to be early, and Chronicles shows the highest regard for the Psalms and for their authors and for the ancient liturgy in which they were used. Why were not the Psalms included

among the Prophets? If the answer be that the Psalms are a different type of literature, then the principle of chronological development of the canon is already given up. If it be said that books relegated to the Writings are those of anonymous authorship, then why was Judges taken among the Prophets? Altogether, the idea that the eight books called "Prophets" by the Talmud were canonized at 200 B.C. is a long-cherished critical opinion that will not stand the light of more recently developed evidence.

The third stage of canonization according to critical thought is the closing of the canon of the Writings at the Synod of Jamnia in A.D. 90 (see JABNEEL, JABNEH). Eissfeldt refers to the "synod held in about A.D. 100 in Jamnia (Jabne) some twelve miles south of Jaffa…now what had come into being as a result of gradual growth was formally declared binding and for this purpose was also undergirded with dogmatic theory" *(The Old Testament,* 568). Unfortunately, however, there is no information on this Synod of Jamnia. It is true that there was a school of Jewish scholars living there after the fall of Jerusalem. The later Talmud and Mishnah give information that scholars discussed the canonicity of certain books under the question whether they "defiled the hands."

The books concerned were Ezekiel, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther (see Bent-zen, *Introduction,* 1:21–31), though these were not all discussed by Jewish scholars just at the time of Jamnia. Actually the earlier Mishnah discusses only Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon. It reports a difference about Ecclesiastes reaching back to Hillel and Shammai (of Herodian times), and Jerome quotes his Jewish teachers to say that some still questioned it (ibid., 1:30). Apparently, whatever was done at Jamnia did not originate discussion or settle it. The later Talmudic information discusses the other books, but is tradition to be trusted? Should such questionable discussions reported after centuries of tradition outweigh the testimony of the contemporary Josephus or of Philo (who quotes from all the OT books and none others as authoritative) or of the NT, which certainly quotes from Ezekiel and Proverbs?

The whole matter of the Council of Jamnia has been discussed by Jack P. Lewis (in *JBR* 32 [1964]: 121–32). He gives full evidence that there were discussions at Jamnia, but nothing approaching a synod. He shows that only Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon were debated by these scholars. The other books above mentioned and also these two were debated before and after. He gives the evidence of Talmudic tradition, for what it is worth, that Ecclesiastes was cited as Scripture by Simeon ben Shetah (about 101–79 B.C.). He concludes that the matter of the Synod of Jamnia is "one of those things that has come to be true due to frequent repetition of the assertion rather than to it being actually supported by the evidence."

From all of these considerations, it appears that the idea of a canonization of the OT in the three stages of the Law at 400 B.C., the eight books of the Prophets at 200 B.C., and the eleven books of the Writings at A.D. 90 is largely scholarly invention.

D. Green's explanation of the threefold canon. William Henry Green also faced the facts that the present Hebrew Bibles exhibit a threefold canon and that Daniel, a key book, is in the last division, the Writings. Reacting against the three-stage canonization theory of German criticism, he adopted the view that the three divisions were original and were based on three types of authorship: "The threefold division of the Hebrew canon rests, not upon the nature of the contents of the several books, but upon the personality of the writers. And here the distinction lies not in the various grades of their inspiration, as was maintained by Maimonides and the rabbins of the Middle Ages…The real ground of the division is the official status of the sacred writers…Moses, as the great legislator and founder of the OT dispensation, occupied a unique position, and his books appropriately stand by themselves

in the first place. Then follow in the second place the prophets, a distinct order of men, universally recognized as such…Finally, the third division comprises the writings of inspired men, who were not prophets in the technical and official sense" *(General Introduction,* 81–81). He speaks of the authors of the Writings as having the "prophetic gift," but not the "prophetic office" (ibid., 85). In this opinion Green claims the support of Dillmann (partially), Hengstenberg, Keil, and others, although it is not propounded in Keil's discussion on the canon in his *Introduction to the Old Testament.* Green's view was called "fanciful trifling" by H. E. Ryle, but it has been followed by J. Raven, E. J. Young, Merrill F. Unger, and many present-day evangelicals.

The view offers an explanation for the three divisions that is consistent with a high doctrine of inspiration. However, it appears to be inadequate at several points. As detailed above, it fails to show that the threefold division of the Talmud was the same as the threefold division of early times. It does not prove this, because it cannot be proven. There is now more evidence than formerly to show that a very early division of the OT was twofold, and the witness of Josephus is a stubborn fact to show that centuries before the Talmud there was a different threefold division. Why argue that Daniel was not among the Prophets when the earliest evidence is that he was classified among the Prophets, both by Josephus and Christ himself?

There are other problems for Green's theory. Why was Lamentations (written by Jeremiah, according to Green) placed among the Writings, and the book of Jeremiah among the Prophets (except when the two books were united)? Also how does one know that the author of Judges, who is unknown, had the office of a prophet any more than the author of Job? Is it not clear that David and Daniel, though king and statesmen, were prophets just as truly as Ezekiel, who was by office a priest? There is a tendency in the interests of this theory to deny that Moses was a prophet. Hosea 12:13 makes clear that he was so regarded, though he was a prophet par excellence. The theory is a weak defense against the critical threefold development view. Actually both views suffer from the central weakness that they assume the divisions of the present Hebrew Bible to be regulative and original.

The view does make one contribution, however. It rightly holds that the authors of the books of the third division had the gift of prophecy. In the Protestant view of Scripture, an inspired book is the work of the Spirit of God and is itself a revelation. These authors—David, Solomon, Ezra, Daniel, and two or three unknown writers—were recognized by their contemporaries as filled in a special way with the Spirit of God. They had the gift of prophecy and their contemporaries knew it, although in a few cases the external evidence has not been preserved. These men *were* prophets, and that is why their work was accepted, treasured, and passed on in the corpus of sacred writing.

E. Stuart's alternative. An alternative to Green's view has several times been hinted at above. It is the theory that the threefold division is variable, not universal, and not significant. This view was propounded by Moses Stuart *(The Old Testament Canon* [1849], 248ff.) and has been held by some other scholars. The evidence that the later threefold division was not the same as earlier ones is given with characteristic thoroughness by R. D. Wilson, who concludes that "the order has nothing to do with the canonicity, nor necessarily even with the date of a book" *(Studies in the Book of Daniel,* 64). This view has been ably defended also by A. A. MacRae, to whom the present writer is indebted.

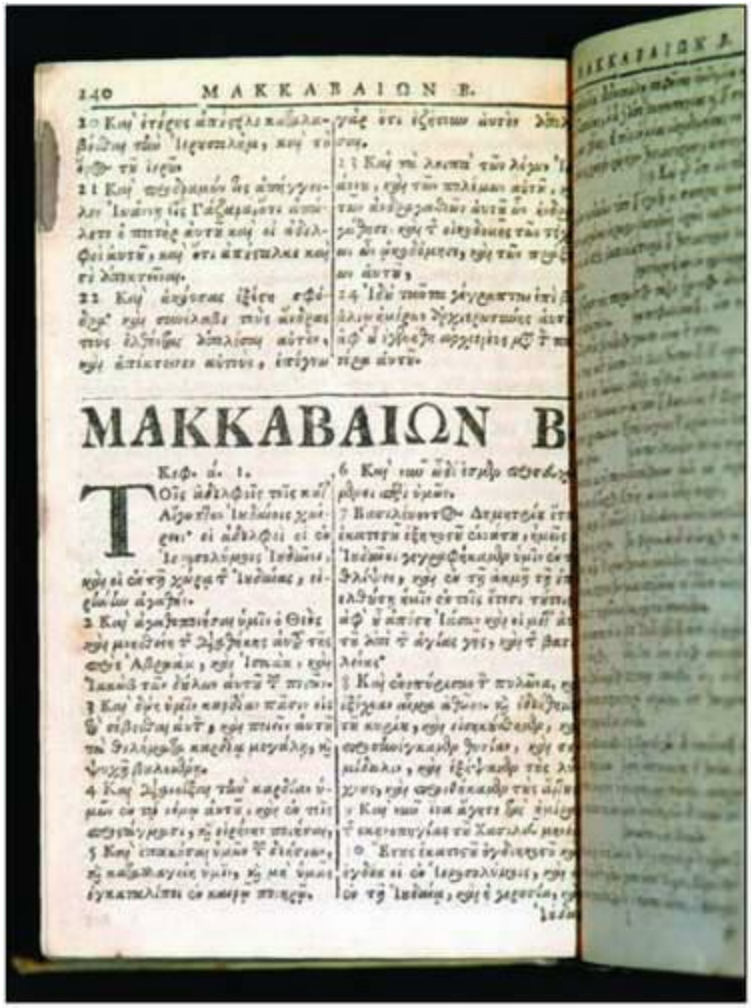
There is a further consequence to the view that there is no essential difference between the prophetic authorship of books of the second and third division of the Hebrew canon. It is that the entire OT is the work of inspired men who may fairly be called prophets. This is the argument of L. Gaussen, "All the Scriptures of the OT are Prophetic" *(Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* [1949],

61–72 [1850 ed.=351–60]). This is not only the principle of the growth of the canon (it grew book by book as the Word of God came to men), but also the principle of the recognition of the canon: the writings of the prophets giving the word of the Lord were accepted by those who had been taught to listen to the prophets on pain of God's judgment (Deut. 18:19).

VI. Witness of Christ and the early church

A. NT use of the OT. As is well known, the NT is full of QUOTATIONS from the OT. Some 600 are usually alleged. A standard listing of these is found in the Nestle-Aland Greek NT, already mentioned. This information may be added to that given above concerning the extent of the OT canon. After discussing the order of the books and principles of their selection, it is necessary to consider how and when the twenty-two books of the Hebrew canon (= thirty-nine in English Bibles) became definitively separated from other literature of an apocryphal nature. It may be argued that although the people of Qumran knew and used various apocryphal books, they were not used as authoritative in the same way that the OT books were. This statement is challenged by some, and new material may always be expected from Qumran, but in spite of a few questionable references, the statement can be defended.

B. The question of the apocryphal books and NT quotations. The situation is somewhat similar in the NT to that of Qumran. Usually the statement is made that the NT cites only the OT books as authoritative. But A. C. Sundberg insists that the NT books are acquainted with the books called the APOCRYPHA (the seven books accepted by Roman Catholics but not by Protestants) and "in addition they know and use the Psalms of Solomon, II (IV) Esdras, Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Assumption of Isaiah and IV Maccabees" (A. C. Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church* [1964], 51–55). This subject has been gone over numbers of times. W. H. Green *(General Introduction,* 141–52) gives the evidence and discusses it adequately. Little new information is available. B. M. Metzger has been quoted above to the effect that there is no direct quotation in the NT from the books of Joshua, Judges, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Nahum. He wisely adds: "Perhaps the emphasis in such enumerations has been wrongly placed. The absence in the NT of a direct quotation from, for example, the prophet Nahum does not remove his work from the list of canonical books. Nor, on the other hand, should



Edition of the Greek Bible with Apocrypha (1715), open to 2 Maccabees.

the presence of allusions, more or less clear, to passages in the Apocrypha be construed as conferring upon these books any authority which they do not otherwise possess. The reason is obvious. When Paul quotes a line from the play 'Thaïs' by the Greek comic poet, Menander, in I Cor. 15:33…or when the author of Titus 1:12 repeats the popular squib of the semi-legendary Epimenides about the Cretans—in none of these cases does the quotation by a NT writer impart a special sanctity to the words that are quoted" *(Introduction to the Apocrypha,* 171).

Metzger's argument is sound. Many of the OT books are quoted directly and authoritatively as the Word of God or written by the Holy Spirit. Not all are so quoted. There is contemporary evidence, however, regarding the extent of the corpus containing the books so quoted—the enumeration of Josephus especially, the usage of Qumran partially, and the listing of Melito shortly after. The use of the OT books is clear and extensive even if a few are neglected, doubtless by accident. None of the noncanonical books except for the one instance of *1 Enoch* in Jude 14 are so referred to. Sundberg offers a table of extracanonical literature in the NT, including some 135 entries taken from the margins of the Nestle-Aland Greek NT. The extent of the first allusion is to the effect that Matt. 1:11 refers to Jeconiah as the son of Josiah instead of the grandson, as does 1 Esd. 1:32—hardly enough to suggest that 1 Esdras is inspired! Another parallel is Mk. 3:21: Jesus' friends said, "He is out of his mind." This is claimed as an allusion to Wisd. 5:4, spoken of a righteous man: "We thought that his life was madness and that his end was without honour" (RSV). There is only a chance verbal similarity, which obviously means nothing.

Again, Acts 1:10, "two men dressed in white stood beside them," is compared with 2 Macc.

3:26, narrating how the heathen persecutor Helio-dorus saw an apparition of a horse and a terrible rider attacking him, and beside the horseman "Two young men also appeared to him, remarkably strong, gloriously beautiful and splendidly dressed, who stood on either side of him and flogged him continuously." The scenes in Acts and 2 Maccabees are quite different. There are accidental verbal similarities, but that is all. The truth is that hardly 10 of Sundberg's 135 entries can be taken seriously, and Green answered them long ago. There are indeed a few NT allusions to histories appearing in noncanonical books. The tortures of Heb. 11:37 may allude to events in the *Ascension of Isaiah,* but may also be quite general. More than one martyr has been "sawn asunder." In any case, such allusions mean nothing as to the reverence held for the book in question.

The only question in the whole list concerns the quotation of *1 Enoch* 1:9 in Jude 14. This was a problem too for the early church fathers. Some accepted *Enoch* because of Jude (Tertullian, *On the Apparel of Women* 1.3; although he knows the Jews do not accept *Enoch,* he thinks the Jews have exscinded it because it predicts Christ). Some questioned Jude because of *Enoch* (Jerome). Others resolved the difficulty more easily. Just as Paul quoted the Cretan prophet without endorsing him as inspired, so also Jude may be considered to quote the prophecy of Enoch in a rather general verse that is obviously true, without endorsing the whole book. The conclusion of many students is still sound. Most of the OT books are quoted in the NT as authoritative. No other books are even directly quoted except for *Enoch* and three Greek poets, and these are not to be considered as thereby denominated inspired books.

C. The LXX and early church witness. A further point must be made. The quotations of the OT in the NT are usually from the LXX. The copies of the LXX include the apocryphal books. Therefore, it is concluded that the canon of Christ and the apostles included the apocryphal books. This has given rise to much argument used by the Roman Catholic Church that the NT and the Christian church followed a larger "Alexandrian canon" while the Jews of Palestine, including Josephus, held to a Palestinian canon. The error in the whole argument is that it presumes that the original LXX included all the books that the later copies included.

Conservative Protestant scholars have never been enamored of the Alexandrian canon theory (cf. K. F. Keil, *Manual of Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament* [1884], 2:340); it does not fit the facts. Jews like Philo of Alexandria quote from the books of the OT as authoritative (all parts of it), but never from the Apocrypha. The early Christians of Alexandria held to the Palestinian canon as truly as did the Jews. The Alexandrian canon is pure theory, and the NT gives it no support. The idea that the apostles held to the LXX canon because they quote the OT in the LXX form is in error. It assumes that the copies of the LXX used by Paul and others included the same books as the copies of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

This is an assumption of a piece with the idea that the later threefold Talmud division was identical with the earlier. What must not be forgotten is that in the interval between Paul and the CODEX VATICANUS, the LXX format changed from scrolls to a bound book. In the interval there was the development of the Christian liturgy and literature. There was not in Egypt at first the idea that only holy books must be put in the scroll. The early authors say that some books might be read for edification, but may not be used to establish doctrine. Even the King James translators included the apocryphal books with the canonical, although their strict theory of canonicity was well established. The teaching of the early church on this matter fortunately may be learned from the express statements of the early church fathers.

This testimony begins with Melito, Bishop of Sardis in A.D. 170. His list has been given above.

It is the regular Hebrew listing except that Esther is missing. If the books he names are counted in the usual Hebrew way, his number is twenty-two. He claims that he got his information from Palestine, and he recommends this list for his friend in the faith, Onesimus. The Jewish canon is considered regulative for the Christian bishop. The next witness is Tertullian of Africa about A.D. 200, who counts the OT books as twenty-four, corresponding to the twenty-four elders around the throne of God (quoted by Green, *General Introduction,* 164). Tertullian (like 2 Esd. 14:41–46) evidently counts Ruth and Lamentations separately.

ORIGEN (d. c. A.D. 254) lists the books as twenty-two but actually mentions twenty-one, omitting the book of the Minor Prophets, surely an oversight. Otherwise his list agrees with the OT, except that with Jeremiah and Lamentations (one book) he includes the brief Epistle of Jeremiah. Origen after all was not perfect. Sundberg *(The Old Testament,* 131–36) argues that this is Origen's report of the Hebrew canon, but is not Origen's own canon. It is highly questionable whether the evidence will bear this interpretation. No one has the context of Origen's listing, but EUSEBIUS did. Eusebius plainly says that Origen's catalogue—his own catalogue—of the Scriptures is contained in the quotation. Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 6.25.1–2) gives two quotations from Origen, both of which stipulate twenty-two books. It is obvious, as Sundberg says, that Origen was careful to use the Hebrew canon in arguing with the Jews. But it is not obvious that Origen held a different canon for Christian use. It can be admitted that Origen and other church fathers occasionally were inconsistent and inexact, and quoted a noncanonical book as Scripture once in a while. It must be remembered that these church fathers had no concordance or other aids to memory. They did not have chapter and verse divisions for convenient reference. Their libraries probably did not contain copies of books they had read. It is remarkable that they quote the Scriptures as accurately and consistently as they do.

In the next century there are abundant witnesses, cited by Green (*General Introduction,* 161–75), by Sundberg (*The Old Testament,* 51–60 and 131–159), and by many others. The lists by these authors are given in Sundberg very conveniently and in H. B. Swete (*Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [1902], 201–11). To summarize, Athanasius has the twenty-two books, except that he omits Esther and includes with Jeremiah the Epistle of Jeremiah and the five chapters of Baruch. This uncertainty in Jeremiah is reflected in more than one author, and is perhaps due to some differences of text between Jeremiah in the Hebrew and the LXX, differences that would confuse the writers who obtained their information about the Hebrew secondhand!

Sundberg (*The Old Testament,* 131–42) makes a brave attempt to dull the edge of Athanasius's witness. He notes that Athanasius quotes from noncanonical books with such formulas as "it is written." He gives seven examples of this and more examples where apocryphal and canonical quotations are intermingled. His conclusion is that Athanasius was "concerned to correlate Septuagint-Christian usage with the list of the Hebrew canon." He holds that Athanasius evidences a change of practice from a broader use back to the narrower Hebrew canon. In view of Origen's considerably earlier but similar narrow listing and broader usage, it seems difficult to find any transition point in Athanasius. He plainly lists the canonical and noncanonical books, and says that these are his canon as a Christian, and suggests that this is the Hebrew canon, for it matches the Jewish alphabet of twenty-two letters.

Athanasius's explicit rejection of Esther is a problem. One probable reason why there was division of opinion on this book is its apocryphal additions, both in the beginning of the book and elsewhere, which are not found in the Hebrew text. Usually the Jews named their books from the first words. Esther, so named in the LXX form, would not be known by the Jews. In any case, Athanasius rejects by name the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. He does not in his

list mention Maccabees. Sundberg interprets his list to include 2 (4) Esdras, which seems to be uncertain. There are four books of antiquity called ESDRAS, and the titles are variously used today. In the LXX, 1–2 Esdras mean the books Ezra and Nehemiah. In some cases 1–2 Esdras may mean the apocryphal 1 Esdras and the united books of Ezra-Nehemiah. Such a listing would mean nothing, except for one spurious chapter, for 1 Esdras is a copy (a poor but valuable copy) of the last two chapters of 2 Chronicles, the book of Ezra, and a chapter of Nehemiah. First Esdras introduces practically nothing noncanonical into the lists. The other book, 4 Esdras, is quite different. It appears in no LXX MS, and is full of post-Christian additions. It is questionable if anybody includes this in his listing. Sundberg claims that Epiphanius counted 4 Esdras, but it is doubtful.

Cyril of Jerusalem, who wrote in A.D. 347, has left a list of books almost identical with that of Athanasius, except that he includes Esther after 1–2 Esdras. Cyril became bishop of Jerusalem after 350 and was a champion of orthodoxy who knew Athanasius well. There is no reason to suppose that Cyril was merely offering the canon of the Jews for information. His list occurs in his *Catecheses,* a theological work to prepare catechumens for baptism. Interestingly, Cyril believed the LXX translators were inspired, but he does not use the canon of the LXX copies of his own day. He evidently thought the apocryphal books were later additions to the LXX.

Other great theologians of the 4th cent. must be dealt with briefly. Epiphanius (c. 321–403) has left three listings in various writings. In one he includes the same books as does Cyril. In the other two he has the same books but does not give details as to which are included under Jeremiah. Epiphanius was one of the few authors of the time who knew Hebrew. Gregory of Nazian-zus, one of the great "three Cappadocians," who became bishop of Constantinople in 381, has left a list in an order almost identical with our English Bible lists, but Esther is missing. In his writings is included a list now attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium, a contemporary, which has almost the same order but includes Esther with the words, "To these, some add Esther." Lamentations is doubtless included in Jeremiah. Basil the Great, a second of the Cappadocians and good friend of Gregory, cites the number of the OT books as twenty-two, though he does not give a list, and the great John Chrysostom remarks that "all the books of the OT were originally written in Hebrew as all among us confess" (quoted in Green, *General Introduction,* 165). There was in this century a local Council of Laodicea that lists the usual OT books of the Jewish canon including Esther, but includes Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah. Green argues that the list, however, is a later and spurious addition. In any case, it agrees with Epiphanius and others already mentioned. Two important men close the witness of the earlier centuries—Jerome and AUGUSTINE. Jerome, writing about A.D. 400, has left two lists of OT books. Both agree with the Protestant OT canon, though the order varies and the two lists differ in order. He lists the books of the OT in his *Prologus Galeatus* (written in 388) and numbers them twenty-two according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Others he says are among the Apocrypha and names Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, the post-Christian Shepherd of Hermas (or as some think 4 Esdras), and the books of Maccabees. It has always been regarded as curious that the man who translated the VULGATE Bible used by Roman Catholics with its Apocrypha is a most explicit witness against the Apocrypha. In several other places Jerome makes his views explicit.

Illuminated Hebrew scroll of Esther (17th or 18th cent. A.D.).

In Jerome's case, Sundberg fails to argue that he was merely expressing the Jewish view of the canon. He could not argue thus, for Jerome is too explicit. There were indeed others who differed with Jerome, as for instance Rufinus, who became quite bitter. To argue that Rufinus expresses the canon of the Western church (Sundberg, *The Old Testament,* 153) and that Jerome had been led into error by his Hebrew studies is an unusual and odd position. Jerome stands at the end of a long chain of authors who hold the narrower canon. Rufinus stands at the beginning of the medieval views that issued in the council of Trent. Jerome also, as Bleek points out (quoted in Keil, *Manual,* 363), several times quotes from apocryphal books as many others previously had done. This may have been done through carelessness, faulty memory, accommodation, or what not; but Jerome's principles are crystal-clear in his repeated and explicit testimonies.

Augustine alone of ancient authors, and the councils of Africa which he dominated, present a different picture. Augustine specifically accepted the apocryphal books and gives the total number as forty-four. He is the only ancient author who gives a number different from the twenty-two or twenty-four book reckoning. The list includes Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees, 1 Esdras (the book composed of part of 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah), Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus. The local councils of Carthage and Hippo, dominated by Augustine, included the same books. This listing probably agreed with the ideas of Pope Damasus, who dominated the local council of Rome at 382. It will be remembered that it was Damasus who urged Jerome to translate also the apocryphal books for his Vulgate. Jerome did so with the explicit declaration that they were not canonical.

Green *(General Introduction,* 161–74) discusses the witness of Augustine, who seems to vacillate: "What is written in the book of Judith the Jews are truly said not to have received into the canon of Scripture" (Augustine, *City of God* 18.26). "After Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, they had no prophets until the advent of the Savior" (17.24). He was well aware that Maccabees came after the cessation of prophecy. Green concludes that Augustine was using "canonical" in the sense of books that may be read in the churches, without putting them all on an equal plane. Augustine does say of such books, "They are not found in the canon which the people of God received because it is one thing to be able to write as men with the diligence of historians and another as prophet, with divine inspiration; the former pertained to the increase of knowledge, the latter to authority in religion, in which authority the canon is kept" (18.38).

Note that Augustine distinguishes his canon from that formerly held by the people of God. Green perhaps goes too far in saying that Augustine did not hold the Apocrypha to be canonical. But there is

evidence in Augustine for the distinction between the strictly canonical books and those that came to be known as deuterocanonical. The latter were useful for reading, the former only were a suitable basis for doctrine. This double canon was held through later centuries until the Council of Trent obliterated the distinction. It probably arises from, or at least is the explanation of, the fact that the LXX copies contained these other books for edification, which were not held as authoritative for the first three centuries of Christendom.

D. Sundberg's view of the apocryphal additions. Protestant theologians have long believed that the inclusion of the seven apocryphal books of the canon is opposed to the witness of the early church and the NT itself. It arose through the errors of medieval Catholicism. Others have argued that the Apocrypha were properly included in the OT inasmuch as they were included in the so-called Alexandrian canon. It is admitted that the Palestinian Jewish sources include only the twenty-two books, but the LXX copies are held to testify to a wider canon, common among early Jews at Alexandria. Sundberg *(The Old Testament,* 11–24) traces the origin of the Alexandrian hypothesis to Grabe and the rationalist Semler (1721–1791). Schmid of Wittenberg (1775) answered Semler, and Schmid's views have since been standard in the Protestant theology of Addison Alexander of Princeton, Moses Stuart of Andover, S. R. L. Gaussen of Geneva, and others. Sundberg argues ably against the Alexandrian hypothesis, but adopts a new and interesting position to explain why the Christian canon was broader than the Jewish. He finds the answer in one of the accidents of history.

To begin with, Sundberg assumes as a fact the threefold development view of the OT canon as outlined above, that the Pentateuch was canonized in 400 B.C., the Prophets in 200 B.C., and the Writings not until the Council of Jamnia in A.D. 90. He points out that the Christian church began as a Jewish sect in the mid-1st cent. and progressively broke away from the Jewish mainstream. This break became rather final, all would admit, in A.D. 70, when the Jews at Jerusalem resisted the Romans to the bitter end, but the Christians fled across the Jordan to Pella in view of the prediction in Lk. 21. Sundberg emphasizes that the Christians had separated from the Jews some time before the Council of Jamnia. He argues, therefore, that Jews and early Christians c. A.D. 50 were agreed in their canon of the Law and the Prophets, but they had in addition an ill-defined assortment of books struggling for recognition.

Sundberg assumes that the category of "Prophets" in A.D. 50 included the same eight books denominated "Prophets" by the Talmud hundreds of years later. Therefore, he says, after the two movements diverged the history of the canonization of their books also differed. The Jews at the Council of Jamnia settled the number of their additional books and ended with a canon of five books of Law, eight of Prophets, and eleven of Writings. The Christians for many years had an open-ended canon of the earlier accepted thirteen books of Law and Prophets, but the Writings were not defined until Augustine's era. By that time the church came to considerable agreement in the matter and accepted a broader canon, including the seven extra apocryphal books and certain additions to others. Some church fathers, however, like Jerome, were aware of the canon held by their Jewish contemporaries who represented post-Jamnia Judaism. These men, unaware of the fact that Jamnia succeeded Jesus, argued for the Jamnia canon as if it had been held by Christ and the apostles. The men of the Reformation rediscovered Jerome and followed him in his error. Sundberg would say that actually when Christ referred to the Law and the Prophets he did not mean the whole OT, but only the five books of the Law and the eight books of the Prophets in the Hebrew canon. The other books like Proverbs, Job, and Maccabees were only semi-recognized in Jesus' day.

E. Refutation of Sundberg's view. The view of Sundberg stands condemned by the facts concerning canonicity detailed above (cf. R. L. Harris in *BETS* 9 [1966]: 161–71). First, the early Christian church did not accept the apocryphal books. Scholar after scholar gives the number or listing of the OT books that are the books of the Jewish canon. Sundberg attempts to show that these scholars were only giving the Jewish view, not their own. It is strange, if this is so, that their own views are never given. Augustine is the first church father to mention forty-four books or to list the enlarged canon. Sundberg tries to prove a wider Christian canon by referring to quotations, but he is making the quotations bear much too heavy a load. Inconsistencies there were, and errors too, but the principles of the early church fathers are clear. The most ambitious scholarly production of the early church was Origen's Hexapla. It had the Hebrew and various Greek texts written in six parallel columns through the whole OT, but it restricted itself to the narrower Hebrew canon.

Second, Sundberg, like so many others before him, assumes that the threefold division of the Talmud was identical with the earlier threefold division of the 1st cent. He recognizes Josephus's division as exactly paralleling the Jamnia canon, but holds, against H. St. J. Thackeray, that Josephus's order "remains peculiar to him" (Sundberg, *The Old Testament,* 70n., 134n.). Sundberg's thesis depends on the idea that there was no fixed total canon before A.D. 90. It should be remembered that Josephus, writing in A.D. 90, was no friend of Jamnia. He had broken with patriotic Jewry and gone over to the Romans in A.D. 70—the same time the Christians did. Moreover, Josephus's testimony speaks of no recent scholastic decision. He says, "during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add anything to them, to take anything from them, or to make any change in them: but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and if occasion be, willingly to die for them" (*Against Apion* 1.8). If this was written in the year 90 by Josephus, the Jewish canon must have been settled well before the Christians parted company from the Jews.

Third, Sundberg's case involves the idea of a decision at Jamnia by a body of scholars approaching a council and determining the bounds of the third division of the canon. As Jack Lewis has shown (see above), this assumption far outruns the evidence.

Last, Sundberg's whole thesis depends upon the views of destructive criticism that the books of the OT are not what they claim to be, and that Israel's history and religion must be rewritten in terms opposed to the self-testimony of practically every book of the OT. Such a negative view of the basic veracity of the OT would seem to destroy not only its total worth but also to carry down with it the authority and veracity of Christ, who with his apostles refers so frequently to the OT history and faith as true and divine. (Discussions subsequent to the work of Sundberg are conveniently summarized by J. A. Sanders in *ABD,* 1:831–52; see also the more recent articles by Sundberg and others in *The Canon Debate,* ed. L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders [2002].)

VII. The principles of the formation of the canon

A. Prophetic authorship. In brief summation it can be said that the view of the OT itself, and of the NT as well, is that God's organs of revelation to Israel were the prophets. "God spoke…through the prophets" (Heb. 1:1). "We have the word of the prophets made more certain…men spoke from God" (2 Pet. 1:11–21). Christ submitted to death "that the writings of the prophets might be fulfilled" (Matt. 26:56). Jesus after his resurrection chided the disciples with being too slow of heart "to believe all that the prophets have spoken" (Lk. 24:25), and he proceeded to explain to them the Scriptures, "beginning with Moses and all the Prophets" (v. 27). The OT is, without distinction, called the work

of prophets, which is proper. Prophets were God's chosen organs of revelation. Even those about whom no open visions are recorded wrote their books under the inspiration of God (2 Tim. 3:16), and this was the gift of God to prophets (Mk. 12:36). There are no details of authorship for a few books of the OT. Those whose authorship is given are in almost every case clearly written by prophets. The others are not easily classifiable under any other rubric than that of prophet also, so "the Law and the Prophets" covers them all.

B. Testimony of the Holy Spirit. Much emphasis has been laid in the preceding study on the evidence for and claims of the OT. Other authors would emphasize rather the inner testimony of the HHOLY SPIRIT. Calvin put it, "Profane men…wish and expect it to be proved by rational arguments, that Moses and the prophets spake by divine inspiration. But, I reply that the testimony of the Spirit is superior to all reason. For, as God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit" *(Institutes* 1.7.4). E. J. Young speaks with care on the subject: "This doctrine is one which has been much abused and it is indeed a very mysterious doctrine. It does not mean that this inward testimony can be used as a criterion to determine the canonicity of a certain verse or chapter or even book. It does mean, however, that the believer possesses a conviction that the Scriptures are God's Word" *(Introduction,* 32). Abraham Kuyper treats the subject most satisfactorily in saying that this testimony of the Spirit "begins with binding us simply to the Holy Scripture in its *centrum."* This central truth takes hold, then the believer perceives more and more by degrees. "It ends as *Scripture* by imposing sacred obligations upon us, as *Holy Book* exercising over us moral compulsion and spiritual power" (A. Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology* [1898, reprinted 1954], 561–61).

In short, the Spirit bears witness that by these scriptural truths men's souls are saved. Then having come to know Christ in salvation, they are obedient to his Word. This leads to the honoring of the same OT he honored, and in the OT one finds the same divine doctrine. The witness of the Holy Spirit, like the word of Christ concerning the OT, is by no means antithetical to the idea of prophetic authorship of the OT, but interrelated. Similar to the testimony of the Spirit for the Scriptures of the OT is the witness of the Spirit against other books that might vie for false recognition. It is admitted on all sides that the OT books are superior to the other ancient productions from which they are delimited by the bounds of canonicity. To a doubter it can be safely said, read and compare.

C. Providential care. This doctrine is not opposed to the others mentioned, but confirmatory. The whole process of preservation of the ancient texts through so many years, so much faithlessness, and such bitter persecution was overseen by God's providence. It is an interesting speculation whether any OT texts have really perished. It may be, though there is no evidence. It is certain that hundreds of spoken sermons of Christ have perished because they were never recorded; yet they were inspired. In any case, the providence and care of God's Spirit have given a canon that is sufficient, to which nothing will be added. Many other things were done that could have been recorded (Jn. 20:30). God has preserved enough for all to treasure and obey.

D. Validation by Christ. Questions of OT canonicity have a more obvious answer, perhaps, than do questions of the NT. The latter was written after Christ's ascension, and for its writing Christ promised his Spirit in advance. For the OT, however, he repeatedly and in detail approved of a sacred corpus that had already been written and whose limits can with extreme confidence be described as the thirty-nine books of the English OT. For the believer, his authority is sufficient who

said, "Before Abraham was, I am."

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of the article, note the important studies that have appeared since the first edition of this encyclopedia, such as S. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence* [1976]; J. Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* [1983]; R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* [1985; Beckwith summarizes his views in *NBD,* 161–69]; J. A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* [1987]; R. I. Vasholz, *The Old Testament Canon in the Old Testament Church: The Internal Rationale for Old Testament Canonicity* [1990]; P. R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* [1998]; A. Steinmann, *The Old Testament Canon* [1999]; Stephen Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* [2000]; L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate* [2002]; C. Helmer and C. Landmesser, eds., *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological and Philosophical Perspectives* [2004]; J. Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions* [2004].)

R. L. HARRIS

canon (NT). The authoritative collection of twenty-seven books comprising the NT section of the Bible and accepted by the Christian church as Holy Scripture.

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I. The importance of the subject. The Christian church has preserved a collection of twenty-seven books that form the NT section of the Scriptures. The questions at once arise how these books came to be collected and how they came to be regarded as of equal authority with the OT. The history of the NT canon is an attempt to answer both these questions. The importance of such an inquiry depends on

the place accorded to the NT in the modern church. If the NT is the major source of Christian doctrine, it is essential to know on what basis the choice of its contents was made, for its authority cannot but be influenced by its origins. To what extent is the NT an authentic representation of the true Christian position of the 1st-cent. church? How did general agreement regarding its authenticity develop? What part did ecclesiastical pronouncements play in the settlement of the canon? These and many other problems confront the investigator, and whereas some of them are simpler to answer than others, they must all be fairly faced if any adequate view of the NT is to be attained.

II. Some definitions of important terms. The word *canon,* which is so generally used to describe the collection of NT books, comes from a Greek term (*kanōn G2834)* that had a variety of uses, but whose basic meaning is that of a level or a rule, culled from building procedure. Such a tool must be of unbendable material and must be dependable for its straightness. Deviations would cause serious structural defects. In many respects the reliability of the rule (Lat. *regula)* would affect the stability of the whole superstructure it was used to measure. This colorful word was applied to the accepted books in the sense that they formed a "rule of faith" (*ho kanōn tēs pisteōs, regula fidei),* a term later used in the Middle Ages of the confessional creed of the church. Another derived meaning of the word *canon* is a list or catalog, and this became the more familiar usage in relation to the authorized character of NT books. Those books that were included in the lists were regarded as canonical (*kanonikos)* on the grounds that they were authorized to be read within the church. Those books excluded from such public use, on the other hand, became unca-nonical (*akanonistos),* and the process of including in or excluding from the canon was described by derivatives of the same word (e.g., *kanonizein).* The further use of the word in connection with the decisions of church councils must not mislead one into thinking that the NT canon is an ecclesiastical creation. The evidence discussed below will show clearly that the *concept* of a canon long preceded the use of the word to describe it.

It was an important step in the development of the NT when the same word was used to describe the NT collection of books as was used for the OT. The word *diathēkē G1347*is the normal Greek word for "last will and testament," but is also used both in the SEPTUAGINT and in the NT in the sense of COVENANT. It is because the OT was seen as a record of God's covenant with his people, and the NT as a record of God's covenant effected through Christ, that this term was appropriate to both collections. The covenant in Christ was regarded as "new" as compared with the "old," yet these adjectives were not intended to destroy the sense of continuity. The old was not antiquated, and the new was not youthful and untried. The old was still valuable, and the new was fresh in respect to human knowledge. It was this realization of the unity between the OT and the NT that contributed not a little to the placing of the NT on the same footing as the OT among the sacred writings of the church.

III. The apostolic approach. One of the most characteristic features of the NT writers is the frequency with which they quote the OT (see QUOTATIONS IN THE NT). In the great majority of instances the version quoted is the SEPTUAGINT. There is no denying that the OT was regarded as Scripture by the Christian church. It may be safely assumed that the Christians regarded the OT as inspired, in common with the Jews from whom they took over these Scriptures. Since the earliest Christians were Jewish, this would be expected. Moreover, there can be no doubt that Jesus shared the same view of the INSPIRATION of the OT. The concept of an authoritative collection of sacred books was therefore provided before any of the NT books were written. It is almost certain that the contents of the OT had by this time been defined, although no official announcement had been made

specifying which books were to be regarded as authorized. The nearest that the Jews came to doing this were the discussions held on the subject by the elders who met at Jamnia toward the end of the 1st cent. A.D. See CANON (OT) V.C.; JABNEEL, JABNEH. Whereas there were questionings about some of the books, there was no disputing the authoritative nature of any of them. These Jamnia elders, in fact, were merely confirming a usage that had been established for a considerable time. A parallel will be seen in the growth and ultimate acceptance of the NT canon.

This exalted view of the OT canon was an important factor in the procedure of early Christian WORSHIP, since the OT formed the basis for the earliest liturgies. This was true not only among the Jewish Christians, but also among the Gentiles, who accepted the OT as an inspired collection. The theme of fulfillment supplied the key for the interpretation of the Scripture. The NT writers were eager to show wherever the Christian gospel was supported by an OT testimony. Of the evangelists, MATTHEW is specially notable in this respect. The apostle PAUL shows high regard for the OT and cites it in various ways, all of which points to his acceptance of it as authoritative.

Did the NT writers hold to degrees of canonicity within the OT? Was the Pentateuch regarded as superior to the historical books and the prophetical books? Where did the third division of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Writings, figure in early Christian thought? There is no evidence to support the view that any differentiation was made, for testimonies are cited from all the sections apparently with equal authority. This observation is significant because a similar approach came to be made toward the NT collection of books.

At an early stage in Christian worship, the desire must have arisen to place alongside the readings from the OT, which may well have followed a Jewish lectionary cycle, other statements drawn from the teachings of Jesus. It was implicit in Christian theology that Jesus not only fulfilled the OT, but went beyond it in his teaching. His modification (or intensification) of the Mosaic law in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT shows the authoritative nature of his teaching, as compared with the considerable authority of Moses. It is unthinkable that any long period of time elapsed before the words of Jesus were regarded in the same light as the OT. This evaluation would invest with special authority any written gospel that recorded much of the teaching of Jesus. Naturally such teaching could not be considered in isolation from the historical events of the life and death of Jesus, and this would give significance to the narratives of his doings. The crucial question that needs to be asked about the NT canon, even at this early stage, is what criterion the Christians used for determining what gospel records were to be regarded as authoritative. A distinction must be made at once between the authority of the words of
Jesus and the authority of the records of that teaching. Inevitably the former affected the latter. The Gospels were not at first, as the evidence from the apostolic fathers of the 2nd cent. will show, cited in the same authoritative way as the OT, although it was not long before this happened.

It will be clear that no idea of a canon of NT Scriptures could be conceived in the earliest period of the Christian church, because for a time oral teaching was regarded more highly than written testimony. This is in complete accord with Jewish procedure in relation to the oral law, which was as authoritative as the written code. In the case of the teaching of Jesus it is impossible to be certain precisely how this was orally transmitted, but it may well have happened in accordance with Jewish methods of committing oral teaching to memory (cf. B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* [1960]). The necessity for written forms in which the teaching became fixed was evident as soon as eyewitnesses (particularly the apostles) were removed by death. See APOSTLE.

In the process of development, the written Gospels naturally took precedence over the other writings, but no great interval elapsed before the expositions of the apostles would have been

treasured almost as highly. Indeed, by the mid-2nd cent. the two sets of writings, the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, were placed on a parity. The process by which the Pauline Epistles were grouped into a collection is somewhat shrouded. One theory is that the apostle suffered a period of neglect after his death (cf. E. J. Goodspeed, *The Formation of the New Testament* [1926]; C. L. Mitton, *The Formation of the Pauline Corpus* [1955]), and that it was not until the publication of Acts that sufficient interest revived to give impetus to the collecting of his epistles. The theory is too speculative, relying as it does on the most unlikely event that the memory of so dynamic a personality as the apostle Paul quickly faded from mind even among the churches he founded.

A more reasonable supposition is that interest in the apostle among those churches founded by him would have prompted the desire to discover more of his writings, and that this desire would have been assisted by the knowledge possessed by Paul's closest associates (e.g., TIMOTHY, TITUS, TYCHICUS) about the churches to which he wrote. It is known that Paul himself encouraged the interchange of his epistles (cf. Col. 4:16), and there is no reason why this should not have led fairly rapidly to a collection of his epistles. What was true for Paul's epistles was true also for any other writings whose apostolic origin could be assured. The great importance of apostolicity in the development of the NT canon is seen in the great number of pseudepigraphical works that were attributed to apostles in an attempt to provide rival sources for doctrine (mostly of a heretical nature; see APOCRYPHAL NT). This principle of apostolicity will be amply illustrated in the following survey of patristic evidence.

Another factor determining the choice of which writings should be collected was suitability for public reading. Since it was necessary for Christian writings to be used in the same way as the OT books if they were to share equal authority, it was essential for them to form part of the LECTIONARY cycle. Some of the CATHOLIC EPISTLES were clearly not particularly adaptable for this purpose, and this may account for the doubts that existed in some quarters concerning them (e.g., 2 and 3 John, Jude, 2 Peter).

A powerful impetus toward the formation of the NT canon came from the church's resistance to heretical books. When sects, Gnostic and otherwise, claimed support for their doctrines from secret sources and secret books, the need for the orthodox church to make clear its own authentic sources became urgent. (See GNOSTICISM.) The purpose of the NT canon was not only to define the authorized books, but also to exclude the spurious and heretical. A different tendency was seen in Marcion's canon (see below), which set out to provide an authorized list to be used in his own heretical church, but which excluded many books used by orthodox Christians. The existence of such a list must have shown the need for a clear understanding of orthodox usage. Local churches would desire a uniform usage with other churches.

It is against this background of general considerations that the specific evidence for the NT canon will now be examined. The nature of this evidence will be twofold. It will consist mainly of patristic allusions and citations from NT books. It will also include certain patristic comments relating to the acceptance of Christian writings. Unfortunately, the earliest period is not prolific in evidence of citation, and it is not until the time of Irenaeus that authors became more specific and their citations considerably more numerous. It will be convenient, therefore, to divide the early history of the canon into (a) evidence from the period before A.D. 180; (b) evidence from the period of 181–300; and (3) evidence from the 4th cent. (For what follows, see esp. B. F. Westcott, *An Introduction to the History of the New Testament Canon,* 4th ed. [1875]; T. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* [1888–92]; C. R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament* [1924]; A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the NT,* 2nd ed. [1954]; B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the*

New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance [1987].)

IV. Evidence from the second century. The earliest patristic testimony is that of Clement of Rome, who wrote his epistle to the Corinthians just before the turn of the cent. (c. A.D. 96). See CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF. The first fact that strikes the reader of his epistle is the large number of citations from the OT and the paucity of specific references to the NT books. For Clement the OT is obviously more important to cite than any NT writings. It is, in fact, the main source of Christian doctrine. His interpretation of the OT is basically Christian. He frequently cites it as Scripture with an introductory formula ("It is written") that is never used of any NT books. Yet this does not mean that the words of Christ did not possess for Clement an authority parallel to the OT, for it is from his knowledge of Christ that Clement obtains his interpretation of the OT. When he does cite the Gospels, the citations are few and loose. This feature contrasts with the accuracy he generally shows when quoting the LXX. Clement cites some of Paul's epistles, but it is impossible to say which epistles his collection included. Those certainly known are Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Ephesians. The epistle to the Hebrews is sufficiently well known and esteemed to be cited, in one passage fairly extensively. There are less certain allusions drawn from the Pastoral Epistles and James. It would seem a fair deduction that in Clement's time it was customary for Christians to become so familiar with NT language and thought that they echoed its language even when they did not specifically cite it.

In the DIDACHE occurs the first mention of a written gospel. The Lord's prayer at the communion service is attributed to the Lord "in his gospel." The word *gospel* is used four times in the sense of a written gospel. It is impossible to say how many such works were known and used at this time, but it is not improbable that the author knew of the four canonical Gospels.

The epistles of IGNATIUS are interesting in various respects. By far the greatest impact upon Ignatius from NT books came from the epistles of Paul. There are many instances of his acquaintance with the language of these epistles. On one occasion Ignatius mentions that Paul remembers the readers (i.e., the Ephesians) "in every epistle," a statement that causes perplexity, but at least bears witness to some kind of Pauline Corpus of letters. It is significant that Ignatius's own letters were soon collected into a corpus numbering seven epistles, which may possibly bear some relationship to the already existing Pauline Corpus (the Muratorian List, for details of which see below, speaks of Paul's letters to seven churches). In addition to these epistles, Ignatius's language also shows affinity with John's gospel, which may be evidence of his acquaintance with it and his esteem for it. But some would dispute this inference (cf. J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* [1943]).

In the brief letter of POLYCARP there is a greater evidence of knowledge of NT books. The references do not occur as citations but are woven into Polycarp's language. He appears to know Matthew, Luke, 1 and 2 John, 1 Peter, and several of the Pauline Epistles. Of special significance is his acquaintance with 1 Timothy and Titus, which leaves no doubt that he regarded them as possessing equal authority with the other letters of Paul. In one statement Polycarp mentions Paul's epistles written to the readers (i.e., the church at Philippi), which is perplexing since only one such letter is extant. It is not impossible that Polycarp may have been including the letters sent to the other Macedonian church (i.e., 1–2 Thessalonians).

No book written by PAPIAS remains extant, but from extracts preserved by EUSEBIUS it is clear that he knew Matthew and Mark and highly regarded them. The *Epistle of Barnabas* (see BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF) is interesting chiefly because of a canonical citation ("many are called but few are chosen") which is introduced by the formula, "It is written." The Gospels by this time are being put on a level with the OT as Scripture.

In the middle of the 2nd cent., JUSTIN MARTYR, in one of his writings, refers to the fact that in Rome it was customary for Christians to listen to the reading of the apostolic memoirs or the writings of the prophets when they met on Sunday. The latter of these groups would appear to refer to the OT and the former to the Gospels. There is little doubt that Justin knew and used the four Gospels, although he does not quote any of the evangelists by name. He refers to the memoirs of Peter, by which he evidently means the Gospel of Mark. Sometimes the Gospels are cited in Justin's *Dialogue* with the formula, "It is written." Of the other NT books, he is familiar with the Apocalypse, which is mentioned by name and is regarded as the work of the apostle John. There is no mention of Paul or his letters, although the language shows acquaintance with some of the Pauline Epistles (notably Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians). The epistle to the Hebrews is known and used by him.

The influence of Justin may be seen in the work of his pupil Tatian, who after leaving Rome in A.D. 170 for the E joined the heretical sect of

Greek minuscule MS (9th cent.) showing the beginning of the Gospel of Luke, with a painted image of the evangelist.

Coptic MS fragment of Matthew (5th cent.).

the ENCRATITES. Before his departure from Rome, Tatian produced a harmony of the four Gospels (the DIATESSARON), which consisted of the interweaving of passages from each of them. Because Tatian, like his teacher Justin, seems to have accepted apocryphal material, some have preferred to call his harmony *Diapente.* The importance of Tatian's harmony in the history of the canon lies rather in the fact that it was rejected. Although widely used, it was displaced even in the Syriac-speaking church, where it had most influence, by the separate Gospels. There was an obvious advantage in having a harmony rather than four different accounts, but the latter was deemed preferable as a more authentic fourfold testimony to the life and teaching of Jesus.

During this early period some evidence regarding the NT canon may be culled from heretical sources. When heterodox writers cite canonical books, it is evidence that these books must have been regarded first as authoritative in orthodox circles before being taken over and reinterpreted by deviating sects. It is significant that the first commentary on any NT books came from the pen of the Gnostic Heracleon, who wrote commentaries on both Luke and John. Similarly, BASILIDES is said to have written twenty-four books of exposition on the Gospels. Among the Valentinians, many of Paul's epistles were known and quoted, together with many apocryphal works like the *Gospel of Peter,* the *Acts of Peter,* and *the Acts of John* (see separate articles on these and subsequently mentioned books; see also APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT). The *Gospel of Truth* echoes the language of most of the NT books, although some of the evidence is admittedly slight. The *Gospel of Thomas* shows acquaintance with the canonical Gospels, although it also contains many sayings of Jesus not contained in the Gospels. The *Gospel of Philip* does not show the same affinity for the canonical material. The fact that some of these Valentinian productions are attributed to apostles and purport to belong to the same

literary genre as the canonical Gospels shows in what high regard the latter were held. Imitation is a form of flattery, and in this case shows a high concept of the model.

Of a different character was the part played by MARCION in the development of a NT canon. It may seem strange that the first authoritative collection of Christian books should come from a heterodox source, but it was imperative for Marcion to define clearly the authorized sources of his doctrine, since those sources were considerably more restricted than those used by the orthodox church. He rejected the OT and therefore had no basic Scripture with which the Christian books could be compared. Moreover, his decision to base his doctrinal opinions on the theology of Paul made it necessary for him to specify a canon of authorized epistles. His exclusive use of the Pauline Epistles (except for the Pastorals) reflects the fact that he regarded Paul as the only true apostle.

Marcion's linking of Luke with this *Apostolikon* was most likely because of Luke's closer acquaintance with Paul than any of the other evangelists. There may have been another reason. Of all the Gospels, Luke's is least Judaistic, and what traces there were could be expurgated. It was not without considerable justification that Tertullian complained that Marcion criticized with a penknife. The real importance of Marcion in the history of the NT canon does not lie in his textual modifications or in the rejection of these modifications in

Greek uncial Codex B (Vaticanus 1209) ends the Gospel of Mark at 16:8.

the orthodox church, but in the composition of his canon. The linking of *Gospel* with *Apostle* must have been taken over from the practice of the orthodox church, in spite of the theory of those who would maintain that Marcion began the idea of a NT canon (cf. A. von Harnack, *The Origin of the New Testament* [1925]). This latter view can be maintained only in the sense of a fixed or closed

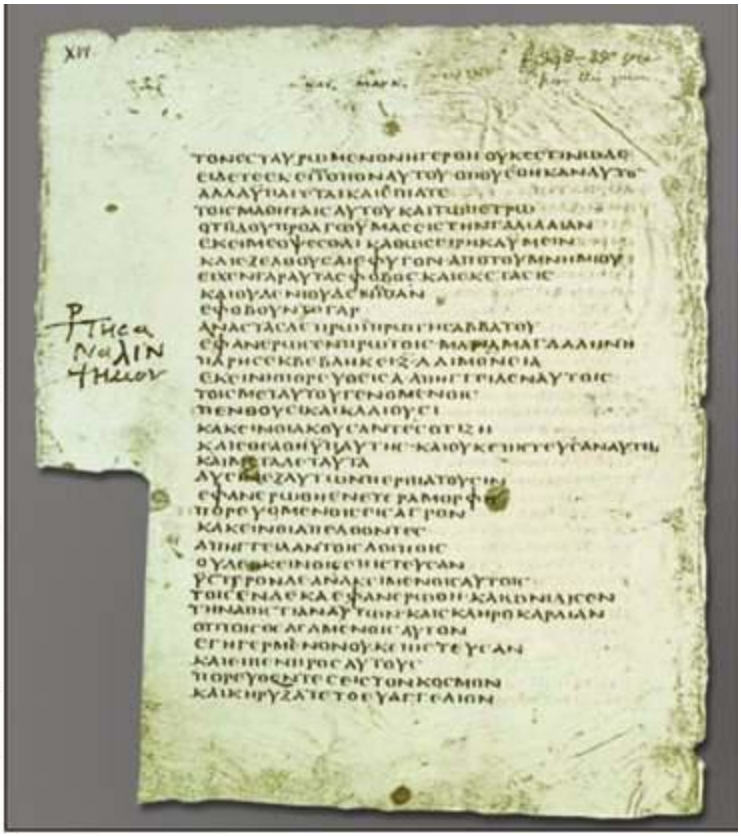
canon of authoritative books, which the orthodox church did not decide upon for some period subsequent to Marcion.

The idea of canonical books, however, must have preceded Marcion's time. It is more reasonable to suppose that Marcion selected one gospel out of four and one apostle out of many than to suppose that the church built up its own canon on the basis of Marcion's defective canon. It may well have been in reaction to Marcion's position that the church generally came to view the necessity for a clearer definition of its own authoritative books. It staunchly maintained the OT as Scripture and showed the Gospels and Epistles to be more broadly based than Marcion's canon. It is significant that Marcion's rejection of Acts was contrary to the opinion everywhere in the orthodox church. He was clearly influenced by his desire to exclude anything that drew attention to any apostles other than Paul. (For a full discussion of Marcion's canon, cf. E. C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* [1948].)

Some time during the 2nd cent. there were attached to the Pauline Epistles some prologues that are generally reckoned to be of Marcionite origin, either from Marcion himself or from his followers. These Marcionite prologues stress the Jewish opposition to the true gospel. They bear testimony to Marcion's influence, because they became attached to many VULGATE MSS later on. There are also the writings known as the ANTI-MARCIONITE PROLOGUES to the Gospels, of which those attached to Mark, Luke, and John have survived, the last not thought to be dated as early as the other two. It has been suggested that these were attached to the four Gospels when the church published the fuller canon in response and in opposition to Marcion's truncated canon (so D. de Bruyne in *Révue bénédictine* 40 [1928]: 191–214). But it is more probable that the fourfold canon already enjoyed undisputed sway before Marcion's canon, as maintained above.

To sum up the position prior to A.D. 180: it is clear that the NT canon may be divided into the two main divisions, Gospels and Apostles. In the former group there is no doubt that these were restricted to four, in spite of the emergence of other contenders for canonicity. Among the apostles, Paul, Peter, and John take precedence, for there is certainty about the acceptance of thirteen Pauline Epistles, as well as 1 Peter and 1 John. Evidence for the other Catholic Epistles does not follow until later. Acts and the Apocalypse (practically everywhere regarded as apostolic) were also included in the acknowledged books. There can be doubt, moreover, that the idea of canonicity at this stage was closely dependent on the concept of apostolicity.

It is impossible to know how early the collections were made, but this process cannot be put later than the early part of the 2nd cent. Indeed, the earliest specific reference to a collection of Paul's epistles comes from within the NT itself (2 Pet. 3:11–16). In spite of the fact that no official list had by this time been published, nor in fact was published



In uncial Codex D (Bezae), the last 23 lines of Mark include 16:1–20.

for a considerable time to come, the usage of the churches was sufficiently settled for such official sanction to be unnecessary. The orthodox church did not follow Marcion's example because there was general agreement about apostolic sources. The next period supplies more prolific evidence and reveals more clearly the process whereby the disputed books came to be acknowledged.

V. From Irenaeus to Origen. In considering the next period, one finds that the evidence is dominated mainly by important personalities, but the significance of their testimony rests on the churches they represent. It may reasonably be supposed that they adopt the general point of view of their own churches. The first witness is IRENAEUS, who became bishop of Lyons in Gaul during the persecution that raged in the time of the emperor MARCUS AURELIUS. It is usually supposed that Irenaeus was the author of the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne sent to Pope Eleutherus, following which he was made bishop. This letter reflects the language of several Pauline Epistles (Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 Timothy), two other epistles (1 Peter and 1 John) and two Gospels (Luke and John). It should be noted that at the time when this letter was written there was still living in the same community the aged Pothinus (ninety years old), who was a direct link with the apostolic age.

Irenaeus himself claims to have heard Polycarp and would no doubt have been influenced by his attitude toward the accepted books. Irenaeus is also important because he combines the viewpoints of the E and the W. There was no doubt in Irenaeus's mind that four Gospels only were to be recognized, for he compared them with the fourfold character of the winds, the four quarters of the earth, and the covenants of God with men. The method of argument may sound quaint, but the strength of the witness is undeniable. The fourfold gospel was, moreover, a direct refutation of the single-gospel tradition of some of the Gnostic sects (see GNOSTICISM). Irenaeus also claims that the fourfold gospel is held together by the one Spirit, an early foreshadowing of the formal doctrine of inspiration. With reference to the Gospels, Irenaeus comments on the respective origins of each. Matthew was

written for the Jews; Mark wrote down the themes of Peter's preaching; Luke put down Paul's gospel; and John, the Lord's disciple, published his gospel in Ephesus. In spite of his uncritical approach, Irenaeus's testimony is valuable because of the strong sense of the importance of apostolicity behind the Gospels. In addition to these, Irenaeus's canon included Acts, the thirteen epistles of Paul (although he does not cite from Philemon), 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and the Apocalypse. One book not now in the NT, namely, the *Shepherd of Hermas,* is cited with the formula "Scripture says."

From Gaul, we turn next to Africa. For the views of this church one may appeal to TERTULLIAN, a learned presbyter at Carthage at the end of the 2nd cent. He restricts himself to the four Gospels as records of the life and teaching of Jesus. He maintains the apostolicity of all four by showing that Mark spoke for Peter and that Luke spoke for Paul, for he considered it permissible that pupils should speak in their master's name. There could be no clearer example of the importance of apostolicity as a basis for canonicity. Moreover Tertullian made much of antiquity as a factor in the authority of the writings, for he maintained that truth must precede forgery. He acknowledged all the epistles of the apostle Paul (except that he does not cite from Philemon). Although he knew the epistle to the Hebrews, he did not regard it as Paul's but as Barnabas's, and makes practically no use of it. Acts, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Apocalypse are often used and accepted by him. The brief epistle of Jude also is accepted as authoritative and apostolic.

There are three witnesses from ALEXANDRIA. The first of them, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, a man of considerable breadth of learning, is notable for the extent of his canon. The fact that he had traveled widely may well have contributed to his eclectic tendencies. He is not averse to using noncanonical gospels, and on one occasion cites a saying from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews,* but clearly distinguishes this from those "that have been handed down" (i.e., the four Gospels). Nevertheless, Clement's NT was wider than that of most of his contemporaries. He knew and used practically all the books in the NT, but there is some dispute about his use of James, 2 Peter, and 3 John. None of these is cited in the fragmentary remains of Clement's works. But Eusebius states that he commented on all the Catholic epistles, even those that were disputed *(Eccl. Hist.* 6.14.1). His canon of Pauline Epistles included the epistle to the Hebrews, in which he was no doubt influenced by his teacher Pantaenus. In addition, he commented on the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Apocalypse of Peter,* and had considerable respect for such books as the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Preaching of Peter.*

The eclectic tendency is seen also in his successor as head of the catechetical school, ORIGEN. In many respects Origen shares the broad approach of Clement toward the NT. He knows and uses all the canonical books of the NT, although he does mention doubts about some of them. There is no hesitation about the four Gospels or the Pauline Epistles addressed to the churches the apostle founded. Origen does not seem to have disputed the Pastorals or Philemon. Nor did he question 1 Peter as apostolic, and he acknowledged the possibility that 2 Peter was genuine. Similarly 1 John is genuine and possibly 2 and 3 John (although, he says, all do not allow that these are genuine). The Apocalypse he acknowledged to be by John, the same author who wrote the epistles, that is, the apostle.

Origen's denial of the Pauline authorship of Hebrews is well known, although he acknowledges that the thoughts are Paul's. He mentions that the ancients regarded it as Paul's, but some considered it to have been written by Clement of Rome or Luke. The important factor is that Origen can maintain anonymity for this epistle without affecting his view of its canonicity, no doubt because of its Pauline flavor. Of the other Catholic Epistles, James and Jude often are quoted, mostly as Scripture. James is generally referred to as the "apostle." Origen mentions the doubts of some regarding both these

books. There are three other writings, the *Epistle of Barnabas,* the *Didache,* and the *Shepherd of Hermas,* which were also regarded as Scripture, although some doubts are mentioned. Works like *1 Clement* and the *Acts of Paul* were used, but not accepted as canonical. Origen asserts that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was disputed by the church as a whole. Of special interest is the fact that Origen sets the whole NT collection alongside the OT collection as forming the divine Scriptures of the new covenant, both sections having been given by the same Spirit.

The third Alexandrian is Dionysius, a pupil of Origen who succeeded him in the catechetical school and shares much the same approach. The epistle to the Hebrews, however, he regarded as Pauline. Dionysius knows of the epistle of James and says that 2 and 3 John were circulating as the work of John. He seems to have accepted their authenticity. His main contribution to this study is his comment on the Apocalypse of John. He rejected a common authorship with the Gospel of

Greek minuscule MS of the NT Epistles (12th cent.), with ornamented text.

John and 1 John on the grounds of the character of the writing, the form of language, and general construction. It will be seen from this opinion that Dionysius felt that he could exercise freedom over canonical matters to the extent of denying the apostolic authorship of a book that had been generally accepted as coming from the pen of the apostle John. In spite of his questionings, Dionysius did not dispute the canonicity of the book.

From Alexandria, we turn next to ROME. The witness will be a fragmentary list known as the MURATORIAN CANON, which is extant in Latin but may have had a Greek source. It may be dated toward the end of the 2nd cent. (although some scholars argue that it is considerably later). This document is valuable evidence for the state of the canon in the Roman world of that time. Its text is corrupt and incomplete, and its Latin style is poor. It claims to have been written in the time of Pope Pius of Rome, which confirms its connection with the Roman church. It begins with the third gospel, which is said to have been written by Luke. It evidently originally referred to Matthew and Mark, since it refers to Luke's gospel as the third, but the earlier portion is now lacking. There is an interesting statement made regarding the writing of the fourth gospel. When the companions of John the apostle asked him to write about Jesus, he asked them to fast with him for three days to find out God's will. That night it was revealed to Andrew that John should write a gospel in his own name, but that all were to check it. John is then said to have been an eyewitness, and 1 Jn. 1:1 is cited in support of this claim.

It is to be noted that the writer of the Muratorian document does not distinguish between the Gospels written by the apostles and the others, and does not question the authority of the latter or

mention any doubt concerning them. The fourfold gospel is clearly established and no other gospel is permitted to challenge its supremacy. Moreover, the essential unity of the four Gospels is acknowledged. "Though various ideas are taught in each of the Gospels, it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since in all of them all things are declared by one sovereign Spirit." This latter statement agrees with the view of Irenaeus and suggests a general recognition of this doctrine of the Spirit as far as the Gospels were concerned. The book of Acts is acknowledged as Luke's and is said to contain "Acts of all the Apostles which fell under his notice." In illustration of this claim, the omission of reference to Peter's death and of Paul's visit to Spain are mentioned. The description may be intended to distinguish the canonical Acts from apocryphal works that purported to give the experiences of individual apostles. Or it may be intended to combat Marcion's appeal to a single apostle.

Next in order of mention are Paul's epistles. Those addressed to churches are numbered as seven and are paralleled to the letters to the churches of Asia mentioned in the Apocalypse. There are comments on the purpose of some of these epistles, after which they are listed in the following order —Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians,Thessalonians, Romans. The number is thus achieved by combining the two epistles sent to the churches of Corinth and Thessalonica. The letters addressed to individuals, Philemon and the Pastorals, are then mentioned separately and are said to be "sanctified by ordinances of ecclesiastical discipline and honor of the Catholic church." Church usage clearly plays an important part in their authority. These comments on the genuine letters are followed by a reference to two forged Pauline letters, which is valuable for the information it gives of the circulation of such epistles. One was to the Laodiceans and one to the Alexandrians. These are said to have been forged under the name of Paul and to support the heresy of Marcion. The writer says that in addition to these there are several others that cannot be received in the Catholic church because they teach error. Nothing is now known of either of the letters bearing on Marcion's heresy, but it is possible that the former may be an allusion to Marcion's title for the canonical Ephesians. The writer of the Muratorian Canon comments that gall cannot be mixed with honey.

Of the other NT books, Jude and two epistles of John are received. The two Johannine epistles are in all probability 2 and 3 John, as 1 John is cited earlier in the fragment, but 1 and 2 John may be meant. For some strange reason, Wisdom of Solomon is mentioned next as having been written in Solomon's honor by his friends, but nothing is said about its canonicity. The *Apocalypse of John* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are received, but some do not allow the latter to be read in church. This is a clear example of difference of opinion regarding canonicity. Zahn emended the text at this point to make it refer to 1 and 2 Peter instead of to the *Apocalypse of Peter,* in which case the difference of opinion relates to 2 Peter. The emendation is not supported by any independent evidence. The fragment ends with a reference to the *Shepherd of Hermas,* which though recommended for private reading was not authorized for public use.

The importance of this Roman canon partly lies in the absence from it of four books that were later acknowledged to be canonical. The state of the text does not allow any conclusions regarding the author's attitude to any of these books (Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter). There is a lack of cohesion in parts of this MS which supports the theory that there is a chasm in the text. Another interesting feature of this list is that it is not presenting a private opinion but a church opinion. There would also appear to be a clear distinction between apostolic and nonapostolic writings, although the principle of apostolicity is not specifically stated.

One other consideration from the period under review is the effect of Montanism on the NT canon. It laid such stress upon the prophetic gifts of the Spirit that it made increasingly necessary a

definition of the limits within which the apostolic message might be expected to be contained. A movement like Montanism merely helped to hasten a process that was integral to the growth and development of apostolic Christianity.

Some reference must be made to the content of the NT canon as far as it can be ascertained from the early versions. The Latin Bible no doubt conformed to Tertullian's canon, but the evidence for the contents of the Old Latin version is not early enough for one to be certain. All one can do is to take the position of Cyprian in the mid-3rd cent. as a fair indication of what the Latins generally regarded as authoritative books. Cyprian certainly accepted the Gospels, Acts, thirteen epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Apocalypse. The other books are not referred to and presumably were not placed on the same footing as those named. The Syriac version in its earlier history is significant for its preference for the separated Gospels over Tatian's *Diatessaron.* Its later history throws interesting light on the disputed books and will be mentioned below.

VI. The fourth century

A. Eusebius. The evidence of a church historian of the caliber of EUSEBIUS of Caesarea *(Eccl. Hist.* 3.25) is of great importance, because he sought the usage of all the churches and made it his business to give as comprehensive a picture as possible. He speaks of seven Catholic Epistles as if these formed a separate group, although not all the books were accepted by all the churches. James was regarded as spurious by some. Jude, however, is not only mentioned by the ancients, but is publicly read with the others in churches. First Peter is regarded as indisputable, but 2 Peter is not treated as "acknowledged" *(homologoumenon)* or "canonical" *(endiathēkon),* although diligently read with other Scriptures; other writings attributed to Peter are definitely rejected. He reports that 1–3 John are disputed, while he cannot quite make up his mind about the Apocalypse, which some regard as doubtful. All the other books are accepted. There were four Gospels, fourteen epistles of Paul (including Hebrews), and 1 Peter and 1 John, all of which were "acknowledged."

Eusebius uses the term "disputed" *(antilegomenon,* lit., "spoken against") with reference to books generally accepted but questioned by some. Under this category he places James, Jude, 2 Peter, and 1–3 John. He employs an additional term, "spurious" *(nothos),* for writings that had limited support but were never generally accepted: *Acts of Paul, Shepherd of Hermas, Epistle of Barnabas, Didache, Gospel to the Hebrews,* and *Apocalypse of Peter.* It appears that Eusebius would also place in this group the Apocalypse of John, although he reported that some accepted it. Finally, he mentions an additional group consisting of heretical works such as gospels attributed to Peter, Thomas, and Matthias, as well as acts attributed to Andrew and John. These writings should "be reckoned not even among spurious books but shunned as altogether wicked and impious. It is important to note that while Eusebius assigns most of the apocryphal books, which are clearly imitations (at least in title) of the canonical books, to the heretical group, he does not do this with the *Acts of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter.*

Eusebius is important because in the portion of his *Ecclesiastical History* from which the above information is drawn, he is clearly differentiating his own private opinion from the general ecclesiastical point of view. In his time the NT of most of the churches consisted of all the books in the present NT, with the possible exception of the Apocalypse. By separating the *antilegomena* from the *homologoumena,* Eusebius appears to be admitting degrees of canonicity, although he does not make a specific point of this.

B. Athanasius. It was customary for bishops to address Easter letters to their congregations, and one such letter, written by Athanasius in A.D. 367, at the end of his long episcopacy, is of special importance in the history of the NT canon. He gives a list of the OT and NT books which were "handed down and believed to be divine." The reason why such a list was necessary is clearly stated. Some were being led astray by "the villainy of certain men, and thereafter begin to consort with others, the so-called secret (books), being deceived by their possession of the same names as the genuine books." Athanasius's NT list contains the twenty-seven books of the present canon arranged in order, four Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse of John. Hebrews is included among the epistles of Paul. These books are picturesquely described as the "springs of salvation"; "in these alone is the good news of the teaching of true religion proclaimed." Certain other books (the Wisdom of Solomon and other OT apocryphal books, with the *Didache* and the *Shepherd of Hermas)* may be read by those "coming forward to receive oral instruction in the word of true religion." Athanasius is particularly condemnatory of secret books, which deceive and cause dissensions. Even what is good in such books should be ignored, since it comes from the cunning of men.

This testimony is valuable because it represents the best thought of the influential church at Alexandria and undoubtedly had a widespread effect in consolidating the canon of the Eastern church. It must not, however, be supposed that in this Easter letter Athanasius was imposing an alien opinion upon his churches. The letter rather presents a clarification of an established usage.

C. The canon of the Syriac church. The Syriac church had a more restricted canon generally than the other churches in the Eastern church. The influence of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in the early stages has already been mentioned, but the separated Gospels of the Old Syriac displaced it. In the second part of the 4th cent., some indication of the attitude toward the canon in the Syriac-speaking church is given by a document called DOCTRINE OF ADDAI, which refers to "The Law and the Prophets and…the Gospel…and the Epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles…these books read…in the Church of God, and with these read no others." The absence of all the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse is to be noted, as also the mention of "Gospel" in the singular, presumably the *Diatessaron.* Another canonical list dated about A.D. 400 gives an identical list, except that the four Gospels are now named. Neither of two important Syriac fathers, Aphraates and Ephraem, makes reference to the Catholic Epistles. It should be observed that Hebrews was included as Pauline.

When the Peshitta (edited by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, 411–435) was produced to provide a revision of the Old Syriac, it became the standard version of the Syriac church. The separated Gospels alone were now authorized, and three general epistles (1 Peter, 1 John, James) were included. The missing books were therefore four general epistles (2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude) and the Apocalypse. It was during the next century that these were added, and the next revision of the Peshitta, known as the Philoxenian revision (508), contained all the books. This seems to represent the settled state of the Syriac canon, for a century later the Harklean revision contains the same books.

D. The approach of the Western church to the canon. It already has been mentioned that in the W at the time of Cyprian there was no use made of the following books: Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude. It was not until the 4th cent. that these were received, and it will be most convenient to mention each separately. From the time of Hilary of Poitiers, several Latin fathers treat Hebrews as canonical. The unknown writer referred to as Ambrosiaster accepted its canonicity, but cited it

anonymously. Lucifer of Cagliari, Priscillian, and other Latins regarded it as Paul's. Not so Jerome, who mentions that the Roman church did not receive it as Paul's, while AUGUSTINE at first cited it as Paul's but later used it anonymously. By this time canonicity could be maintained independently of Paul's authorship. Subsequent to Augustine, it was received everywhere.

Of the Catholic Epistles, Hilary quotes only three (1 Peter, 1 John, and James). Priscillian, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and Augustine included all seven. Jerome observed that 1–3 John were not ascribed to John the apostle, but to John the presbyter of Ephesus. Second John, although not used by Hilary, had been earlier (A.D. 256) cited as the work of the apostle by Aurelius. The history of Jude is interesting, for after being mentioned in the Muratorian Canon as received, and being referred to as apostolic and authoritative by Tertullian, it seems to have fallen into neglect for a period until the time of Ambrosiaster and Priscillian. After Augustine's time its position as Scripture was assured.

Some observation needs to be made on the reason for the greater reserve in the W as compared with the E. The easterners generally had a stronger eclectic tendency than the westerners, but unless the Eastern canon had been soundly based on more reliable usage than the personal characteristics of its members, it would never have influenced so strongly the Western church to come into alignment with it. It must be remembered, moreover, that the easterners were closer to the traditions than their western brethren. It is worth observing that the same tendencies that are seen in the history of the canon during this period are seen also in the history of theology, with the church of Alexandria playing the dominant role.

VII. The councils and the canon. Not until the middle of the 4th cent. was it considered necessary for any general pronouncements on the subject of the canon to be made at church councils. It did not happen, in fact, until nearly three centuries of church usage had virtually fixed the canon. In spite of the variety of churches, subjected as they were to different influences and each exercising independent judgment regarding the separate books, the area of common agreement was remarkable. It may have been some considerable time before the matter of the inclusion of the minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse was settled, but the cautious way in which these books were received is a fitting testimony to the vigilance of the churches.

There is a list affixed to the canons of the Council of Laodicea (363), although it has been suggested that the list may have been added later. It contains all the books except the Apocalypse. It is this omission that distinguishes it from the list in Athanasius's Easter letter. Thirty years later the Council of Hippo in Africa agreed to a list identical with that of Athanasius. At Carthage four years after that (397), another canonical list was agreed upon that comprised all the NT books. Augustine was present at this council. It should be noted that in this list there was reluctance to class Hebrews as written by Paul. This council marks the fixing of the NT canon until the time of the Reformation, when certain problems concerning it were reopened. But during the Middle Ages there are hints here and there of questionings.

VIII. The Middle Ages. It is necessary to draw attention to these questionings because they form the background of the Reformation awakening. Although the Peshitta version of the Syriac NT had been revised to include the disputed books, the unrevised Peshitta, with its twenty-two books, was still being copied during this period. On the other hand, the Ethiopic canon was considerably enlarged by the addition of eight other books.

During the 6th cent. a monk named Cosmas, who had been a merchant and had traveled widely, not only reported that the Syrians accepted only three Catholic Epistles, but that he himself regarded

them all suspiciously. His was, however, an isolated opinion. There are also some incidental evidences of differences of opinion over the Revelation of John. In the list of Nicephorus in the 9th cent. it was placed among the disputed books, but Photius during the same period accepted it as Scripture (as did Arethas who wrote a commentary upon it). The Western church was too dominated by the views of Augustine and Jerome to show much deviation, although a few Latin MSS of this period included the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

The most significant feature of this whole period was the ecclesiastical monopoly on the interpretation of Scripture, which virtually meant that the canon had ceased to be supported by common usage of the churches, but was buttressed by the hierarchy of the Roman church. It was this approach that led to the condemnation of Tyndale and others who produced Bibles in the language of the people. Authority that had earlier rested in Scripture had now been transferred to the church. Such was the medieval background against which the opinions of the Reformers on the canon must be considered.

IX. The Reformation period. Not all the questionings came from the Reformers themselves. There were some powerful voices from within the Roman church revealing that the Renaissance had not left that church entirely unaffected in its approach to the canon. These witnesses will be considered first.

A. The Roman church. Cardinal Ximenes, in his famous printed Polyglot (1522), made a beginning by separating the OT APOCRYPHA from the other books. Erasmus brought an inquiring mind to the problems of the canon. In the introduction to his Greek NT (1st ed. 1516) he made several comments on NT books. He rejected the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews on grounds of style and doctrine, but he expressed the view that this feature does not make it of less value. He admitted that it was most closely akin to the spirit and soul of Paul. The epistle of James, in his view, does not show the dignity and gravity of an apostle, although Erasmus affirmed its authority. He mentioned in this connection the doubts of so great a man as Jerome. He noted doubts on 2 Peter and Jude and regarded 1–3 John as by the Presbyter.

Erasmus distinguished the style of the Apocalypse from the style of John's gospel and 1 John, and disputed that John the evangelist was the author. One of his arguments is drawn from the fact that in the gospel the author does not give his own name, and that in the Apocalypse he does. In this approach he is reminiscent of the 3rd-cent. Alexandrian Dionysius. But there is conflict in the mind of Erasmus: is he to follow the dictates of his own reflections upon the canon or the accepted usage? He dutifully submits to the authority of the church, but recognizes the right of the spiritual believer to come to his own conclusions. What was only implicit in Erasmus became explicit in Luther in his eventual rejection of the supreme authority of the church. Because Erasmus's opinions ran counter to ecclesiastical policy, his attitude was condemned later at the Theological Faculty of Paris in 1526 with the contention that it was not right for a Christian to call in question the names that the church has received as authors.

Of special interest are the views of a man like Cardinal Cajetan, who although he opposed Luther at Augsburg in 1518, nevertheless shared something of his freedom of approach to the canon. He appealed to the authority of Jerome for disputing Hebrews, 2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude. Jerome did not himself reject these books. Cajetan favored 2 Peter and dismissed the Apocalypse. Regarding Hebrews, he considered that if it was not by Paul it is not clear that it is canonical, a highly independent opinion. Moreover, he admitted that 1–3 John and Jude are of less authority than the rest of the scriptural books. It is extraordinary that no action was taken by the Roman church against such

views until after the death of Cajetan in 1534.

Cajetan's opinions, together with those being expressed by the Reformers (Luther in particular), led to the fateful decrees of the Council of Trent on the canon in 1546. There was considerable difference of opinion over the classification of the canonical books, but the importance of the council lies in its final decisions. For the first time, the Bible became an article of faith of the church, accompanied by an anathema upon all who questioned any part of it. Moreover, the text specified was the old Vulgate edition, which was to be regarded as "sacred and canonical." Clearly, historical criticism played no part in the decisions of this council, which virtually forbade any further examination of the problems involved. It is worth noting that in a list of books prepared by Sixtus Senensis, whose opinions were representative of the majority opinion at the council, a kind of deuterocanon is mentioned, comprising Hebrews, the minor Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse, and three separate passages (Mk. 16:1–20; Lk. 22:41–44; Jn. 7:53—8:11). These books, at first only permitted to be read, came at last to be adopted as Scriptures of indisputable authority. The church alone, according to this view, had the right to pronounce what is canonical.

B. Luther and the German Reformers. It has been seen that although questionings arose within the Roman church, they were silenced by the voice of authority. Martin Luther was in a different position, for he had come to regard the Bible itself as the voice of authority. In a real sense the Reformers generally may be said to have substituted an authoritative Bible for an authoritative church. This did not mean that the voice of inquiry was silenced. Indeed, Luther's own approach to the NT canon proves the opposite. He reflects the mood of the age to subject established usage to searching criticism, although the absence of suitable tools for such criticism too often resolved itself into an uncritical approach. With Luther, personal considerations were of utmost importance. Personal conviction, if need be, could and must take precedence over ecclesiastical pronouncements.

The most notable feature of Luther's approach to the canon is what some have called "a NT within the NT," whereby degrees of canonicity seem to be introduced. He seems to have had three parts to his NT: (1) Those books that were the most valuable—John's gospel and 1 John, Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter. These books, he claimed, could teach all that is needful and blessed for the reader to know. (2) Those books that were least esteemed—Hebrews, James, Jude, and the Apocalypse, all four of which he placed at the end of the NT. (3) The remaining books.

He considered Hebrews to be by the disciple of an apostle, not by an apostle. It was therefore not placed on an equal footing with the apostolic epistles. Although he called James "a right strawy epistle," he had some esteem for it and sometimes quoted it. He denied its apostolic authorship on two grounds: (1) its contradiction of Paul's doctrine of justification, and (2) the paucity of its references to Christ. Luther explained his concept of apostolicity when expounding the latter point. Even one of the Twelve, such as Peter or one like the apostle Paul, would be no true apostle if he did not testify of Christ. Even if such men as Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod preached Christ, that would be apostolic.

Luther's definition clearly needs more precision than this. It is wholly governed by what he conceives to be the true content of the gospel. He admitted, on the other hand, that there are many good sayings in James. Of the other books he questioned, Jude was considered to be an extract from 2 Peter and could not therefore be placed on an equality with the "capital books." The Apocalypse was said to be "a dumb prophecy," but no one is to be hindered if he regards it as a work of the apostle John. Although when separating the four questionable books from the rest Luther claimed that in former times they were regarded in a different light, he nevertheless did not rely on a careful

examination of external evidence. His method of criticism was mainly subjective.

Another of the German Reformers was Karlstadt (Andrew Bodenstein), who in 1520 issued a brief book on the biblical canon *(De canonicis Scripturis)*. He would not accept conciliar decisions on the canon, but declared the independent supremacy of Scripture. His NT was classified in three parts according to dignity: (1) the four Gospels; (2) the epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, and 1 John; and (3) the remaining books. His attitude toward the disputed books followed closely the opinions of Erasmus.

C. Calvin and the Swiss Reformers. There is little need to comment on the opinions of Zwingli, for he had little to say about the canon. He appears to have accepted all the books except the Apocalypse of John, which in his view was not a book of the Bible. His contemporary, Oecolampadius, admitted all the books of the NT, but added the rider that "we do not compare the Apocalypse, the epistles of James and Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John with the rest." This statement shows the influence of earlier doubts over these books on the opinions of the Reformers.

It was Calvin among the Swiss Reformers who exercised most influence in the matter of the canon. He was not reticent to state his opinions of the *antilegomena.* He had no doubt that Hebrews was an apostolic epistle, but denied the Pauline authorship. He regarded the writer as a disciple of the apostle and claimed that the document supported this view. He noted differences of method and style as evidence against Paul being the author. He used the same argument for 2 Peter. He failed to find in it the genuine language of Peter and concluded, therefore, that one of his disciples must have written it at Peter's command. There is no question of Calvin's rejecting the epistle, since "the majesty of the Spirit of Christ exhibits itself in every part of the epistle." There was evidently some conflict in Calvin's mind over a case where free opinions clashed with apostolic content.

When referring to James, Calvin recognized that doubts had existed in the early church, and yet he saw no sufficient reason for rejecting it. He acknowledged that all the NT books could not be expected to treat the same topic. In this he is obviously distinguishing his position from that of Luther. Since Jude does not contain anything foreign to the purity of apostolic doctrine, Calvin was prepared to accept it in spite of ancient doubts. He does not mention the remaining disputed books—2 and 3 John and the Apocalypse. The test of canonicity for Calvin was personal rather than historical, although Calvin was not unmindful of the importance of patristic testimony. By the time of Beza's edition of the NT in 1564, these concerns seem to have left him, for although he mentioned earlier doubts about James, 2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude, he overlooked them. He discussed the Apocalypse and said that if he is allowed to conjecture he would suggest John Mark as author.

D. Evidence from the church confessions. The chief concern in this section is to indicate the main features in the Reformed Confessions that relate to Scripture. At Basel in 1534, the books are referred to under the title of Holy Biblical Scripture, which is regarded as authoritative in all matters of opinion. In the *Helvetic Confession* two years later, the Word of God is said to be given by the Holy Spirit and is the sole source of piety and the rule of life. The *Belgic Confession* (1561–1563) is notable for emphasizing again the Scriptures as that "on which our faith can rest, by which it can be confirmed and established." This confession repudiates the idea that the books are regarded as canonical because of church pronouncements, but asserts that it is because of the witness of the Holy Spirit to one's conscience.

The *Westminster Confession,* drawn up in 1643, makes clear the general approach of the Calvinistic churches. Article 1 shows the necessity of Scripture as the means of God's revelation.

Article 2 sets forth the separate books of the OT and NT and then adds, "All which are given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life." Article 3 rejects the Apocrypha as being a part of the canon of Scripture. Article 4 states that the authority of Scripture rests not on man but on its author, God. Article 5 concedes that the testimony of the church may influence men, but the assurance of the truth and divine authority of Scripture comes from the inward work of the Holy Spirit. This confession, which has exerted a powerful influence on the Reformed churches of the Western world, brings clearly to the fore the supremacy of Scripture in a way more explicit than anything that can be found in the ancient testimonies. Yet, what is explicit in this confession was implicit in the usage of the early church.

X. The quasi-canonical books. In the preceding survey there have been some instances of books that certain writers treated as Scripture but were never generally so regarded. Such books are few in number. They are worth noting only to demonstrate the remarkable agreement that the churches generally maintained over those books which were to be regarded as of lesser value than the canonical books (see APOSTOLIC FATHERS). The *Didache,* which circulated under an ascription to the Twelve Apostles, was treated as Scripture by both Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and by others in Egypt during the century following them. It gained some esteem elsewhere, as in Syrian Antioch, where it was used in the composition of a work known as the *Apostolic Constitutions,* but there is no evidence that outside Egypt it was treated as canonical.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* was also more esteemed in Egypt than elsewhere. Clement of Alexandria included it in his commentary on the Catholic Epistles, while Origen used the same term "catholic" of it as he used for 1 Peter and 1 John. Moreover, a century later it was still sufficiently regarded to be included at the end of the NT text in CODEX SINAITICUS. Elsewhere it does not seem to have gained anything approaching canonical status.

The two letters attributed to Clement of Rome must next be noted. As early as A.D. 170, *1 Clement* was read publicly at Corinth. It was used as valuable by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Clement of Alexandria did not, however, comment on it in his *Hypotyposes.* It never gained any canonical status. *Second Clement* was rarely read in the E and was unknown in the W.

It is the *Shepherd of Hermas* that gained most notice and was certainly regarded as Scripture by some. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement, and Origen all used it as Scripture. After his conversion to Montanism, however, Tertullian rejected it because of the idea of postbaptismal reconciliation that it contains. In the Muratorian Canon it was valued for private use but not for public reading. In the time of Cyprian one author in Rome speaks of it as divine Scripture, but apart from this there is no other evidence of its attaining canonical status. Like the *Epistle of Barnabas,* it found a place at the end of the NT text in Codex Sinaiticus.

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is in a rather different category, since this book is specifically associated with an apostle. It was commented on by Clement of Alexandria, who evidently placed it on a level with the canonical books. It is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, where it is linked with the Apocalypse of John, but doubts are mentioned concerning it. Although known elsewhere, it does not appear to have been treated as Scripture. It is, moreover, tainted with DOCETISM.

The only other book that was sufficiently esteemed to qualify as a quasi-canonical book is the *Acts of Paul.* This work was produced in its complete form in the mid-2nd cent. by an Asiatic presbyter who was deposed from office when he admitted the composition. The work was not heterodox. In fact, the author claimed to have written it out of love for Paul. In spite of the action of the Asiatic church against the author, the book was for some time used in the Eatern church. Both

Clement and Origen respected it. In the Syriac church at one time, an alleged Pauline letter to the Corinthians (known as *3 Corinthians),* which is included within the *Acts of Paul* but which also circulated separately, was regarded as canonical.

The evidence shows that there was a fairly clear demarcation between canonical and noncanonical, with only an occasional blurring of the borders. It appears that the Egyptians had a rather freer approach to the canon than did others.

XI. The New Testament Apocrypha. Little needs to be said about this collection of books, which may be restricted to those grouped under the same categories as the canonical books. (See APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.) There were many apocryphal gospels, which were attempts to express heretical opinions in canonical forms. An interesting witness to the attitude of the 2nd-cent. church toward such books is Serapion, bishop of Antioch, who at first allowed the *Gospel of Peter* to be read, but later prohibited it when he discovered that it supported the Docetic heresy. This may have been a blameworthy act on Serapion's part in not making sufficient examination before authorizing its use.

The numerous apocryphal Acts bear testimony to the desire of heretical sects to claim apostolic support for their opinions. It was much easier to produce pseudo-acts than pseudo-epistles. Of the latter there are extant only two attempts to produce anything approaching imitations of Paul's epistles —*3 Corinthians* mentioned above, and the *Epistle to the Laodiceans.* Regarding the latter, two forms are known: one is referred to in the Muratorian Canon, and the other gained a period of canonicity in some of the churches of the Middle Ages. This second work was an unimaginative production based almost wholly on extracts from the epistle to the Philippians. Of the Apocalypses the only notable rival to the Apocalypse of John was the *Apocalypse of Peter* (referred to in the preceding section). It is surprising that there were not more of these pseudo-apocalypses that gained support, since the form lent itself to imaginative and speculative elements.

In spite of the great number of these pseudo-NT books, there was never a collection of them to form a kind of counterpart to the OT Apocrypha. None but the heretical sects placed them on a par with canonical books (with the exception of *3 Corinthians* in the Syriac church). A comparison between these apocryphal books and the canonical ones is sufficient to show why. The inferiority and lack of true apostolicity of the former is self-evident. The mere ascription of the books to apostles could not hide this fundamental distinction, which shows why the orthodox churches were not misled.

XII. The canon and modern criticism. During most of the 19th and 20th centuries, interest in the NT centered on the historical and literary problems, and little serious attention was given to the question of the canon. Many of the older established positions have been challenged. Some books that have not only been traditionally regarded as apostolic, but which claim themselves to be, have been challenged and regarded as subapostolic. The Gospels have been analyzed and dissected to such an extent among some schools of critical inquiry that it is questionable what apostolic content remains. Many schools of thought reject the doctrine of inspiration and authority of the Scriptures as formulated by the Reformed churches. What has replaced it has inevitably affected the approach to the canon.

According to these opinions, it is no longer meaningful to regard the canon as a collection of books preserving the authentic apostolic doctrine. Rather must the canon be regarded as a quarry from which ideas may be culled, but which do not possess in themselves an inherent authority. Some books have virtually fallen out of the canon through neglect (e.g., 2 Peter and Jude). If the notion of a canon

is to have continued meaning, it is essential for modern criticism to come to grips with the canonical implications of its own conclusions. Scholars who deny apostolic authorship to those books that make specific apostolic claims are faced with the dilemma of excluding them from the canon or else redefining the basis of the canon. If it is to consist of books that preserve a secondary reinterpretation of apostolic doctrine, the canon cannot fail to lose its authority as an authentic representation of the teaching of Christ and his apostles.

It would be better to have a truncated canon rather than a canon on which the Christian believer cannot rely. The early church did not exercise such vigilance over its canon without purpose. There is no doubt that the books accepted were regarded as a priceless heritage, and the modern church dare not jeopardize that heritage without the strongest evidence that those who first regarded these books as authoritative were mistaken. (In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of the article, see W. R. Farmer, *The Formation of the New Testament Canon* [1983]; H. Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon: Its Making and Meaning* [1985]; A. G. Patzia, *The Making of the New Testament: Origin, Collection, Text and Canon* [1995]; O. Heinz, *Kanon ekklesiastikos: Die Bedeutung des altkirchlichen Kanonbe-griffs* [1998]; D. Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament* [2000]; L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate* [2002]; D. Dun-gan, *Constantine's Bible: Politics and the Making of the New Testament* [2007]; L. M. McDonald, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority* [2007].)

D. GUTHRIE

Canon, Muratorian. See CANON (NT) V.

canonical criticism. An ambiguous label used to describe various approaches that seek to understand the Bible by paying attention to its canonical context, that is, by inquiring into its function as Scripture. The term was originally used by J. A. Sanders (*Torah and Canon* [1972]), who sought to extend the work of BIBLICAL CRITICISM by looking at the Bible as a collection of *normative* traditions (see also his later works, *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* [1984], and *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* [1987]). This perspective has been developed in different directions by such writers as B. S. Childs (e.g., *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* [1985]), R. Rendtorff (*The Old Testament: An Introduction* [1983]), and others (see G. T. Sheppard in *ABD,* 1:861–66).

Canons, Eusebian. See EUSEBIAN CANONS.

canopy. This English term is used a few times in modern versions of the OT to render various Hebrew words, such as *sukkâ H6109* (2 Sam. 22:12 = Ps. 18:11; this word is elsewhere usually translated "booth") and *ḥuppâ H2903* (Isa. 4:5). The NRSV also uses it to render *ʿāb H6264* (1 Ki. 7:6, NIV "overhanging roof"; Ezek. 41:21–26, NIV "overhang").

Canticles kan'ti-kuhls. See SONG OF SOLOMON.

cap. This English term is used by the RSV to render Hebrew *migbāʿâ H4457,* meaning "headband," used only of the high priest's vestment (Exod. 28:40; 29:9; 39:28; Lev. 8:13; KJV, "bonnet"). It was made of linen and probably of conical shape with some definitive design. No known artistic

representation is known to exist, and such livery was destroyed after A. D. 70 when the priestly functions ceased.

caperberry. A low trailing shrub found throughout the Mediterranean coastal region. The flower bud has been used since antiquity as a spice, and many classical authors indicate that the berry or small white blossom was commonly used as an aphrodisiac and a condiment. The plant is identified as *Capparis spinosa* and is known in classical Hebrew as *)ăbiyyônâ H37,* which appears only in Eccl. 12:5 (translated "caperberry" in JPS and "caper bush" in NJPS). The context is a graphic description of old age in which various natural associations are used for figurative effect. This text apparently uses the term in the sense of its enhancement of sexual desire, which in the declining years of life fails. (See I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* 1 [1924], 321–31; *FFB,* 102.) Since this meaning would not be conveyed by a literal translation, the KJV and many modern versions render the term as "desire."

W. WHITE, JR.

Capernaum kuh-puhr'nay-uhm (Καφαρναούμ *G3019* [also Καπερναούμ]; from כְּפַר נָחוּם, "village of Nahum"). A city on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee that served as Jesus' Galilean home base (see GALILEE, SEA OF). The city evidently was named after someone called Nahum, but there is no proof that this was NAHUM the prophet. The name of the city does not occur in Scripture outside the Gospels.

I. The site. There has been a considerable amount of discussion as to the exact location of Capernaum, and the evidence available now is still not entirely conclusive. Two main sites have been suggested, namely Tell Ḥum and Khirbet (or Khan) Minyeh. The latter is situated along the NW coast of the Sea of Galilee on the edge of the plain of GENNESARET, about 5 mi. from the place where the JORDAN enters the lake; it is 2.5 mi. beyond Tell Ḥum. JOSEPHUS speaks of a place called Capernaum that is "watered by a most fertile spring" (*War* 3.10.8 §519), and in fact there are springs at ⸢Ain et-Tin and ⸢Ain et-Tabgha that lie between Khan Minyeh and Tell Ḥum. There is nothing about the distances involved, however, that will enable one to identify the location of Capernaum with one site or the other.

Josephus also informs us that, having been injured in a fall from his horse during operations near Julias (= BETHSAIDA) close to the Jordan, he was carried into a village named *Kepharsōkos,* evidently a reference to Capernaum *(Life* 72 §403; the MSS have variant spellings). Some have argued that he would have been carried to the nearest site, which would have been Tell Ḥum. Once again, however, the location of Josephus's accident is not known with sufficient accuracy to build a strong case; at the same time, both Khan Minyeh and Tell Ḥum were probably close enough to serve the purpose. A number of medieval writers identify Khan Minyeh with Capernaum, but that evidence is rather too late to be convincing.

It is now generally agreed that Tell Ḥum has the best claim to represent the site of Capernaum. Some think that Tanḥum, the name of a Jewish rabbi supposedly buried there, is a variation of Naḥum, and the Arabic Ḥum may be a corruption of this form. Theodosius (6th cent.) and other Christian writers agree with this identification.

View of Capernaum looking W to the Sea of Galilee. The modern Catholic church (octangle) is built over Byzantine remains from the 4th-5th cent. The partial reconstruction of the white limestone synagogue sits on top of the basalt synagogue foundation dating to the 1st cent.

EUSEBIUS *(Onom.* 175.25) places Capernaum 2 mi. from KORAZIN, and this information suits the identification with Tell Ḥum better as well. But the most convincing evidence is provided by the excavations carried out there.

II. Archaeology. The archaeological survey failed to find pottery earlier than the Arabic period at Khan Minyeh but found ample examples of Roman pottery at Tell Ḥum. Thus Khan Minyeh was probably not inhabited at the time of Christ. Among the ruins of Tell Ḥum is an octagonal shaped building referred to as PETER'S house; more probably it is the ruins of a church built on the traditional site of the house of Peter (see Matt. 8:11–15; Mk. 1:21–31; Lk. 4:31–39).

By far the most impressive ruin at the site is that of an ancient synagogue, however. The detailed description of the approach to "the synagogue of our Lord" given by a pilgrim named Sylvia in 385 corresponds remarkably with the features of the street that lead up to the synagogue at the site. The building itself was about 65 ft. long and two stories high; and rather than being built of the local

Capemaum

black basalt, it was of white limestone. It was a very ornate structure displaying a variety of designs and figures, some of which must have been offenses against the law of Moses if taken literally. The MIDRASH speaks of Capernaum as a place of the *minim* or "sectaries" (*Eccl. Rab.* 1.25), and it may be that the synagogue ornamentation was, even in antiquity, considered to be unorthodox.

The building is dated to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., though it may well be a safe assumption that it stands on the site of the synagogue of our Lord's day mentioned in Lk. 7:5 and built by a Roman centurion. Interestingly, one of the pillars bore the inscription: "Alphaeus, son of Zebedee, son of John, made this column; on him be blessing"—a reminder, perhaps, that the ZEBEDEE family, including JOHN THE APOSTLE and JAMES, were prominent residents of the town (Matt. 4:21; Mk. 1:19; Lk. 5:10). Also discovered was a carved manna-pot from the traditional place by the lintel of the door. This would have been visible from the reading desk of the synagogue, and it may well have been such a view that suggested Christ's sermon on the bread of life while in the synagogue at Capernaum (Jn. 6:41–59). (See further J. C. H. Laughlin in *BAR* 19/5 [Sept.-Oct. 1993]: 51–61, 90.)

III. Capernaum in the Gospels. Judging by the gospel accounts, Capernaum was a city of some considerable importance. It was there that MATTHEW sat at the "tax office" collecting taxes, possibly on the fish caught in the lake, among other things (Matt. 9:9). It was the home of a high-ranking government official (Jn. 4:46). A Roman centurion with his detachment of soldiers also lived there. Their residence was long and significant enough for the centurion to have provided a synagogue for the local Jewish congregation. The question our Lord asked of Capernaum, "Will you be lifted up to the skies?" seemingly refers to the city's attitude of pride, and his severe condemnation of the place seems to have been fulfilled in the most literal sense, as evidenced by the difficulty of discovering and identifying the site now (Matt. 11:23; Lk. 10:15).

Jesus seems to have made Capernaum his headquarters in GALILEE after leaving NAZARETH,

possibly because it was a larger population center, and possibly also because several of his disciples had their homes there (Matt. 4:13). It was near this place that he called the fishermen (Matt. 4:18 and parallels) and the tax-collector (Matt. 9:9 and parallels) into his service. Many "mighty works" were done in Capernaum, including the healing of the centurion's servant (Matt. 8:5 –13; Lk. 7:1 – 10), the nobleman's son (Jn. 4:41–54), Peter's mother-in-law (Matt. 8:11–15; Mk. 1:21–31; Lk. 4:31–39), and the paralytic (Matt. 9:1–8; Mk. 2:1–12; Lk. 5:11–26). It was probably also in Capernaum that he raised the daughter of JAIRUS (Matt. 9:11–26; Mk. 5:21–43; Lk. 8:41–56). Here he also cast out the unclean spirit (Mk. 1:21–34; Lk. 4:31–41) and used a little child to teach humility (Matt. 18:1–5; Mk. 9:31–37; Lk. 9:41–50). (See further C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels* [1963], 171–79; V. Tzaferis, *Excavations at Capernaum* [1988]; *NEAEHL,* 1:291–96.)

H. G. ANDERSEN

caph. See KAPH.

Caphar-salama kaf'uhr-sal'uh-muh (Χαφαρσαλαμα). The site of an indecisive skirmish between Judas MACCABEE and NICANOR, officer of the king of Syria and governor of Judea. Nicanor had "treacherously" attempted to seize Judas, but when he "learned that his plan had been disclosed, he went out to meet Judas in a battle near Caphar-salama" (1 Macc. 7:31). After losing 500 men, Nicanor "fled into the city of David" (v. 32). The name, which means "village of Salama," has been identified with various possible sites, including SILOAM, Khirbet Deir-Sallam (about 12 mi. W of Jerusalem), and especially Khirbet Selma (about 7 mi. NW of Jerusalem, near Gibeon [el-Jib]).

H. JAMIESON

Caphenatha kuh-fen'uh-thuh. KJV Apoc. form of CHAPHENATHA (1 Macc. 12:37).

Caphira kuh-f*i*'ruh. KJV Apoc. form of KEPHIRAH(1 Esd.5:19).

Caphtor, Caphtorim, Caphtorite kaf'tor, kaf'tuh-rim, kaf'tuh-r*i*t (כַּפְתּוֹר *H4116,* meaning uncertain; gentilic כַּפְתֹּרִי *H4118).* KJV also Caph-thorim (1 Chr. 1:12), Caphtorims (Deut. 2:23). Explicit references to Caphtor are few. The PHILISTINES and the Caphtorites (or Caphtorim) are both said to have come from Caphtor (Deut. 2:23; Amos 9:7) and are probably to be identified or related. In the MT of Gen. 10:14 (the Table of NATIONS) and 1 Chr. 1:12, the Philistines are said to have come from the CASLUHITES (cf. NIV), but it is often assumed that the phrase in question has been misplaced and that the text should read, "Casluhim, and Caphtorim, from which the Philistines came" (NRSV). In these two passages the Caphtorites are identified as the descendants of MIZRAIM (i.e., EGYPT).

The closest the OT comes to giving the location of Caphtor is in Jer. 47:4, where the Philistines are described as "the remnant from the coasts of Caphtor." Caphtor may refer to the coast of PHILISTIA itself. More likely, however, the reference is to the land from which the Philistines came, which is called an)î *H362,* "isle, coast." A choice must then be made between the meanings "the isle/coast named Caphtor" and "the isle/coast that is part of Caphtor." Even though the former has been generally accepted, a precise location is far from attainable on the biblical evidence.

Outside the Bible, words similar to Caphtor occur in CUNEIFORM texts of the 2nd millennium B.C. A place named *Kaptara,* described as a land beyond the Upper (Mediterranean) Sea, was known to Sargon of Akkad. The texts from MARI mention *Kaptara,* and those from UGARIT have *Kptr*

(parallel to ḥ*kpt),* but no location is given. In Egyptian texts of the same period, mention is made of *Keftiu.* The fact that this name disappears from Egyptian texts about the same time that Linear B replaces Linear A on Crete suggests that *Keftiu* was the Egyptian word for CRETE. On this evidence several theories have been constructed. Most scholars believe that biblical Caphtor is used in the same sense as *Kaptara, Kptr, Keftiu,* referring to Crete (K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1966], 81–81). If the words do not refer to the same place (even though they may be related), Caphtor could be identified with the W part of CILICIA (G. A. Wainwright, "Caphtor-Cappadocia," *VT* 6 [1956]: 191–210). A more recent view is that Caphtor is CYPRUS (J. Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu: A New Investigation* [1980]).

D. K. HUTTAR

capital. The ornamental top of a PILLAR. This English term is used primarily to render Hebrew *kōteret H4196* (1 Ki. 7:11–20 et al.), but some versions use it to render other terms, such as *rōʾš H8031* (Exod. 36:38 et al.). Examples in the form of the so-called proto-Ionic capital have been found at MEGIDDO and were presumably used in AHAB'S palace at SAMARIA (W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine* [1960], 125 –27).

H. G. STIGERS

capital punishment. See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

Cappadocia kap'uh-doh'shee-uh (Καππαδοκία *G2838).* This name at one time covered the whole eastern mass of ASIA MINOR, from the line of the Halys River to the upper stream of the EUPHRATES, and from the Black Sea down to CILICIA. It later became the geographical custom to call the northern portion Cappadocian Pontus, or simply PONTUS, and the southern portion Greater Cappadocia. The heartland of the latter region is a rolling plateau, well-watered but mountainous, timbered, and with a harsh winter climate. The climate limited and determined productivity. Only hardy fruits and cereals grew, and the area was chiefly pastoral, the Persian kings taking their tribute in horses, sheep, and mules. There was some mining, but the whole area was remote in terms of ancient transport and communication, and consequently developed slowly.

A species of feudal rule under Iranian barons seems to have been the Persian system of control, but the area was sparsely populated, poor, and of no great strategic significance to a power centered on the Mesopotamian plain. For the same reason SELEUCID efforts at hellenization and urbanization made slow progress, Mazaca and Tyana being the only significant cities.

ROME, on the other hand, after her clash with the Seleucids and her penetration of Asia Minor in the 2nd cent. B.C., became increasingly aware that Cappadocia was a bulwark of her elusive NE frontier. Devastated by Tigranes of ARMENIA in the struggle between Rome and Mithridates of Pontus, Cappadocia received significant attention from POMPEY in his historic reorganization of the eastern Mediterranean in 64 B.C. He established the royal line, but a generation later it was replaced by Mark Antony, who had found the ruler unreliable at the time of the perilous PARTHIAN invasion. Cappadocia fell under full Roman control in A.D. 17 during the reign of TIBERIUS, and in A.D. 70 VESPASIAN united the area with part of Armenia to form a stronger bulwark against the Parthians, Rome's unsolved problem of that frontier. Apart

A view of Cappadocia's unique geography with cave-home villages.

from strategic significance, Cappadocia straddled the trade routes to Asia Minor, and for the remainder of the imperial period the region received notable attention.

Cappadocia is listed among the countries from which Jews had come to celebrate PENTECOST (Acts 2:9). A Christian church was early established there (1 Pet. 1:1), but by whom is not known. After NT times, Christianity flourished in the area, as is evident especially from the work of the so-called Cappadocian Fathers—Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa—who were among the most brilliant orthodox theologians of the 4th cent. (Cf. W. Gwatkin, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province* [1930]; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 7; R. Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* [2003].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

captain. A word with obvious military connotation, and so generally used in the various English Bible translations, though not to be understood in the modern military sense designating a particular rank in order of command. Over a dozen Hebrew words (with such literal meanings as "head," "chief," "ruler," etc.) are rendered "captain" in the KJV, though modern versions use a greater variety of renderings. Especially frequent is the word *śar H8569,* referring to the military commander of an army or of a division (e.g., Gen. 21:22; Num. 31:48; Jdg. 5:14 [NRSV, "marshal"]), to the keeper of a prison (Gen. 40:3), etc. In the NT it is used by modern versions to render Greek *stratēgos G5130* (e.g., Acts 4:1). See ARMY; CAPTAIN OF THE TEMPLE. With regard to the application of the term "captain" to Christ in the KJV (Heb. 2:10), see AUTHOR.

captain of the temple. Information in the OT about a captain of the TEMPLE is limited and is partly based on deduction. In Jer. 20:1 the priest PASHHUR is referred to as the temple's "chief officer" (*pāqîd nāgîd H7224 + H5592).* The text indicates that Pashhur had police powers to arrest prophets who got out of hand and to punish them. The same is true of ZEPHANIAH the priest, who was told to "put any madman who acts like a prophet into the stocks and neck-irons" (Jer. 29:26). In 2 Ki. 25:18 Zephaniah is called "the second priest" (NIV, "the priest next in rank"). Elsewhere a priest is designated simply as the "official" *(nāgîd)* of the temple, but there is no description of his duties (1

Chr. 9:11; 2 Chr. 31:13; Neh. 11:11).

The phrase "captain of the temple" occurs in the Greek NT as *stratēgos tou hierou* (Acts 4:1; 5:24, cf. v. 26). On two occasions this officer, with the priests and the SADDUCEES, heard the apostles preach and arrested them. Compare Lk. 22:4, 52 for a similar situation, except that the plural is used (NIV, "officers of the temple guard"). The Greek word *stratēgos G5130* is also used of "magistrates" elsewhere (Acts 16:21–22, 31–38). The MISHNAH refers to "the officer of the Temple Mount," said to be in charge of twenty-four watches, or guard posts, located at important spots about the temple courtyard *(m. Mid.* 1:1–2; cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* [1969], 161–63).

G. H. LIVINGSTON

captivity. See DIASPORA; EXILE.

Carabasion kair'uh-bay'shee-uhn (Καραβασιων). One of the descendants of Bani who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:34; this name is omitted in the parallel passage, Ezra 10:31–37).

caravan. A band of people, migrants or traders, traveling together for mutual protection through desert or hostile regions, usually with pack animals (Heb. *)ōrĕḥâ H785,* Gen. 37:25; Job 6:11–19; Isa. 21:13). W. F. Albright (in *BASOR* 163 [Oct. 1961]: 31–54) has argued convincingly for a period of intense donkey caravan activity between Egypt and SW Asia during the Middle Bronze I Age (2101–1800 B.C.). At this time dozens of seasonal settlements dotted the NEGEV and SINAI trade routes, especially along the inland Way of SHUR from BEERSHEBA through KADESH BARNEA to Ismailia and Suez. Wells and locally grown fodder provided for donkeys treading the flint-strewn paths. Camels could more easily traverse the sandy coastal route. The Ishmaelite-Midianite spice caravaneers toward the end of this period took JOSEPH to Egypt to sell him as a slave (Gen. 37:25, 28). Whether ABRAHAM himself, who lived for a while in the Negev (20:1), engaged in the caravan trade is debatable (see E. A. Speiser in *BASOR* 164 [Dec. 1961]: 21–28).

When haste was essential, such as in the cases of Abraham's servant (Gen. 24:10, 56, 61) and JACOB'S flight from LABAN (31:17), the speedy camels were chosen, which could take more direct routes across deserts. Caravans were organized for raiding purposes (Jdg. 6:1–5; 1 Sam. 30:1–20) as well as for trade and to carry a clan to a new home. SOLOMON fortified ARAD to protect the caravan route to the

Camel caravan in 1905 traveling through Galilee.

spice and incense lands of S ARABIA (1 Ki. 10:2, 15; cf. *IEJ* 12 [1962]: 144). PLINY the Elder noted that a camel caravan took sixty-five days from S Arabia to GAZA *(Nat. Hist.* 12.32). C. M. Doughty described a huge caravan in 1876 on the Muslim pilgrimage from DAMASCUS to Mecca, and another of 170 camels bearing 30 tons of liquid butter to Mecca *(Travels in Arabia Deserta,* abridged [1955], 1–46,291–329).

J. REA

caraway. An herb of the parsley family *(Carum carvi)* whose fruit is widely used for seasoning. The term is used by the NIV to render Hebrew *qeṣaḥ H7902* (Isa. 28:25, 27; NRSV, DILL). The plant in view, however, is probably the *Nigella sativa,* sometimes called the nutmeg flower (though it certainly is not a true nutmeg) or black cummin. This biblical *Nigella* is related to the annual grown in the garden, called "Love in the Mist." Its flowers are like the buttercup, and the fruit pods contain large quantities of tiny black seeds. In the Holy Land, the Arabs call it *kasah.* The use of these seeds in bread is said to make it more wholesome. The plant is still grown in Palestine, and the seeds are beaten out of the capsules with a flail. In Isa. 28:25 the idea seems to be that the seeds of the *Nigella* are broadcast liberally, while the seeds of the true CUMMIN had to be sprinkled lightly. (See also *FFB,* 111–15, 151–54.)

carbuncle. This term is used by the KJV and other versions to render the Hebrew word *bāreqet H1403,* which is better translated BERYL or EMERALD (Exod. 28:17; 39:20; Ezek. 28:13). The carbuncles of the ancients were probably mainly garnets (Isa. 54:12 NEB) and, to a lesser extent, rubies. The term is now applied to garnet cut in boss shape, usually hollowed out to allow the color of the stone to be seen. The deep-red transparent precious garnet is mainly almandite iron aluminum silicate but in parts is pyrope (magnesium aluminium silicate). Almandite is a common mineral in metamorphic rocks, such as mica schist and gneiss. Pyrope occurs in ultra-basic igneous rocks such as serpentinite.

D. R. BOWES

Carcas kahr'kuhs (כַּרְכַּס *H4139,* possibly from Avestan [Old Iranian] *kahrkāsa,* "vulture"). Also Carkas, Karkas. One of seven EUNUCHS who served King XERXES of Persia (Esth. 1:10). They were ordered by the king to bring Queen VASHTI before the princes of the empire, during a long banquet, to show off her beauty.

carcase. KJV spelling of CARCASS.

carcass. The dead body of either a person or an animal. This term is used more than fifty times in the KJV (with the spelling "carcase"). When used with reference to a human being, the term in modern English has a derogatory or disdainful connotation. For that reason it occurs less frequently in modern versions of the Bible, which prefer the terms "(dead) body" and "corpse" (but cf. NIV Deut. 28:26; Isa. 17:46; Jer. 7:33; 19:7; also NRSV Lev. 26:30; Ps. 89:10; Ezek. 32:5). The NIV uses "carcass" primarily to render Hebrew *nĕbēlâ H5577* in connection with unclean animals (Lev. 5:2; 11:1–40), but it is also found elsewhere as a rendering of other Hebrew terms (Gen. 15:11; Jdg. 14:1–9). In the NT it occurs once as a translation of Greek *ptōma G4773* (Matt. 24:28).

Carchamis kahr'kuh-mis. KJV Apoc. form of CARCHEMISH (1 Esd. 1:25).

Carchemish kahr'kuh-mish (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ *H4138;* Akk. and Hitt. *Kargamish).* An important city in NW MESOPOTAMIA, on the W bank of the EUPHRATES. The ruins of ancient Carchemish are to be found at the modern site of Jerablus (Arabic form of Hellenistic *Hierapolis),* excavated by the British in the years 1912 and following under the direction of C. L. Woolley. The ancient city guarded the main ford across the Euphrates River some 63 mi. NE of ALEPPO. In the 18th cent. B.C. it was an independent trade center. In the 16th-15th centuries B.C. it belonged to the HURRIAN kingdom of Mitanni.

During several decades following the reign of the HITTITE emperor Suppiluliuma I (c. 1350 B.C.), Carchemish was a fortress, ruled successively by the following kings whose names are known from Hittite and Ugaritic texts: Sharrikushukh (= Piyassili), Shakhurunuwa, Ini-Teshub and Talmi-Teshub. After the collapse of the Hittite empire under the onslaught of the SEA PEOPLES (C. 1190 B.C.), no such centralized political control existed in N SYRIA until the expansion of ASSYRIA intothat area in the 9th cent. B.C. Carchemish continued to be ruled by kings claiming to be Hittite and composing royal inscriptions in a late form of Hittite hieroglyphs. Their names are known both from their own hieroglyphic inscriptions and from the annals of the Neo-Assyrian kings: Ini-Teshub (c. 1110 B.C.), Luhas I, Asatuwatimais, Luhas II, Katuwas (c. 900 B.C.), Sangara (c. 871–825 B.C.), Asadarus (sequence of kings stretches down to c. 750 B.C.).

The last known independent king of Carchemish was Pisiris, who was captured by SARGON II of Assyria (c. 717 B.C.; cf. Isa. 10:9) and replaced by an Assyrian governor. In 609 B.C. NECO II of Egypt marched N through MEGIDDO and recaptured the city (2 Chr. 35:20), from which he harassed the Babylonians. But in May/June of 605 B.C. NEBUCHADNEZZAR II and his Babylonian army fell upon the city in a surprise attack and utterly defeated the Egyptians (Jer. 46:2), pursuing them to HAMATH. Thereafter the city declined rapidly. In Seleucid times a new city called Europus was founded on the site. (See D. G. Hogarth and C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish,* 3 vols. [1911–1952]; W. W. Hallo in *The Biblical World,* ed. C. F. Pfeiffer [1966],161–69.)

H. A. HOFFNER,JR.

care, careful. As used in the KJV, these terms may easily be misapplied, because they connote not only due regard, concern, and oversight, but also mental ANXIETY and tormenting solicitude. Originally the words signified that which distracted the heart from the true object of life (cf. Matt. 13:22; Lk. 21:34; 2 Cor. 11:28). Although they include the idea of worry or anxiety, that is not the sole or primary meaning, as may be seen in 1 Pet. 5:7 KJV, "casting all your care [*merimna G3533]* upon him, for he careth [*melei G3508*] for you." God's paternal interest will provide for our needs. Anxiety is the fruit of a misconception of God and a false sense of values. The English terms render a large variety of Hebrew and Greek nouns and verbs. Their meanings range from a burdened state of mind to responsible attention to duty.

R. S. NICHOLSON

Careah kuh-ree'uh. KJV form of KAREAH.

Carem kair'uhm (Καρεμ). One of several cities of Judah listed in a Greek interpolation (Josh. 15:59; cf. REB). It is usually identified with BETH HAKKEREM (Neh. 3:14; Jer. 6:1).

Caria kair'ee-uh (K Καρία). A region in SW ASIA MINOR, a fertile area of genial climate cut off by coastal hills from the AEGEAN seaboard. The Carians, to judge from scant and elusive references in ancient writers, were once a notable people who exercised considerable sea power in the 8th cent. B.C. and extended some form of imperial control over part of the Aegean area. How their naval supremacy fell is not known, but in the early days of recorded history the Carians were noted chiefly as good mercenary troops. The area was a separate satrapy under PERSIA, and appears to have been involved in the Ionian revolt against Persian rule. The hellenization of the region was swift in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., but it was one of those remote areas where control was difficult for the Syrian SELEUCIDS, and Caria frequently changed hands in the westward ebb and flow of power. In 129 B.C. it became part of the Roman province of ASIA. In 1 Macc. 15:23 it is mentioned as an area to which ROME sent communications at the time of her first support for the Jews. Important cities in the region of Caria included CNIDUS, HALICARNASSUS, and MILETUS.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Carite kair'z't (כְּרִי *H4133).* The Carites were a military group, apparently mercenaries, mentioned along with commanders and guards who were assigned to protect young King JOASH (2 Ki. 11:4, 19; KJV, "captains"). Their identity is uncertain. Some scholars argue that they were mercenaries from CARIA; others identify the Carites with the KERETHITES (cf. the *Qere* reading in 2 Sam. 20:23).

Carkas. See CARCAS.

Carmanian kahr-may'nee-uhn. KJV Apoc. form of CARMONIAN (2 Esd. 15:30).

Carme kahr'mee. KJV Apoc. form of HARIM (1 Esd. 5:25).

Carmel kahr'muhl (כַּרְמֶל *H4150,* "orchard, plantation"; gentilic כַּרְמְלִי *H4153,* "Carmelite"). A city of the MAON district within the tribal territory of JUDAH, identified with Khirbet el-Kirmil, located 7.5 mi. SE of HEBRON. It lies on the edge of the Judean desert, in a pastoral region of broad hills and wide valleys. Reference is first made to it in Josh. 15:55, where it is listed with other cities as a part of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah. Some emphasis is placed upon this location in the accounts of King SAUL (1 Sam. 15:12) and of DAVID, especially in the latter's dealings with NABAL and his wife ABIGAIL, whom the young warrior eventually married after Nabal's death (1 Sam. 25:1–40; 27:3; 30:5; 2 Sam. 2:2; 3:3). One of David's warriors, HEZRO, was a Carmelite (2 Sam. 23:35; 1 Chr. 11:37). See also CARMEL, MOUNT.

W. H. MARE

Carmel, Mount kahr'muhl (כַּרְמֶל *H4151,* "orchard, plantation"). The Carmel range, composed of hard, porous, Cenomanian limestone, including a promontory jutting in a NW direction into the Mediterranean Sea, extends inland to the SE for about 13 mi. It divides the Palestinian coastal plain into the Plain of Acco to the N and the Plains of SHARON and PHILISTIA to the S. Also the Carmel range on the N borders on the plain of ESDRAELON. At the NW promontory Carmel is 470 ft. high, but farther S it reaches a height of 1,742 ft. In prehistoric times Mount Carmel was not heavily populated, but there was a Stone Age culture developed on its lower western slopes, as is evidenced by the

caves at the Wadi (Valley) el-Mugharah, excavated by Dorothy Garrod of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and Theodore McCown of the American School of Prehistoric Research.

The first reference to Carmel in the OT occurs in Josh. 12:22, where the king of Carmel is listed along with other rulers of that area conquered by JOSHUA and the Israelites. In Josh. 19:26 it is set forth as one of the boundary points in delineating the portion of land given to the tribe of ASHER. Mount Carmel is well known as the place where the prophet ELIJAH, under the blessing of God, defeated the prophets of BAAL and restored the true worship of God to Israel (1 Ki. 18:11–42). ELISHA, following in the steps of his predecessor, Elijah, frequented Carmel (2 Ki. 2:25; 4:25).

Carmel is used in a poetic figure when the bride's head is compared to the verdant foliage of Carmel (Cant. 7:5), and by the Lord's command

Mount Carmel.


The Mount Carmel ridge (looking SW). The Egyptian pharaoh Pepi I referred to it as the antelope's nose.

the growth on the top of the mount is said to wither (Amos 1:2; Nah. 1:4; cf. also Isa. 33:9). Also the

prominence of the conqueror NEBUCHADNEZZAR, king of Babylon, over Egypt is likened to the conspicuousness of "Carmel by the sea" (Jer. 46:18). Carmel figures eschatologically in that future day of the Lord's deliverance when it, with the Plain of Sharon and all Palestine, shall become fertile again (Isa. 35:2), and Israel shall again profit from its pasture (Jer. 50:19). Israel is pictured as not being able to escape the judgment of God, even though they hide in the foliage on the top of Carmel (Amos 9:3).

W. H. MARE

Carmi kahr'mi (כַּרְמִי *H4145,* "vineyard"; gentilic כַּרְמִי *H4146,* "Carmite"). TNIV Karmi. (1) Fourth son of REUBEN (Gen. 46:9; Exod. 6:14; 1 Chr. 5:3). From him sprang the Carmites (Num. 26:6).

(2) Son of ZIMRI (or ZABDI), descendant of JUDAH, and father of ACHAN (Josh. 7:1, 18; 1 Chr. 2:7; in 4:1 he is described as a son of Judah in the sense of a descendant). Achan defiled all Israel by stealing from God what was devoted in JERICHO.

J. B. SCOTT

Carmonians kahr-moh'nee-uhnz (Lat. *Carmonii,* from Gk. ?ερμάνι?ι). KJV Carmanians. A people group mentioned in an apocalyptic vision (2 Esd. 15:30). Their home was Carmania, modern Kerman, a fertile province of ancient PERSIA situated on the N shore of the Persian Gulf. It is a mountainous region, separated by a desert from Persis (SW part of Iran, or Persia) in the W. In addition to the Kerman province there was also a Kerman city, both named after the Kermani (or Germani) tribe. In a list of Persian tribes, HERODOTUS *(Hist.* 1.125) mentions the Germanii (i.e., the Carmanians). Carmania, with the regions inhabited by the Sagartians, the Utians (also Yautiya or Yuti), and other tribes, formed a satrapy and paid tribute to DARIUS (ibid., 3.93). The Carmanians and the Utians are also mentioned by Darius as inhabiting a district in Persia (BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION 3.40; cited in *EBr* 17 [1964]: 549). At a later period ANTIOCHUS I Soter attempted to introduce HELLENISM into Persia, and among Greek towns founded there was Alexandria in Carmania (Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 6.107; Ptolemy, *Hist.* 6.8.14). Still later, the Satrap Numenius of Mesene (S Babylonia) defeated the Persians on the shore of Carmania on sea and land (Pliny 6.152). (See A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* [1948]; R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* [1963]; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990]; P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* [2002].)

K. L. BARKER

Carnaim kahr-nay'im. See KARNAIM.

carnal. Traditional rendering of Greek *sarkikos G4920* and *sarkinos G4921.* It means "fleshly", that is, in the manner of the FLESH(*sarx G4922),* belonging to the realm of the flesh, and thus opposite of that which is spiritual. The word is used frequently in the KJV and has two main references. (1) *Physical:* that which is earthly, material, secular, in contrast to SPIRIT; something necessary to the physical (Rom. 15:27; 1 Cor. 9:11); subject to human sensibility (2 Cor. 3:3); weak (10:4); temporary (Heb. 7:16); also those appetites, desires, and urges that may be expressed in harmony with divine law and be satisfied without violation of God's law. (2) *Ethical (moral):* pertaining to or characterized by the flesh, hence weak and sinful (2 Cor. 1:12; Rom. 7:14); a disposition that is definitely antispiritual in its manifestation; the dynamic principle of sinfulness, that "element in man's nature…which makes for evil" (E. D. W. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the*

Epistle to the Galatians, ICC [1921], 493), thus alienating us from God (Rom. 8:1–8); also spiritual immaturity, not being delivered from that which is inherently evil (1 Cor. 3:1–4). Because in modern English the word *carnal* usually has a specific sexual meaning, the NIV uses various alternate renderings, such as "material," "human," "unspiritual," "worldly," and "sinful." (The distinction between the two Greek adjectives is not substantial and does not affect the translation.)

R. S. NICHOLSON

carnelian. Also *cornelian.* A translucent reddish or yellowish-red variety of fine-grained silica (silicon dioxide). It is a subvariety of CHALCEDONY in which the coloring matter is probably iron. The term is used to render Hebrew *)ōden H138* (Exod. 28:13 NRSV; the NIV has RUBY) and Greek *sardion G4917* (Rev. 4:3 [KJV, "sardine"]; 21:20 [KJV, "sardius"]). It is also possibly a correct translation of Hebrew *šōham H8732* (e.g., Exod. 39:13 NEB; rendered ONYX by other versions). Carnelian was one of the most treasured stones of the Romans and the Greeks, and was used especially for intaglios and signets. Several derivations have been assigned to the word: *carneus* (Lat. "flesh-colored"), *cornu* (Lat. "horn," due to the shape of some specimens), and *cornaline* (French, a shrub having a red berry). It is formed by deposition from hydrothermal waters of igneous origin or from ground water, with India one of the localities.

D. R. BOWES

Carnion kahr'nee-uhn. KJV Apoc. form of KARNAIM (2 Macc. 12:21, 26).

carob. See POD.

carpenter. This English term renders Hebrew *ḥārāš H3093* ("artificer, craftsman"), either by itself (e.g., 2 Ki. 22:6) or with the word for "wood," *(ēṣ H6770* (e.g., 2 Sam. 5:11). The work of the various artificers in Israel is vividly pictured in Isaiah's denunciation of IDOLATRY (Isa. 41:7; 44:1–20). All makers of idols shall be put to shame (44:1–11). The smith who makes the carpenter's ax is only a man who gets hungry and faints from thirst (v. 12). The carpenter in turn expends all his skill on a log, part of which becomes an idol he worships. Part of the log he burns to cook food and warm himself. Isaiah observed closely the technique of the carpenter: stretching out his line, marking with a pencil, shaping with planes, marking precisely and skillfully with compasses (vv. 11–17).

At the Babylonian captivity the deportation of portions of the population included skilled craftsmen (Jer. 24:1; 29:2); this action served the double purpose of weakening the defeated nation and giving desirable resources to the conquerors. zechariah's reference to four "carpenters" (Zech. 1:20 KJV; NIV, "craftsmen") and characterization of them as horns (of power) seems to suggest the lesson that

Chisel, handsaw, and pull saw from Thebes (Luxor), dating to the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

God's power is at work unseen in the affairs of the nations.

"Carpenter" appears in the NT as the translation of Greek *tektōn G5454,* a term that can be applied to various building professions. Jesus is called "the carpenter's son" (Matt. 13:55) as well as "the carpenter" (Mk. 6:3), so he must have been both. It is supposed that after the death of JOSEPH, Jesus carried on the business and was known as the carpenter of Nazareth. In the 2nd cent., JUSTIN MARTYR described Jesus "working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes; by which he taught the symbols of righteousness and an active life" *(Dialogue with Trypho* 88.7). In a recent article, however, K. M. Campbell argues persuasively that Jesus was not simply an agrarian woodworker, but rather a builder whose work would have included masonry and other activities; as such, he would have had considerable knowledge of the construction business *(JETS* 48 [2005]: 501–19). In any case, Jesus' labor as carpenter or builder accentuates the wonder of his INCARNATION. He became fully man. His example makes all productive labor honorable, and in his case it no doubt contributed to the support of the family. His familiar role in the community was an added occasion of offense to those who heard him teaching in the synagogue.

W. B. WALLIS

carpet. This English term is used by some Bible versions to render Hebrew *genez H1710* in a passage referring to wares that traders sold to TYRE (Ezek. 27:24; NIV, "rugs"). Since this item is said to be colored, it is usually thought to be carpet or tapestry. But since it is "bound with cords and made secure" (NRSV), some believe that chests covered with rich brocade are meant (so KJV, following LXX *thēsauros G2565;* cf. Esth. 3:9; 4:7). Another Hebrew term, *middîn* (from *mad H4496),* is used once with reference to something on which people sit, apparently as they travel (Jdg. 5:10); the NRSV renders the term "rich carpets," but the NIV's "saddle blankets" is preferable (cf. NJPS, "saddle rugs"). One should keep in mind that tent dwellers used only straw mats or a piece of leather on the floor. Assyrian and Persian palaces and wealthy villas in Hellenistic and Roman times had mosaic patterns in paved floors (cf. Esth. 1:6).

J. REA

Carpus kahr'puhs (Κάρπος, *G2842;* cf. καρπός *G2843,* "fruit"). Carpus was a resident of TROAS, probably a Christian, with whom PAUL had left his cloak and perhaps also some important books (2 Tim. 4:13). Some think that this comment alludes to Paul's visit recorded in Acts 20:1–12, and that he left a few of his belongings (at the home of his host Carpus) when he decided to walk across the peninsula from Troas to Assos and board his ship there (v. 13). This suggestion, however, would seem to require an unlikely early date for the writing of 2 Timothy (see PASTORAL EPISTLES). Paul requested Timothy to bring his cloak to Rome, presumably because he had been placed in a Roman dungeon. Carpus is not mentioned elsewhere in Scripture, but according to Hippolytus (died c. A.D. 236) he later became the bishop of Berytus or Beroea in Thrace.

H. WATERMAN

carriage. This term, in its older sense of "goods, baggage," is used several times by the KJV (e.g., 1 Sam. 17:22). The NIV uses the term to render two different Hebrew words referring to Solomon's litter (Cant. 3:7, 9).

W. H. MARE

Carshena kahr-shee'nuh (כַּרְשְׁנָא *H4161,* possibly from Avestan [Old Iranian] *Karša,* "furrows"). TNIV Karshena. One of the seven nobles of PERSIA and MEDIA in the time of XERXES "who had special access to the king and were highest in the kingdom" (Esth. 1:14). (On this and other Persian names, cf. A. R. Millard in *JBL* 96 [1977]: 481–88.)

cart. This English term occurs usually as the rendering of Hebrew *ʿăgālâ H6322* (from the root *ʿgl,* "roll"). The earliest cart appeared in Babylonia in the Early Dynastic period as a sledge designed for carrying light loads. Egypt and other flat countries soon adopted the idea. Once the wheel was invented, carts became common in Babylonia, in Egypt (Gen. 45:11–21; 46:5), and in the low-lying areas of Palestine (SHEPHELAH). In the days of the judges they were used on main roads in the hill country (1 Sam. 6:1–12). Normally they were drawn by two oxen or cows (Num. 7:1–8; 1 Sam. 6:10; 2 Sam. 6:3). Both persons and things were carried (Gen. 45:19, 21, 27; 46:5). Frequently they were used for transporting the harvest (Amos 2:13). They could carry one or two drivers (1 Chr. 13:7). Since they were made of wood (1 Sam. 6:7), they could be dismantled and burned (1 Sam. 6:14; Ps. 46:9). At times they were covered (Num. 7:3). The wheels, either solid or spoked, sometimes carried a metal tread (Isa. 28:21–28). Good representations of carts come from Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs (e.g., the Assyrian sculptures referring to the fall of Lachish in 701 B.C.). Another Hebrew term, *galgal H1649* ("wheel"), is used twice with reference to the transport wagons of an army (Ezek. 23:24; 26:10).

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

cartography, biblical. Cartography is the process of making maps. The highest and most prominent place in the history of cartography is accorded the "Holy Land" (and its adjacent territories), owing to its preeminent historical importance in three world religions.

Maps have so ancient a history that it is not possible to trace their first beginnings. No one knows when, or where, or for what purpose(s) someone first got the idea to draw a map or to communicate a sense of space. Current evidence strongly suggests that cartography is the oldest of the graphic arts, and that it may have provided the logical predication upon which were founded the oldest sciences, especially astronomy and menology.

Some ancient maps were scratched onto CLAY tablets, inscribed in stone, bronze or marble, carved into rock face, placed on silk or wood-blocks, or composed of mosaic stones; at other times they were painted on PAPYRUS scrolls or emblazoned on limestone walls of tombs or inside coffins. Sometimes these maps reflect those practical social concerns of education, history, economics, art, warfare, or travel, whereas others represent cosmological speculation or nationalistic propaganda. Some maps are drawn to consistent scale from actual measurements taken, while others are extremely vague and sometimes distorted generalizations; map specimens may be oriented to N or S or E or W, while in still other cases they are composed seemingly without reference to a cardinal compass point, or one and the same map may show reference to more than one compass point.

Much evidence from ancient times unquestionably presupposes a knowledge of both geography and map-making. Ancient schools of Sumerian scribes (see SUMER) prepared long lists of words arranged according to categories, including regions, cities, rivers, and mountains. It seems clear that they derived this knowledge as the result of commerce and imperialism: itinerary texts and the discovery of certain "foreign" commodities in archaeological contexts demonstrate that commercial ventures as early as the 2nd millennium B.C. had succeeded in linking W Europe and the Atlantic with points as far east as India; moreover, we possess numerous texts of military campaigns from

various periods conducted across the FERTILE CRESCENT and beyond. Cartographic awareness is also reflected in the flowering of Mesopotamian arts, which included the development of units for measuring distance and time, but also included an extensive knowledge of square and cube roots, reciprocal numbers, solutions for quadratic equations, and the means of calculating area (e.g., the area of a rectangle, a circle, or even an irregular design).

The oldest map known today is referred to as the "Nuzi map," which can be reliably dated to c. 2300 B.C. (see Nuzi). In addition to portraying the area of a town or large estate, bounded by hills and bisected by watercourses, this map also possesses the oldest known example of orientation, as the cardinal compass points are explicitly listed along the edges of the map. The site of NIPPUR, famed cultural and religious Mesopotamian center, has yielded a city map dating to c. 1500 B.C. This map depicts the city itself, surrounded by walls and marked gates, and it also pictures various interior structures, including two temples. So accurate is this map in scale that it was employed by the archaeologists who unearthed it to assist in locating and identifying parts of the city to which the map relates. Thus, with the specified orientation of the Nuzi map, combined with the precision of scale demonstrated in the Nippur map, ancient cartographers are unmistakably understood to have practiced two essential principles of map-making.

A "Babylonian Map of the World" was found among the ruins of Sippar and is dated to the 7th-6th centuries B.C. (though a note attached to the end of this text indicates that it was copied from an earlier version). Oriented essentially to N, this map pictures the world as a disc encircled by a river of water. Outside the river various regions or even distant islands thought to be occupied by ancient legendary figures are represented. Inside this water the map depicts the EUPHRATES River flowing through the middle, with a small rectangle at dead center showing the city of BABYLON. This map is thought to be a piece of propaganda, demonstrating the centrality of Babylon in the world.

The world is also depicted in ancient Egyptian map specimens, many of which are preoccupied with providing assistance to a deceased person on his journey to the afterlife. The earliest examples of this map type, copied on the floor of a series of coffins dated to around 2000 B.C., show a rectangular area with two roads depicted by broad, sinuous bands of color: the upper one in blue represents passage by water, and the lower one in black depicts the overland route. A rather common illustration of the same theme is painted on walls of tombs or inscribed on papyrus from around 1400 B.C. The so-called "Turin Papyrus Gold Map," dating to approximately 1150, appears to show roads leading to Egyptian gold mines located in the vicinity of Wadi Hammamat, near to the Red Sea.

The Mediterranean world has yielded a map dating to approximately 1500 B.C. Found among the archaeological remains on the Greek island of Santorini, this fresco map features a naval fleet, apparently returning triumphantly to its home port. The map also depicts a shoreline with a coastal village, surrounding mountains, and an assortment of plants and animals. Beyond this one specimen, however, the next maps known from the Mediterranean do not appear for more than 1,000 years, when Roman "coin maps" depict the harbor of Messina (Sicily) or the biblical site of EPHESUS.

Owing to great technological and scientific advances in mathematics, astronomy and philosophical speculation during the classical and Hellenistic periods, a number of theoretical principles essential to a more refined and exact geographic map-making were introduced. Aristotle rationalized arguments for the earths sphericity; Eratosthenes (the chief librarian at Alexandria) calculated the circumference of the earth with amazing accuracy; Ptolemy devised a projection grid system for accurately drawing the spherical earth on a flat writing surface, and he also developed astronomical principles that were to hold undisputed sway until the time of Sir Isaac Newton; Herodotus greatly advanced map-making content as the result of his considerable travels; and Strabo

composed a map of Asia, Europe, and Africa—the three continents known at that time. The vast conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (a student of Aristotle) were motivated in part by his deliberate aim of expanding geographic knowledge. Towards that end, Alexander took with him surveyors entrusted with keeping daily ledgers of the expedition, recording distances between stops, and describing features of soil and landscape along the way. It is clear that this expedition became a primary source of new cartographic data.

By the first century B.C., the system of Roman roads was quite extensive. Julius CAESAR is said to have ordered that the known world be surveyed, measured and mapped; written sources indicate that the project was concluded in the reign of AUGUSTUS. Written itineraries of early pilgrims add to the geographical bank: the Antonine Itinerary, for example, gives roads with intermediate stations and distances as far as the Roman frontiers, listing over 2,500 towns. But perhaps this map genre is best represented by the PEUTINGER TABLE, the sole surviving example of an itinerary map from the Roman period (the MS itself comes from c. 1200, but the design may date to the 2nd cent. A.D. or even earlier). Primarily drawn as a road map—whether for military or commercial purposes remains unclear—the Peutinger depicts some 65,000 miles of Roman roads, drawn in straight lines with no attempt to show their true course or scale, and for the most part showing distances between marked places in Roman miles. (See further O. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* [1985].)

A genre of early Christian map-making is that of a multi-colored mosaic set into the floor of a church. One such example has been found among the ruins of a Greek Orthodox church that was being restored about 100 years ago in the small Jordanian town of Madeba (about 20 mi. SW of Amman; see MEDEBA). The Madeba map dates from the early 6th century, and it remains the earliest original depiction of the Holy Land. The map in its original form is said to have been comprised of some 2 million mosaic pieces, stretching almost 40 feet from N to S, having an E orientation, and featuring the JORDAN River and a very detailed JERUSALEM near its center. Similar mosaic maps from the same period have recently been found in the Jordanian town of Umm er-Rasas (thought by some, on the basis of this map, to be the location of biblical MEPHAATH) and the Israeli site of Yattir, located some 14 mi. E of BEERSHEBA. An adaptation of this genre is represented in a mosaic map of Jerusalem, located on a wall of the 5th-century church of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome. (See further B. Beitzel, "Exegesis, Dogmatics and Cartography: A Strange Alchemy in Earlier Church Traditions," *Archaeology in the Biblical World* 2/2 [1994]: 1–21.)

With the disintegration of the Roman empire, and the subsequent rise of Islam, cartographic knowledge in the W was effectively lost for no less than a millennium—not until the time of Napoleon were surveys of the Holy Land resumed. One measure of the disastrous effects of this scientific loss is that when Christopher Columbus attempted to sail W to India, he—and his brother Bartholomew, who was a professional geographer—found it necessary to employ maps that were based on Ptolemy's cartographic theories, formulated more than 1,000 years before the great explorer set sail. On the other hand, cartographic development in that period shifted to the great Arabic centers of learning: Baghdad, Damascus, and Cordoba. Interest in map-making also clearly shifted to the E: Ptolemy was translated into Arabic, appending to it new information having to do with the Koranic injunction to undertake pilgrimage to Mecca. Not surprisingly, therefore, a stream of Arabic maps was produced, all oriented to S and thus featuring Mecca, most notable and dramatic among which are the specimens of al-Mas)udi (A.D. 925), al-Istakhri (952) and especially al-Idrisi (1154).

The Crusaders' desire to wrest Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the "infidels" would actually become part of the wider and eventual rediscovery of classical sciences, including cartography. More than a dozen Crusader maps of Jerusalem are known today, providing reasonably reliable information

on the location of the city's main streets at the time, as well as a few royal residences that may have been occupied by a Crusader king. This period also produced the so-called "T-O" maps of the world, a circular disc surrounded by water (the "O" element), within which were contained the three known continents, separated by two strokes (the "T" element). The vertical stroke represents the Mediterranean Sea separating Europe and Africa; the horizontal stroke represents the Don River, the Black Sea, and the Nile River separating Asia from both Europe and Africa. T-O maps portray the city of Jerusalem at dead center. Normally oriented to E, with the "T" upright and with Asia therefore at the top, this map genre accorded with church teaching in which the world was divided into three continents, occupied respectively by the three sons of NOAH. Though hundreds of T-O maps are known, three rather elaborate and ornate specimens deserve special mention in this regard: the Ebstorf map (1235), the Psalter map (1250), and the Hereford map (1275). Lacking both scale and grid, and also depicting various biblical events and characters, these "Christian" maps are more ecclesiastic than cartographic, more symbolic than realistic, more art than science.

Even as Ptolemy and scientific cartography were gradually being rediscovered in 14th and 15th-century Europe, many Christian maps of the Holy Land persist in such distortions wrought by imagination. Now the world may be pictured in the shape of a heart, a mandorla, a double-headed eagle, a fleur-de-lis, a square, or an almond supposedly in the shape of Noah's ark, and these maps of the whole world dedicate a disproportionately large amount of space (up to 20%) just to a depiction of the Holy Land. In one case, the world is presented in the shape of a three-leaf clover, with Jerusalem superimposed at dead center where the three continents intersect. One clear exception to this cartographic tendency is the map produced by Christian von Adrichom, the most important and detailed map of the city of Jerusalem prior to the advent of the modern archaeological discoveries of the 19th century.

The modern period of cartography begins with the celebrated and enduring work of Mercator, who produced the projection system named after him, which for the first time allowed a compass course to be charted on a straight line making the same angle with all the meridians. Modern map-making advances of the Holy Land were also spawned as the result of geographic data amassed by scholar-explorers such as Seetzen, Burckhardt, Robinson, Lynch, Conder, Abel, Musil, and Glueck, augmented by the competent cartographic endeavors of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Since 1948, Israeli cartography has taken great strides forward, due in no small measure to the unstinting labors of Aharoni and Mazar and the exquisite map-work of the Survey of Israel *(Atlas of Israel: Cartography, Physical and Human Geography,* 3rd ed. [1985]). A final ingredient in the initiatives of this period has been the breakthrough in photography and space exploration, providing for the first time in history the possibility of seeing the entire landscape of the Holy Land in a single view.

(Recent and helpful atlases of the Bible include B. J. Beitzel, *Moody Atlas of Bible Lands* [1985]; C. G. Rasmussen, *Zondervan NIV Atlas of the Bible* [1989]; S. Mittmann and G. Schmitt, *Tübinger Bibelatlas* [2001]; Y. Aharoni et al., *The Carta Bible Atlas,* 4th ed. [2002; formerly *The Macmillan Bible Atlas];* A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* [2006]; note also R. J. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* [2000]. On cartography, see R. North, *A History of Biblical Map Making* [1979]; P. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps* [1980]; E. Laor, *Maps of the Holy Land* [1986]; K. Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Land* [1986]; J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography* [1987]; R. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World* [1987]; E. and G. Wajntraub, *Hebrew Maps of the Holy Land* [1992]; P. Whitfield, *The Image of the World* [1994]; J. Black, *Visions of the World: A History of Maps* [2003].)

carving. An artistic working in wood, stone, ivory, clay, bronze, gold, silver, or glass. The process involves shaping the solid material by whittling, cutting, chipping (as stone), or incising. A vivid picture of the production of graven images is presented in Isa. 40:11–20; 41:7; 44:1–17. Engraving first appears in the Bible in the signet of Judah (Gen. 38:18).

Carving was first noticed in Israel in the provision of certain furniture of the TABERNACLE, particularly the gold and silver jewels (Exod. 31:1–5; 35:31–33). This ability was described as a gift to BEZALEL from God (31:2—35:35), along with the capacity to teach it to others. The Israelites were familiar with the exquisite bas-reliefs from Egypt but never had been taught the craft. When it came time to build and decorate the temple, SOLOMON had to import artisans from TYRE (1 Ki. 5:1–18). By the time of Isaiah the Israelites had learned both the casting and the engraving processes, and when these were not enough, they even employed plating (Isa. 40:11–20). Guilds of goldsmiths existed in Nehemiah's day (Neh. 3:8). The development of the art of engraving and sculpture was otherwise inhibited by the second commandment and developed only as greater contact was had with outside cultures. (Cf. S. Lloyd, *Art of the Ancient Near East* [1961].)

Primary usage in Israel of this plastic art was for the production of idols (Lev. 26:1; Num. 33:52; Deut. 4:28; Jer. 2:27; 10:1–9; 16:13; and cf. Ezek. 23:14). The main inspiration came from CANAAN, as witnessed by the similarity of cultic forms from both Canaanite and Israelite cities, both cast and carved. A related use of carving arose in the use of carved ornamentation of the furniture and houses of the wealthy (cf. 1 Ki. 22:39; Amos 6:4). The use of ivory carvings as a mark of ostentation was condemned by Amos as sinful (3:15). Discoveries at MEGIDDO from the Solomonic and post-Solomonic eras show to what degree of excellence this craft rose.

The other primary example of the use of carving relates to the Solomonic TEMPLE, where the wood paneling of the walls, the stone work, and the doors were decorated with carvings of cherubim, palm trees, and lily-like patterns (1 Ki. 6:11–35). Considerable engraving work was also done on the laver stands (1 Ki. 7:31, 36). See also ART; GRAVEN IMAGE; IDOLATRY.

H. A. STIGERS

casement. See LATTICE.

Casiphia kuh-sif'ee-uh (כַּסִּפְיָא *H4085,* possibly "silversmiths"). TNIV Kasiphia. An unidentified town from which EZRA summoned Levites to return from Babylon and serve the newly restored Jewish community in Jerusalem (Ezra 8:17). The SEPTUAGINT understood the term as the common noun for "silver" (*kesep H4084,* cf. also the parallel passage in 1 Esd. 8:45). The name has been a rich source of Jewish traditions, and other passages of the OT were related to it by the rabbis. The German archaeologist H. Winckler (in *Alt-orientalische Forschungen,* 3 vols. [1893–1905], 2/3:501–30) attempted to identify the site with ancient Ctesiphon (some 20 mi. SE of Baghdad), but without success. (Cf. W. Rudolph, *Ezra und Nehemiah* [1949], 83ff.)

W. WHITE, JR.

Casleu kas'l*oo*. KJV Apoc. form of KISLEV (1 Macc. 1:54 et al.).

Casluhim, Casluhites kas'luh-him, kas'luh-h*i*ts (כַּסְלֻחִים *H4078*). TNIV Kasluhites. The name of an

unidentified tribe sprung from MIZRAIM (EGYPT) and identified as the progenitor of the PHILISTINES (Gen. 10:14; 1 Chr. 1:12). Many scholars emend the text so as to link the Philistines with the CAPHTORITES rather than with the Casluhites (cf. NRSV; see the discussion by K. A. Kitchen in *Peoples of Old Testament Times,* ed. D. J. Wiseman [1973], 51–78). An identification of this tribe with the Nasamonians of HERODOTUS(*Hist.* 2.32 et al.) has not been widely supported.

W. WHITE, JR.

Casphor kas'for. KJV Apoc. form of CHASPHO (1 Macc. 5:26, 36). See CASPIN.

Caspin kas'pin (Κασπιν). KJV Caspis. This town in GILEAD is described as "strongly fortified" and "inhabited by all sorts of Gentiles" who "behaved most insolently toward Judas [MACCABEE] and his men"; the Jews, however, "took the town by the will of God, and slaughtered untold numbers, so that the adjoining lake…appeared to be running over with blood" (2 Macc. 12:13). Caspin is evidently the same as CHASPHO, which is mentioned twice, but without details, in a parallel account (1 Macc. 5:26, 36; KJV, "Casphor"). The location of the site is uncertain, though it is often identified with modern Khisfin, about 6 mi. N of the YARMUK and 10 mi. E of the Sea of Galilee; another suggestion is el-Muzeirib, situated on one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk. (On the Caspin/Chas-pho variation, cf. J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1976], 301; on the narrative differences between the two accounts, cf. id., *II Maccabees,* AB 41A [1983], 431–38.)

cassia kash'u. This aromatic herb is mentioned only three times (*qiddâ H7703* in Exod. 30:24; Ezek. 27:19; *qĕṣîâ H7904* in Ps. 45:8). The *Cinnamomum cassia* came over the Indian Ocean to S Arabia, and so up by caravan to Palestine. There is some argument as to whether this cassia is the same as the CINNAMON mentioned in Cant. 4:14 and Rev. 18:13. There is much to be said, however, for identifying *qĕṣîʿâ* as the orrisroot (cf. Moffatt's translation of Ps. 45:8), probably coming from India and known by the Latin name *Saussurea lappa.* It grows like a thistle about 5 ft. tall, is a well-rooted perennial, and produces a well-known incense used even today in the temples of India. (See *FFB,* 101–5.) The fragrant, powdered roots that produce the perfume are found in great numbers in the mountains of Kashmir, and they woud have been imported in the same way as the cinnamon cassia. See also SPICE.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

castanets. This English term is used by the NRSV to render Hebrew *mĕnaʿanʿîm H4983,* which occurs only once (2 Sam. 6:5; NIV, "sistrum"). See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.A.

castaway. A word used once by the KJV to render Greek *adokimos G99,* "disapproved" (1 Cor. 9:27; NIV, "disqualified for the prize"). The Greek word elsewhere is translated in several ways (e.g., "depraved, rejected, unfit") by the English versions (Rom. 1:28; 2 Cor. 13:1–7; 2 Tim. 3:8; Tit. 1:16; Heb. 6:8).

castle. This word is used fifteen times by the KJV to translate various Hebrew and Greek terms that are better rendered "camp" (e.g., Gen. 25:16), "settlement" (e.g., 1 Chr. 6:54), "fortress" (e.g., 1 Chr. 11:5), "citadel" (e.g., Prov. 18:19), "barracks" (e.g., Acts 21:34), etc. The climactic parallelism of Prov. 18:19 is suggestive of the strong inner fortress of a city: "An offended brother is more

unyielding than a fortified city, / and disputes are like the barred gates of a citadel" (*armôn H810).* The citadel was the highest area within the fortifications. A strongly built structure, manned by picked troops, would be even more difficult to take than the outer city. The term *migdāl H4463* (1 Chr. 27:25; 2 Chr. 27:4) properly means "tower." The reference is to guardhouses, units in a chain of fortresses in sparsely settled areas, for security and watch-points. In the NT, the Greek *word parembolē* ***G4213*** (Acts 21:34, 37; 22:24; 23:10, 16, 32) is used with reference to the Roman fort of ANTONIA in Jerusalem. See also GABBATHA.

W. B. WALLIS

Castor and Pollux kas'tuhr, pol'ukhs. See DIOSCURI.

cat. The only reference to cats in the Bible is in the APOCRYPHA (Ep. Jer. 22). The Israelites must have known about them in EGYPT. It is certain that by the eighteenth dynasty (from 1570 B.C., i.e., before the exodus) they were popular and widely kept. An ivory statuette of a cat (c. 1700 B.C.) has been found at LACHISH, suggesting that cats (though perhaps only the statuette) had been imported from Egypt. It seems, however, that cats were not generally dispersed until later. The earliest Greek record dates before 1100 B.C. It is generally agreed that cats were deliberately domesticated for catching rodents in a land where large-scale grain storage was necessary. Cats also were regarded as sacred and their mummies preserved by tens of thousands. The cat goddess Bast was the patroness of the eastern half of the NILE delta, where the Israelites lived in the land of GOSHEN, and perhaps the cat was taboo in Israel because of this association. The center of the cult was at Bubastis, referred to as PI BESETH and the subject of grim warnings (Ezek. 30:17).

G. S. CANSDALE

The Egyptian cat-goddess Bast depicted on a sarcophagus.

Egyptian relief in the catacombs of Alexandria, Egypt, depicting a winged figure and the bull-god Apis.

catacombs. Subterranean burial places. The term originally designated a locality near the church of St. Sebastian on the APPIAN WAY, 3 mi. S of ROME. The name (of uncertain etymology) possibly referred to a natural hollow in the terrain or to an inn sign. It was used in the 4th and 5th centuries for the cemetery associated with the church *(ad catacumbas* or *catacumbae)*.

The principal Christian catacombs are at Rome, though others exist at Albano, Alexandria, Naples, Malta, and Syracuse. They are all dug in soft rock. Those in Rome extend for more than 350 mi. and so surround the city that they act as a cushion against earthquakes. Famous ones include St. Sebastian, St. Priscilla, St. Paul, St. Callixtus, St. Praetextus, and St. Pontianus. They consist of a series of underground galleries and tomb chambers. The walls were lined with tiers of coffin-like recesses holding from one to four bodies each. (See. P. Styger, *Die römische Katakomben: Archäologische Forschungen überden Ursprung und die Bedeutung der altchristlichen Grabstätten* [1933].)

Estimates of the number of burials at Rome range from 1,750,000 to 4,000,000 within ten generations. This would mean that the Christian population of the city was between 175,000 and 400,000 in each generation. Within a century after the official recognition of Christianity in the empire, the catacombs ceased to be used and became places of pilgrimage.

Four Jewish catacombs have also been identified at Rome. Although a great many Jews were brought to the city as slaves during the late republic and early empire, there is not a single indication of slave status among the burials. This confirms the statement of PHILO JUDAEUS that numerous Jews came to Rome as slaves, but were soon set free (*Legatio* 23.155). Moreover, many of them took lofty Roman names for themselves and, except for the fact that they are buried in the Jewish catacombs, would not have been recognized as Jews. (Cf. H. J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* [1960].)

A. RUPPRECHT

catechist, catechumen. Respectively, a person giving and a person receiving elementary Christian instruction, especially prior to baptism. Neither word occurs in the NT. The verb from which both are derived, *katēcheō G2994,* is used several times: Acts 18:25, where APOLLOS'S Christian instruction is described as accurate but rudimentary; Acts 21:21, where it clearly means simply "inform"; Rom. 2:18, where it refers to instruction in the Jewish law; 1 Cor. 14:19 and Gal. 6:6, where it refers to more or less formal teaching given in or in relation to the church. In another passage, Lk. 1:4, the meaning depends on whether THEOPHILUS is an interested outsider who has been "informed" about the outlines of Christian preaching, or a convert who has been "instructed" in them.

In the earliest period, BAPTISM apparently followed close on profession of faith (e.g., Acts 2:31–41; 8:13, 38; 9:18; 10:47; 16:15). Most baptisms so recorded are of Jews, proselytes, or "God-fearers" who had already been instructed in monotheistic worship and the perils of idolatry and immorality; but this is hardly likely of the Philippian jailer (Acts 16:33). As, however, the proportion of doctrinally and ethically instructed inquirers declined, it would not be surprising if Christians adapted the Jewish custom of prebaptismal instruction of converts.

The 2nd-cent. sermon called *2 Clement* talks of receiving commandments "to tear men from idols and instruct [*katēchein*] them" (17.1), and from that point onward there are many references to a "catechumenate" of inquirers preparatory to baptism. Hippolytus's *Apostolic Tradition* (ostensibly Roman, c. A.D. 215) seems to require three years' preparation, but both the text and its representative character are in doubt. That rudimentary instruction was given in the early Christian community is plain enough (cf. 1 Cor. 3:2; Heb. 5:12—6:2). It is likely that the interrelations of certain passages (e.g., Rom. 5:3; Jas. 1:2; 1 Pet. 1:6—too close to be entirely independent, too complex to reflect direct borrowing) are due to common forms widely used by early catechists. P. Carrington (*The Primitive Christian Catechism* [1940]) detects a fourfold pattern, "put away," "subject," "watch," and "resist" in Colossians, Ephesians, James, and 1 Peter; and E. G. Selwyn (*The First Epistle of Peter,* 2nd ed. [1947], 18ff.) sees a common pattern of teaching on persecution. Others find the catechists' doctrinal instruction in "creedal" passages (e.g., Phil. 2:1–11; 1 Tim. 3:16). Nothing suggests, however, that rudimentary instruction was restricted to candidates for baptism: Heb. 6:1–2 suggests otherwise, and even pagans noted the Christian habit of meeting to renew their moral commitments (Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 96). (See C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* [1962], esp. ch. 8.)

A. F. WALLS

catena kuh-tee'nuh. From the Latin word for "chain," this term can refer to any closely related series of words, phrases, or longer excerpts. In biblical studies, it is often used to designate a series of OT QUOTATIONS in a NT passage (e.g., Heb. 1:1–14) or a compilation of exegetical excerpts from patristic commentaries.

caterpillar. See LOCUST.

Catholic Epistles (καθολικαὶ ἐπιστολαί [Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 2.23.25 et al.]). Also *General Epistles*. A designation applied to seven NT letters—James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude—that are often treated as a group distinct from the other NT groups of books. See JAMES, EPISTLE OF; JOHN, EPISTLES OF; JUDE, Epistle of; PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF; PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

These epistles share certain features, although they also show some marked differences. That they were regarded as a group at an early period is well attested. They are all letters, although there are differences in their epistolary form: James seems to belong to the category of the Greek DIATRIBE; 1 John is more a homily than an epistle, since it has no opening address or closing salutation; 1 Peter is addressed to specified provincial areas, although 2 Peter has no such address; 1–3 John are different in method of address. The Catholic Epistles are also distinguishable from each other in their varied emphases on aspects of Christian truth. For instance, 1 Peter dwells on Christian patience under trial, 1 John on Christian love, and James on matters of essentially practical interest.

The order in which these documents stand in the English versions was not universally maintained in the early history of the canon. The variation of order was considerable, not only within

the group, but also in the position of the group among the other NT books. Some lists place 1 Peter and 1 John at the head, presumably because these were the best authenticated. The position of James seems to have been particularly fluid. In many canonical lists and some ancient MSS, these letters are placed between Acts and the Pauline Epistles. In other lists they follow Paul's letters and precede Acts.

As for the use of the word *catholic* ("universal, general") to describe these books, there have been various suggestions: (1) That the reference is to a collection of epistles expressing the opinion of all the apostles, to mark them off from the epistles of Paul, which formed a group of their own. This view is discounted by the fact that early writers used the same term to describe noncanonical books *(Epistle of Barnabas, Epistle of Dionysius)* and heretical books *(Epistle of Themison).* Moreover, the word does not seem to have been used in the sense of common apostolic authorship. (2) That the word is used in the sense of ecclesiastical recognition, in which case the "catholic" epistles would denote those regarded as authentic by the "catholic" church. Whereas the adjective came to be used in an ecclesiastical sense, there is no evidence that this usage was early enough to account for its employment to describe the seven epistles. (3) That the word is intended to distinguish the epistles from heretical works, but this can be discounted because it is not used of the Pauline Epistles (which are equally to be distinguished from heretical works) and because it is used of heretical works like the *Epistle of Themison.* (4) That the word refers to the nature of the destination of these epistles, which is the most widely held view (if so, the adjective is roughly synonymous with *encyclical).*

This last view accords, as none of the other explanations do, with all the evidence. It distinguishes these epistles from those of Paul, which were addressed to specific churches (in the case of Galatians and possibly Ephesians, to closely related groups of churches) or individuals. It also accounts for the use of the term for both canonical and noncanonical books among patristic writers. The main problem with this view is that 2 and 3 John appear to be more specific than general in their address, one to the elect lady and the other to Gaius. Nevertheless, this explanation, in spite of its difficulties, seems preferable to any other. In the Western church, where there was more delay in the final acceptance of these epistles (except 1 Peter and 1 John) than in the E, the word *canonical* was preferred rather than *catholic,* but the eastern usage later became universal.

When the Catholic Epistles are considered within the context of the NT as a whole, their value may be seen in various directions. They provide a cross section of early theological opinion. They show many points of contact with other NT books, as, for instance, 1 Peter with the Pauline Epistles (esp. Romans and Ephesians), and 1 John with the fourth gospel. There is also much ethical instruction that provides, with the other NT books, a wide basis for the study of NT ethics. (Cf. B. F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament,* 4th ed. [1875]. See also the standard introductions to the study of the NT.)

D.GUTHRIE

Cathua kuh-th*oo*'uh (Καθουα). The ancestor of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:30; the name is omitted in the parallel lists, Ezra 2:47 and Neh. 7:49).

cattle. This English word has a wide range of meaning (see below) but is here taken in its narrower sense of "oxen." All words applied to this group are treated.

I. Hebrew names. Some of the terms are perhaps semitechnical, such as farmers use today, or they

may refer to separate breeds. These are not easy to classify, and the wide range of renderings in most English versions makes distinctions even more difficult. (1) The word *bāqār H1330* is a collective term for larger cattle, (2) *pārâ H7239* is close to English "heifer," and (3) *šôr H8802* (= Aram. *tôr H10756)* means "bull."These are all beasts available for SACRIFICE. It is possible that each name is for a class (i.e., breed or grade) rather than age group (cf. Lev. 22:23, 27).

Various other terms are also used. (4) *bĕʿîr H1248* is a collective name, probably for beasts of burden, as in Gen. 45:17. (5) *bĕhēmâ H989* is often translated "beast," but sometimes the focus is on

Oxen are still part of daily life in much of Egypt.

cattle as providers of food, clothing, and labor (only in one context is it sacrificial, Lev. 1:2; see BEAST). (6) *ʿēgel H6319* (fem. *ʿeglâ H6320),* translated "bullock, calf, heifer," etc., is found widely in literal and figurative passages, more than half of which refer to heathen calf worship (including Aaron's calf, Exod. 32:4). (7) *ʾelep H546* is a common term for "cattle, oxen." (8) *miqneh H5238,* "livestock," connotes wealth, as in Gen. 13:2 and Ezek. 38:12. (9) *mĕrîʾ H5309,* translated "fading, fattened calf," etc., refers almost always to sacrificial animals. (For small cattle, see GOAT; SHEEP).

II. Greek names. Several Greek words are used with reference to cattle: (1) *damalis G1239* (Heb. 9:13) is the NT equivalent to "red heifer"; (2) *thremma G2576* (Jn. 4:12) is translated by NIV as "flocks and herds"; (3) *moschos G3675* (Heb. 9:12 et al.) means "calf"; (4) *sitistos G4990* (Matt. 22:4) refers more specifically to a "fattened calf"; (5) *bous G1091* (Lk 13:15 et al.) is the primary term for the working "ox"; and (6) *tauros G5436* (Heb. 9:13 et al.) is the word for "bull."

III. English definitions. The terms for cattle in various English versions are as follows: *bull* (masculine, esp. adult used for breeding), *cow* (feminine, esp. after first calf), *bullock* (young bull, esp. after castration), *steer* (in some countries used instead of bullock and bull), *heifer* (young cow before calving), *calf* (young of first year), *beeves* (pl. of beef; now obsolete and poetic only), *kine* (archaic pl. of cow), *ox/oxen* (still widely used for bovine animals, but now mostly in combination, as oxtail, oxcart, and becoming obsolete in most contexts for the animal itself), *herd* (usual group name for cattle and other large animals), *cattle* (from old English *catel,* "property," hence livestock), *chattels* (from same root, now obsolete or legal). In technical usage, cattle are bovines wild and tame; in general use, domestic cattle only.

IV. Origin and domestication. Cattle are descended from a group of races of the aurochs *(Bos primigenius;* see WILD OX). Little is known about the beginnings of domestication, but it was in Neolithic times, distinctly later than goats and sheep, and its focus was probably in SW Asia. A more or less settled form of AGRICULTURE seems a prerequisite for dealing with animals as large and strong as oxen, which needed both enclosing and feeding. The cattle NOMADS of central Africa and elsewhere (e. g., Masai) came much later, with their pattern of life based on fully domesticated herds. Meat was probably the prime object of bringing wild oxen under control; milking followed, then their use for draught purposes, on plows and later on carts. Their hides had always been used. The order and speed of development can only be conjectured, but their use for draught purposes must have been largely dependent on knowledge of the effect of castration in making them docile. The technique used will never be known, yet these primitive people, without even metal tools, undertook successfully the capture and breeding of wild cattle standing some six feet tall, a task now beyond the scope of any but a few experts armed with modern equipment.

V. Economic importance. Taming the ox changed the pattern of farming as radically as the HORSE improved transport some 2,000 years later. By the Bronze Age, long before the patriarchs settled in Palestine, it had become part of the farming scene over much of Eurasia and in the Nile valley, with breeds serving particular purposes in various climates. Zoologists recognize several stocks as having contributed to the great complex of domestic cattle, notably *longifrons, primigenius,* and *zebu.* It is generally thought that these came from geographical races tamed independently and later interbred.

Cattle have now become by far the most important domestic animals, with a world population of perhaps 700 million. Of these some 200 million are sacred cattle of India, of no productive use, and many others, of poor quality, are kept in parts of Africa, largely as "wealth." Milk and/or meat are now the main objects of management (see FOOD), but cattle also provide most of the world's LEATHER and many other by-products, including manure. Their value as draught animals is steadily decreasing.

VI. Cattle in early Mesopotamia, Egypt, and India. Horns and other features are useful for identifying the many paintings, carvings, and figurines, often highly stylized, which can now be dated accurately. Several sites of c. 4500 B.C. in Mesopotamia give evidence that distinct types had already developed, including the humped zebu cattle now typical of India and Africa. Mosaics and seals from many sites of the 4th and early 3rd millenniums show cattle in a wide range of uses.

In Egypt the earliest material is dated about mid-4th millennium, but within a short period four distinct breeds can be found. Painted temple reliefs and models show that these cattle had a range of colors, including black, brown, and multicolored. In early dynastic times the bull became important in Egyptian religion, especially the deity Apis, which had its origin in prehistoric Egypt. The bull cult reached its peak in Minoan Crete, about the time the Hebrews were in captivity. It had also been a vogue in ancient Mesopotamia, with bull-men, winged bulls, etc., prominent in art and architecture.

Early Indian civilization, 4th millennium B.C., had humped cattle, probably from a local race, as well as other forms. Western Europe was then in a much earlier phase of development; subsequently, the sudden appearance of several types suggests that immigrant people brought them.

VII. Cattle in Palestine. Evidence from Palestine is still incomplete as regards races, but the biblical record makes it clear that cattle were kept widely and in great numbers. To the Hebrews and many contemporary peoples, cattle meant wealth, the availability of animals for sacrifice, and the source of everyday needs in food, clothing, and labor. Abraham brought cattle back from Egypt, and

the Hebrews at the exodus took their herds. The Hebrews became skilled at animal husbandry and probably developed several breeds suited to the various natural regions of Palestine. Oxen were used especially for plowing and threshing, which was done by pulling a hardwood sledge, on which the driver stood, around the threshing floor. They also used a simple cart, usually drawn by a pair of oxen. The oxcart features in two important incidents, both concerning the transport of the ARK OF THE COVENANT (1 Sam. 6 and 2 Sam. 6).

Modern experience shows that to thrive in summer in the Jordan Valley, cattle need to be heatresistant; modern local breeds have this quality, perhaps derived from the zebu, which had reached Egypt and become widespread by the 18th dynasty (1570 B.C.). The hump is a good diagnostic feature, and illustrations show that the zebu was in Mesopotamia much earlier. It would be expected that Abraham and Lot had this type of semitropical breed in the hot plains of the northern Rift Valley, but the oldest evidence from Palestine so far is from the 6th cent. B.C., early in the postexilic period, although this is no proof of its absence. (See F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* [1963]; *FFB,* 61–63; *ABD,* 6:1121–30.)

G. S. CANSDALE

Cauda kaw'duh (Καῦδα *G3007;* apparently the name could also be spelled Κλαῦδα, which is the reading of many MSS). KJV Clauda. Mentioned once in the NT (Acts 27:16), Cauda is the modern Gavdos or Gozzo, an island lying some 25 mi. off the southern coast of CRETE and the same distance E of the longitude of the western end of Crete. PPAUL'S ship was coasting under Crete to escape the southward driving blast of the *Meltemi* (or Etesian winds), which had precluded a direct crossing of the AEGEAN but given a following wind for the pilot's attempt to round Crete and make westward progress under its lee. But when the ship reached the western half of the long island, the wind, pressing on the N of the mountainous mass which forms that region, spilled over in downdrafts that proved disastrous. It was only when the ship, struggling to avoid too much southward drift, came under the lee of Cauda briefly that they were able to haul in the ship's boat, which towing behind, disrupted steering.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

caul. This term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *yōteret H3866,* referring to the extra lobes of the liver found in cattle (Exod. 29:13 et al.; NIV, "covering"; NRSV, "appendage"), and *sĕgôr H6033,* referring either to the pericardium or to the chest cavity (Hos. 13:8). It is also used to translate *šābîs H8667,* which probably means "headband" (Isa. 3:18).

cauldron. See CALDRON.

caulk. The only references to this activity are in Ezekiel, where the famous ship builders of GEBAL in PHOENICIA are mentioned (Ezek. 27:9, 27, lit., "those who make firm your fissure"; KJV, "thy calkers"; NIV, "shipwrights to caulk your seams" [simply "shipwrights" in v. 27]). The caulkers were the craftsmen who drove tarred oakum (loose fiber from hemp or jute plants) into the seams between the planks of the ship to make the vessel water tight. Their final work was to coat these oakum seams with melted pitch. Any cracks in the planks themselves were treated by the same method.

H. JAMIESON

causeway. This English term is used twice by the KJV to render the common Hebrew word *měsillâ H5019,* meaning "(main) road, highway" (1 Chr. 26:16, 18). The reference in these verses is to an ascending road that led from the Tyropoeon Valley up to the W side of the temple area in J ERUSALEM; it was the principal approach to the lower city.

cavalry. This English term is used by the NRSV (less frequently by the NIV, which prefers "horsemen") to render the plural of Hebrew *pārāš H7305* (e. g., 1 Ki. 9:19; Ezek. 26:7; in the NT, cf. Acts 23:31–33 NIV and Rev. 9:16 NRSV). See HORSE. Introduced about 1200 B.C., the cavalry served as a mount from which a warrior could fire upon, or strike, his enemy; this advantage was a terror to the foot soldiers he charged. Horsemen were present in both David's and Solomon's reigns (cf. 2 Sam. 8:1–4; 15:1; 1 Ki. 4:26; 10:26; 2 Chr. 9:25). The use of the MULE was also popular (cf. 2 Sam. 13:29; 18:9). While carrying an archer, the horse was guided by shifts of weight or by pressure of the legs of the rider. The spear carrying rider could use reins, but the use of saddle, stirrups, and spurs were late innovations. The mounted horse was employed only in open battle to attack the flanks or the rear of the enemy. (See Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* [1963], 1:5; 2:281–87, 297.) See also ARMY.

G. H. LIVINGSTON

cave. A hollow extending beneath the surface of the earth. Caves have been used throughout human history for habitation (Gen. 19:30), refuge (Josh. 10:16), and burial (Jn. 11:38), and many legends and superstitions are attached to them. Some caves have been cut by wave action (sea caves), others scoured by wind action, particularly in desert regions (eolian caves), and still others result from glacial melt-water (glacial caves).

The largest and most common types of caves, both worldwide and in the Holy Land in particular, are solution caves that result from the action of underground water. Most of these caves are in limestone because no other rock equally abundant at the earth's surface is so readily dissolved (see LIME). Calcite (calcium carbonate), which is the chief constituent of limestone, including the Judean limestone that crops out over large areas of Israel and Jordan, is dissolved by ground water containing carbon dioxide. Some of this carbon dioxide is taken up by rain water falling through the air, but much comes from the air in soil containing decaying humus, which holds 300 times more carbon dioxide than the air of the atmosphere. As dissolved carbon dioxide reacts with water to form carbonic acid, water passing through soil rich in humus may become strongly acidic. It is by the action of this water that most caves in limestone have been formed. Particularly in dense, jointed limestone, water is concentrated along restricted planes rather than being disseminated throughout the rock. In this way much solution takes place along joints and bedding planes by the reaction of the carbonic acid in the ground water with the calcium carbonate to give a solution of calcium bicarbonate.

Caves are formed just below the water table in regions where the water table remained stable for a long time. They have a characteristic pattern of passages that are usually horizontal, even where the limestone beds are steeply inclined, except in regions where the originally horizontal attitude of the cavern network has been tilted during later mountain building deformation. The development of most caves just below the water table—in rocks saturated with water rather than at random depths within the water-saturated part of the earth's crust—is probably the result of a nonlinear relation between calcium carbonate solution and the partial pressure of carbon dioxide. The result is that the mixing of water percolating down from the surface with slowly moving ground water below the water

table constantly produces an undersatu-rated solution capable of dissolving more calcium carbonate.

Most caverns are composed essentially of horizontal and some vertical passageways. Passage width and height varies from upwards of 30 meters to the smallest penetrable dimensions. Where not modified by collapse, the cave cross-sections are tubular or rectangular in shape, but others are irregular in cross-section. The pattern of their ground plan varies. A grid of intersecting passageways is referred to as a network cave: a dentritic branching pattern of increasingly smaller passages make up a branching cave and one tube, with numerous twists and turns is an angulate cave. The vertical passageways are the active recharge points of ground water into the limestone. Often these are roughly cylindrical vertical shafts with smooth walls and heights of 100 meters or more.

Collapse of the roof of a cavern or the downward solution of limestone or other soluble materials (e. g., dolomite [calcium magnesium carbonate] or gypsum [hydrated calcium sulphate]), results in the development of depressions at the surface commonly referred to as sinkholes. Typically they are circular and 11–20 meters deep and often of the order of 100 meters in diameter. Coalescence of sinkholes is common, particularly the coalescence of a linear series. In this way access from the surface to some caverns is provided.

Lowering of the water table makes the caverns accessible, and in many the process of deposition of calcite dominates over solution. As water drips from the cavern ceilings, it evaporates, loses carbon dioxide, and calcium carbonate (calcite) is precipitated. Progressively icicle-like forms, known as stalactites, develop hanging down from the ceiling. Calcite precipitated when water drips to the floor is built up as stalagmites. Continued precipitation of calcite may result in the meeting of stalactites and stalagmites to form columns.

The abundance of limestone cropping out in Israel and Jordan—the Judean limestone made up mainly of massive hard beds of limestone and dolomite with some softer chalky marls, shales, and gypsiferous strata—and the semiarid climate, resulted in an abundance of caves throughout the region. With the successive downward movement of the JORDAN Rift Valley, the base level of the streams draining into this tectonic depression has been lowered, as has the water table (see EARTHQUAKES; PALESTINE IV). The resultant cutting down of valleys exposed caves on valley sides, such as the cave of ADULLAM in which DAVID took refuge (1 Sam. 22:1), and insured that the caves were relatively dry so that they could be used for habitation (Gen. 19:30) or for burial (23:19).

The branching pattern of some caves made them suitable for places of BURIAL, particularly if the entrance was small and could easily be sealed (Jn. 11:31–39). The network pattern of many cave systems together with the columns and stalagmites make them ideal places of refuge (1 Sam. 13:6), even for large numbers (22:2) and for surprise (1 Sam. 24), with small entrances easy to hide or defend and other exits available for escape (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). The figurative use of caves and caverns as places of refuge is given in Isa. 2:11–21; Rev. 6:15. (See further R. W. Fairbridge, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Geomorphology* [1968], 652–53, 1031–39; D. J. Easterbrook, *Principles of Geomorphology* [1969], 251–65; C. Bonsall and C. Tolan-Smith, eds., *The Human Use of Caves* [1997]; M. E. Taylor, *Exploring Hidden Realms* [2001]; A. S. Goudie, ed., *Encyclopedia of Geomorphology* [2004]; J. Gunn, ed., *Encyclopedia of Caves and Karst Science* [2004].)

D. R. BOWES

cedar. A tall, coniferous tree mentioned frequently in the OT. The Hebrew word *)erez H780* is usually taken as a reference to the cedar of LEBANON *(Cedrus libani,* though some scholars believe it refers to a different evergreen, such as the FIR, *Abies cilicia;* cf. *HALOT,* 1:86). This cedar can grow to a height of 120 ft., and is often 31–40 ft. in girth (cf. *FFB,* 108). The prophet Amos compares the

cedar, because of its great size, to the giants of ANAK (Amos 2:9; cf. 2 Ki. 14:9). Starting usually about 1–10 ft. from the ground, the branches grow out horizontally and become very wide-spreading. When young, however, the cedar is almost pyramid-shaped.

The cones the trees bear are fascinating. They start the first year pale green and small; the second year they become browner and about three inches across; and the third year they turn a dark brown, and open out to release quite small seeds. There are cedar trees today over 2,000 years of age. Not only do the branches spread out well, but so do the roots (cf. Hos. 14:5). The righteous are said to grow

Cedar of Lebanon.

like the cedar trees (Ps. 92:12), and Israel itself is strong and happy like cedar trees beside the waters (Num. 24:6).

Cedars are much admired, not only because of their beauty, but also because of their fragrance (Hos. 14:6). The wood is not attacked by insect pests; it is of a pleasant, warm red color, and is free from knots. It has remarkable lasting qualities. It is no wonder, therefore, that SOLOMON used it for his palace and for the TEMPLE. It is certainly the monarch of the evergreens. The Lebanon range where the trees grew was N of Palestine, and evidently in Solomon's days the forests were extremely large. See FLORA (under *Pinaceae)*.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Cedron see'druhn. KJV form of KEDRON in the Apoc. (1 Macc. 15:31–41) and of KIDRON in the NT (Jn. 18:1).

Ceilan see'luhn. KJV Apoc. form of KILAN (1 Esd. 5:15).

celestial. See HEAVEN; HEAVENLY.

celibacy. See MARRIAGE.

cellar. This English term is used twice by the KJV to render Hebrew *)ôṣār H238* ("treasure, storehouse") with reference to storage supplies of wine and oil (1 Chr. 27:27 [NIV, "vats"], 28 [NIV, "supplies"]). Excavations at GIBEON have revealed bedrock cellars that undoubtedly provided the best available refrigeration for wine (see J. B. Pritchard in *BA* 23 [1960]: 28). The word is also used by the NRSV to render Greek *kryptē G3219,* "hidden place," which occurs only once (Lk. 11:33).

M. R. WILSON

Celosyria see'loh-sihr'ee-uh. KJV Apoc. form of COELESYRIA (1 Macc. 10:69 et al.).

Cenchrea sen'kree-uh (Κεγχρεαί *G3020).* Also Cenchreae. The harbor of CORINTH on the Saronic Gulf, on the E side of the isthmus, about 7 mi. from the city. A village, it existed solely for the transportation of goods to and from Corinth and across the isthmus. Rather than sail around dangerous Cape Malea, the southern tip of the Peloponnesus, ships were dragged across the isthmus from Cenchrea to Lechaeum, the western harbor of Corinth, on sleds. The cargo of larger ships was unloaded and moved the same way to a ship on the other side.

Named for Cenchrias, a child of the deities Poseidon and Pirene, the area was sacred to Poseidon. There was a large bronze statue of him on a breakwater. At nearby Isthmia the Isthmian Games, also sacred to Poseidon, were held. Peri-ander, tyrant of Corinth c. 621–585 B.C., planned a canal across the isthmus and the Emperor NERO actually began one, but a canal was not completed until 1893. (See R. L. Scranton et al., *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth,* 5 vols. [1971–81]; R. L. Hohlfielder in *Harbour Archaeology,* ed. A. Raban [1985], 81–86.)

The village is mentioned twice in the NT. It was the place where PAUL, before sailing with PRISCILLA AND AQUILA for SYRIA, had his hair cut in fulfillment of a vow (Acts 18:18). A woman named PHOEBE is commended by Paul for her service to the church in Cenchrea (Rom. 16:1).

A. RUPPRECHT

Cendebeus sen'duh-bee'uhs (Κενδεβαῖος). A Seleucid general under King ANTIOCHUS VII who was put in charge of the coast lands of Syria-Palestine c. 138 B.C. (1 Macc. 15:38—16:9). He fortified KEDRON, a city on the coastal plain mid-way between JOPPA and ASHKELON. From this defensive position he raided the hill country until SIMON MACCABEE sent his sons John Hyrcanus and Judas against him with 20,000 soldiers. They came upon the Syrians at MODEIN, NW of Jerusalem. There the Jews were victorious, although Judas was wounded. They pursued Cendebeus and his army to Kedron and then returned to Jerusalem.

W. WHITE, JR.

censer. The common Hebrew word for "censer," *maḥtâ H4746* (Lev. 10:1 et al.; rendered *pyreion* by the LXX), refers apparently to a shallow cup or pan with handle (short or long). It was used to

remove ashes (hot or cold) from an altar, or to gather burnt parts of wicks from the lampstand, or to burn INCENSE on hot coals placed on the pan (cf. Num. 16:1–7). The same Hebrew word can also mean "tray" (for the lampstand, e.g., Exod. 25:38) and "firepan" (e.g., Exod. 27:3). Modern censers, consisting of a bowl for hot coals, a perforated cap, and the entire contrivance hanging from a chain, were not in use in biblical times. For the TEMPLE of Solomon, the device was made of gold (1 Ki. 7:50). Another Hebrew term meaning "censer" is *miqṭeret H5233,* which occurs twice (2 Chr. 26:19; Ezek. 8:11). The SEPTUAGINT translates this second word with *thymiatērion G2593,* "altar of incense," which occurs once in the NT (Heb. 9:4). The book of Revelation uses a different term, *libanōtos G3338* (Rev. 8:3, 5).

H. C. LEUPOLD

Remnants of the ancient roadway leading to the Cenchrea harbor. (View to the NE.)

census. The numbering of the people was a regular feature of Israelite life. The fourth book of the Bible (Numbers) takes its modern title from the SEPTUAGINT, which derived it from the fact that a mustering of the host, or a special census, is mentioned both at the beginning of the book and at the end (Num. 1:2, 46; 26:1–51). The large numbers recorded have caused comment, and it is possible that the word "thousand" signified a tribal group rather than a definite number (see NUMBER II.B). It must also be remembered that, in the NOMAD period of her history, Israel was spread widely over a great tract of wilderness. Indeed, one purpose of the census may have been to practice mobilization as well as to enumerate.

DAVID'S census, also a military muster (2 Sam. 24; 1 Chr. 21), earned rebuke and chastisement because it was a manifestation of personal pride and perilous arrogance. There are several explanations of the discrepancy of totals between the two accounts. Perhaps the lists in 2 Sam. 24 do not contain Benjamin and Levi; perhaps Chronicles includes non-Israelite soldiery (e.g., URIAH the Hittite); perhaps Chronicles includes the regular army, or the picked 30,000 (1 Chr. 11:25), excluded by the other account. Any of these explanations will meet the facts, apart from the possibility of textual corruption, to which Hebrew numerals (and, to a less extent, Greek) are susceptible. Ezra 2 also mentions an enumeration of the exiles who returned from Babylon under ZERUBBABEL.

The Romans, with their flair for organization, were the inventors of the census in European contexts. A national register of those eligible for military service was prepared in Rome even in the days of the half-legendary kings. The consuls inherited this duty from the foundation of the republic,

and censors assumed it from 443 B.C. Under the later republic the census appears to have been taken irregularly, but it was revived by AUGUSTUS as part of his detailed organization of the empire (see ROMAN EMPIRE). He held it three times *(Res gestae* 8). With the exemption of Italians from taxation and from compulsory military service, the census became unnecessary in Italy, where the last regular census was held by VESPASIAN and TITUS. In the provinces, a census was held sometimes in Republican times (Cicero, *Verr.* 2.131), but again it was Augustus, the diligent administrator, who organized the provincial registration.

The famous passage in Lk. 2:1–5 (which uses both the verb *apographō G616,* "to enroll, to register," and the noun *apographē G615,* "census, registration") is debated, and various explanations have been proposed (cf. D. L. Bock, *Luke,* BECNT [1991–96], 1:901–9). A reasonable solution is that Luke speaks of the census of JUDEA that was held in 7 B.C., but tardily in the turbulent Jewish province, because of the covert resistance of HEROD. (See E. M. Blaiklock, *The Century of the New Testament* [1962], 141–51.) In that case, Acts 5:37 refers to a second census, an event that led to insurrection in GALILEE. This was in A.D. 6, and was connected with the incorporation of the region into the Roman system of provincial rule, under which tribute lists were necessary.

There is considerable documentation in the Egyptian papyri to illustrate the NT nativity narratives. For example, Luke's text implies that each man was required to enroll in his home town (Lk. 2:3). A public notice from Egypt, dated A.D. 104, whose ending is lost, runs: "Gaius Vibius, chief prefect of Egypt: Because of the approaching census it is necessary for all those residing for any cause away from their own districts to prepare to return at once to their own governments, in order that they may complete the family administration of the enrollment, and that the tilled lands may retain those belonging to them" *(Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* vol. 3, ed. F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell [1907], 125, no. 904).

A census paper dated A.D. 48 (POxy, 2:255) shows the sort of detail that was recorded: "To Dorion chief magistrate and to Didymus town clerk, from Thermoutharion, the daughter of Thoonis, with her guardian Apollonius the son of Sotades. The inhabitants of the house belonging to me in the South Lane are: Thermoutharion a freed-woman of the aforesaid Sotades, about sixty-five years of age, of medium height, with honey-colored complexion, having a long face and a scar on the right knee…" (a line is missing here which describes a second woman). "I, the aforesaid Thermoutharion" (the document continues with an affidavit), "with my guardian the said Apollonius, swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Emperor, that I have assuredly, honestly, and truthfully presented the preceding return of those living with me, and that no one else lives with me, neither a stranger, Alexandrian nor freedman, nor Roman, nor Egyptian, except the aforesaid. If I were swearing truly may it be well with me, if falsely the opposite."

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

centurion (in Mark, κεντυρίων *G3035* [from Lat. *centurio],* elsewhere ἑκατοντάρχης *G1672,* "ruler of one hundred"). A noncommissioned officer in the Roman army or one of its auxiliary armies, commanding a century *(centuria)* of nominally 100 men. Although the responsibilities of centurions were similar to those of modern junior officers, there was a wide gap between their social status and that of officers, and comparatively few achieved promotion beyond senior centurion. The seniority of the six centurions in a cohort corresponded to that of their respective centuries. The centurion's vine-staff *(uitis)* was a symbol of his disciplinary authority. (See E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* [1953], 101–24; G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries* A.D., 3rd ed. [1985], 111–18, 131–31.)

The troops in Judea were auxiliaries and would be rewarded with Roman CITIZENSHIP after twenty-five years' service. Such of their centurions as were Roman citizens may have begun their service in the LEGIONS (in which Roman citizenship was conferred on enlistment) or may have inherited this privilege, like PAUL. From their names it appears that CORNELIUS (Acts 10) and JULIUS (ch. 27) were Roman citizens of provincial origin. Cornelius may have been a native of the CAESAREA area (as suggested by the presence of his relatives, 10:24). The Italian COHORT to which he belonged must have been raised in Italy, but it would be maintained by local recruitment (cf. Jos. *War* 2.13.7). Peter's scruples show that Cornelius was a "God-fearer" and not a full proselyte. Julius belonged to an AUGUSTAN COHORT, and may even have been a legionary centurion detached for special duties or on transfer. It is to be noted that on the government grain ship it was apparently he who took the final decision to proceed with the voyage (Acts 27:11).

A centurion was in charge of the execution of our Lord (Matt. 27:54; Mk. 15:39, 41–45; Lk. 23:47), and another was to supervise the flogging of Paul (Acts 22:25). The reference to centurions in Acts 21:32 suggests that the tribune CLAUDIUS LYSIAS called out a considerable number of troops to rescue Paul, who was subsequently escorted from Jerusalem by two centurions with their centuries (23:23), as well as by the cavalry who were to go through to Caesarea. Police duties such as these and the routine guarding of prisoners (Acts 23:17; 24:23) were the normal lot of centurions and their troops, for active warfare was most of the time confined to the frontiers of the empire.

As GALILEE was not a Roman province in the time of our Lord, the centurion of CAPERNAUM (Matt. 8:1–13; Lk. 7:1–10) must have been in the army of Antipas (see HEROD V), which was organized on Roman lines. He was clearly a God-fearing Gentile and reasonably wealthy. His reference to being under authority and expecting complete obedience from his men nicely characterizes his position as a man wielding authority derived from his superiors and reveals his conception of Jesus as a man with divine powers. (See also A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* [1963], 121–24, 156, 161–61.)

K. L. MCKAY

Cephas see'fuhs (Κηφᾶς *G3064,* from Aram. כֵּיפָא, "rock, stone"). See PETER.

ceramics. See POTTERY.

Ceras see'ruhs. KJV Apoc. form of KEROS (1 Esd. 5:29).

cereal offering. See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

ceremonial law. A term frequently used to designate that part of the Mosaic LAW which deals with the externals of religion, that is, the cultus, festivals, sacrifices, and other ceremonies. To use this classification as a means of minimizing the importance of the matters covered by such injunctions would be unwholesome. Strictly speaking, these features were regarded as the normal expression of a right relation to God and in need of divine regulation, as was the whole of life under the law of love issuing forth from faith.

H. C. LEUPOLD

Cerinthus suh-rin'thuhs (Κήρινθος). An early Gnostic who lived at the close of the first Christian

century (see GNOSTICISM). According to IRE-NAEUS, he appeared about the year 88, was known to JOHN THE APOSTLE, and it was in refutation of Cerinthus's errors that John wrote his gospel. The apocryphal *Epistle of the Apostles,* written around the middle of the 2nd cent., lists him with SIMON MAGUS as one of the two "false apostles, concerning whom it is written that no man shall cleave with them."

Cerinthus was a Jew by race and religion. He studied in ALEXANDRIA, appeared in Palestine, and was most active in western ASIA MINOR, spreading his false teaching about the person of Christ. He taught that the world was created, not by God, but by a power far separated from him; that Jesus was the natural son of Joseph and Mary, although he was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men; that at Jesus' baptism the Christ descended upon him in the likeness of a dove, providing him miraculous powers; that at his death the Christ departed from him, so that it was only the human Jesus that died and rose again. These views regarding Christ became known as Cerinthianism.

The 4th-cent. Christian writer Epiphanius claims that Cerinthus was the arch-opponent of both Paul and John; there is, however, no evidence that he was active during the ministry of Paul. Ire-naeus relates an occasion when the apostle John went to the public bath at Ephesus; upon learning that Cerinthus was there, he fled for fear that the bath should fall to pieces.

Cerinthus reflects a syncretism of Gnosticism, Judaism, and Christianity. He is said to have insisted on the necessity of CIRCUMCISION and the observance of the Jewish SABBATH. He held a rather crude view of the MILLENNIUM, that the righteous would enjoy a paradise of sensual delights in Palestine, and that Jesus, through the power of the divine LOGOS coming upon him, would reign as the Messiah for 1,000 years. (Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.1; 3.3.4; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.21; 10.17; Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.28.1–6; 7.25.1–3; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 28; B. G.Wright III in *Second Century 4* [1984]: 81–115.)

G.H. WATERMAN

certainty. See ASSURANCE.

certificate of divorce. See DIVORCE.

Cetab see'tab. KJV Apoc. form of KETAB (1 Esd. 5:30).

Chabris kab'ris (Χαβρις, with spelling variations in the MSS). Son of Gothoniel; he was one of the three rulers of BETHULIA to whom JUDITH appealed for help when HOLOFERNES threatened (Jdt. 6:15; 8:10; 10:6).

Chadias kay'dee-uhs . See CHADIASANS.

Chadiasans kay'dee-ay'shuhnz (Χαδιασαι). A group of exiles who returned with Zerubbabel and the Ammidians (1 Esd. 5:20; KJV, "they of Cadias"). They do not appear in Ezra and Nehemiah. Some connect them with the people of KEDESH (Josh. 15:23) or of HADASHAH or ADASA.

Chaereas kihr'ee-uhs (Χαιρέας). An Ammonite commander stationed in Gazara (GEZER); he and his brother Timothy were defeated and killed by Judas MACCABEE (2 Macc. 10:31–38; KJV, "Chereas"). The name Gazara may be a corruption for Jazer (cf. 1 Macc. 5:1–8; Jos. *Ant.* 12.8.1 §329; J. A.

Goldstein, *II Maccabees,* AB 41A [1983], 391–94).

chaff. Several Hebrew words, in particular *mōṣ H5161,* are so translated in English Bibles. They refer to the dry hulls of various cereal grains separated and blown away by the wind in winnowing grain (Job 21:18; Ps. 1:4; et al.). The words are also used in a figurative sense to represent the evil nations condemned by God (Isa. 17:13 et al.). This usage is carried over into the NT, where Christ is portrayed as the final winnower or gleaner who will in judgment dismiss the wicked as chaff *(achyron G949,* Matt. 3:12; Luke 3:17). See also STRAW; STUBBLE.

W. WHITE, JR.

chain. Many Hebrew words are translated "chain" in the various English Bibles. For example, the term *rābîd H8054* can refer to a necklace or to a twisted circlet on the neck (Gen. 41:42; cf. Aram. *haměyānak H10212* in Dan. 5:7 et al.); it is also used in a metaphorical sense for the care of Yahweh for Jerusalem (Ezek. 16:11). After the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., Jeremiah and others were bound in *)ăziqqîm H272* (Jer. 40:1, 4). A shorter form, *zēq H2414,* has the same sense (Ps. 149:8; Isa. 45:14; Nah. 3:10); it can be used metaphorically for the fetters of affliction (Job 36:8). A study of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments reveals that prisoners were normally bound with ropes so that the term may denote "rope" in many cases. The chains in view may also be ornamental: *šaršĕrâ H9249* is used for the gold chains on the priestly garment (Exod. 28:14, 22; 39:15) and for ornamental "chains" on the pillars, etc., in Solomon's TEMPLE (1 Ki. 7:17; 2 Chr. 3:5, 16). In the NT two terms are found: *halysis G268* is used for chains of captives (Mk. 5:3, 4; Acts 28:20; Rev. 20:1); *desmos G1301,* sometimes translated "bonds," is a more general term for anything that binds or fastens (Acts 26:29; Heb. 11:36; Jude 6).

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

chair. This English term is seldom found in modern translations. The NIV uses it to render *kisē) H4058* with reference to the priest ELI'S seat and to the stool or chair ELISHA had in his little room in Shumen (1 Sam. 1:9; 4:13, 18; 2 Ki. 4:10). This Hebrew term, however, occurs over a hundred times, and it is usually rendered "throne" (e.g., Gen. 41:40; 2 Sam. 3:10; Ps. 9:4).

H. WOLF

chalcedony. A semiprecious stone, with many different colored varieties. It occurs as a cavity filling in lavas and as nodules in sedimentary rocks. Varieties include CHRYSOPRASE, AGATE, and ONYX. All are very fine-grained silica with a waxy luster. The term is used by the NIV and other versions to render Greek *chalkēdōn G5907* (Rev. 21:19; NRSV, "agate").

Chalcol kal'kol. KJV alternate form of CALCOL (1 Ki. 4:31).

Chaldea.

Chaldea, Chaldean kal-dee'uh, -uhn (כַּשְׂדִּים *H4169*, Aram. כַּשְׂדִּי *H10373*; Χαλδαία [only Jer. 50:10, LXX 27:10], Χαλδαῖος *G5900)*. Also Chaldaea(n), Chaldee. Chaldea was the name of a district in S Babylonia, later applied to a dynasty that controlled all Babylonia. See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA; BABYLON.

I. The land. The marshes and deserts bordering the N Persian Gulf were called the "Sealands" in the 2nd millennium B.C., and here dwelt tribes named in later Babylonian cuneiform as *Kaldai*. The Hebrew name is probably derived from a less used Assyrian term, *Kdšdu*. There are no contemporary references to the first settlement of these seminomadic Semitic (Aramean?) tribes in the area, though texts from the Early Dynastic III period (c. 2700 B.C.) attest to the presence of Semites in the region, some of whom may by that time have occupied the area about UR, called "of the Chaldeans" (Gen. 11:28) to distinguish it from northern cities called Ura).
Operations by these tribes to the W would not be improbable (Job 1:17), but the dating of these allusions cannot as yet be checked by external sources. The area also was named after the tribes that occupied its parts; Bīt-Dakkuri, Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Amukkani, Bīt-Sa)alli, Bīt-Shilani, and Bīt-Yakin. With the rise of the Chaldean dynasty (626 B.C.), the name was used to describe Babylonia and its empire in its entirety (Dan. 1:4 et al.).

II. History. By reason of the comparative inaccessibility of their territory, the tribes in the southern marshes were largely independent, and often a source of trouble to their Assyrian overlords. ASHURNASIRPAL II (881–859 B.C.) was the first to note their activities in his annals. His son SHALMANESER III captured Baqani from the Adini tribe in 851. Adadnirari III (c. 805 B.C.) lists the Amukkani and Yakin among the chiefs who submitted to him as vassals. On the death of Nabonassar (Nabû-nāṣir) in 734, the chief of the Amukkani revolted and seized the throne of Babylon from that puppet-king. TIGLATH-PILESER III immediately sent an army against Ukin-zēr and the rebels and plundered the lands of the Amukkani, Shilani, and Sa)alli, while Ukin-zēr himself was engaged in the siege of Sapia. Balasu of Dakkuri and Marduk-apla-iddina of Bīt-Yakin sought to gain an advantage over their rival by coming to terms with the Assyrians on condition that their lands would be spared. Ukin-zēr was deposed and the tribes became increasingly restive. Babylon was controlled by

Marduk-apla-iddina, though he himself probably lived outside the city with his tribesmen.

Marduk-apla-iddina II of Bīt-Yakin, the MERO-DACH-BALADAN of the OT, held sway 721–710 B.C., and then SARGON II of Assyria regained the city of Babylon by winning over the Li)tanum and

Assyrian relief from Nineveh (c. 640 B.C.) of Chaldean or Babylonian prisoners under guard.

Arameans and reimposing direct control in the borders with the Elamites, the allied kinsfolk of the Chaldeans. See ARAM (COUNTRY); ELAM (COUNTRY). Marduk-apla-iddina seems to have made peace with the Assyrians, for he was left in charge of his own lands. However, on Sargon's death in 705 B.C. he reasserted his authority over Babylon and supported a Chaldean named Shuzubu (Mušezib-Marduk) in office there.

It may well be at this time, rather than in his earlier ascendancy, that Marduk-apla-iddina sent the embassy to HEZEKIAH of Judah to try to persuade him to assert his own independence of Assyria, a move that he doubtless hoped would divert Assyrian troops from Babylonia. Against the advice of Isaiah, who declared that the Chaldeans would themselves eventually be hostile to Judah (Isa. 23:13; 43:14), the Babylonians were encouraged by being shown Judah's economic and military potential (39:1–8; 2 Ki. 20:11–19).The use of the term "Chaldean" as a synonym for "Babylonian" is correct, since they were the ruling and effective house (Isa. 13:19; 47:1, 5; 48:14, 20), as in the postexilic period (Ezek. 23:23).

In 703 SENNACHERIB intervened with a powerful Assyrian army that contrived to split Marduk-apla-iddina and the southern tribes from their western (Arab) allies and eastern aid (Elam). The chief of Bīt-Yakin was driven across the Persian Gulf to take refuge among a related tribe where he died. Nevertheless, resistance to the Assyrians continued under his son Nabu-zēr-napišti-lišir, who was put to death by an Elamite host that wished to regain favor with Nineveh. ESARHADDON wisely adopted a policy of conciliation toward the murdered brother's family. When, however, the last Assyrian king, ASHURBANIPAL, raided the S and took Marduk-apla-iddina's grandson Patia prisoner, the Chaldeans moved at once to support Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon in his revolt against his royal brother. On the latter's defeat in 648, two Chaldean chiefs were punished, and another grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina, Nabu-bēl-šumāti, who had fled to Elam, committed suicide when his extradition was demanded of the Elamites.

III. The Chaldean dynasty. With the decline of Assyrian power after the death of Ashurbanipal in 627, the Chaldeans once more revolted, led by NABOPOLASSAR, a native chief who took the throne of Babylon by popular acclaim. He inaugurated a new period of Babylonian expansion and influence by the gradual recovery of the N EUPHRATES area and the sack of ASSHUR (614 B.C.) and NINEVEH (612) in conjunction with the Medes. His son NEBUCHADNEZZAR II, who ruled 16 September 605 to October 562 B.C., defeated the Egyptians at CARCHEMISH in 605 B.C. and thus thwarted their attempt to

reactivate Assyria as an independent kingdom and to oppose the Babylonian advance. Nebuchadnezzar claimed the conquest of all Syria and Palestine and received tribute from their kings, among whom was JEHOIAKIM, who remained a faithful vassal for three years (2 Ki. 24:1; Jer. 25:1).

In 601 B.C. the Egyptians defeated the Chaldeans, and Jehoiakim broke his oath of loyalty contrary to the advice of Jeremiah (Jer. 26:1–11). As a result the Babylonian army was dispatched to capture Jerusalem (16 March 597 B.C.). About this time, Jehoiakim died and his son JEHOIACHIN was soon replaced by the Babylonian nominee Mat-taniah, renamed ZEDEKIAH; many prisoners and much booty were taken. A rebellion in Babylon in 595 gave rise to false hopes of a return (Jer. 29). When Zedekiah himself rebelled, Jerusalem was again besieged (589), fell to Chaldean army units in 587 (2 Ki. 24), and was laid waste, and its peoples were taken off to Babylon. A further deportation was ordered five years later (Jer. 52:30) while TYRE was under siege.

Nebuchadnezzar completed the restoration of Babylon and its defenses (Dan. 4:30). His son Awīl-Marduk (the EVIL-MERODACH of 2 Ki. 25:21–30) showed favor to the Jewish exiles, but their conditions deteriorated under his successors Neriglissar (561–558), Labaš-Marduk (557), and NABONI-DUS, whose son BELSHAZZAR was also coregent (cf. Dan. 5:30) even after his father's return to Babylon just before the city fell to the Persians in October 539 and CYRUS brought an end to the Chaldean dynasty.

IV. Astrologers. The immense scientific learning of the Chaldeans (Neo-Babylonians), especially in mathematical ASTRONOMY and its associated ASTROLOGY, DIVINATION, and rituals, was taught in the Babylonian temple schools (Dan. 1:4; 4:7). These texts were preserved in ARAMAIC (formerly wrongly designated "Chaldee") and in the CUNEIFORM script used for copying Sumerian and Akkadian literature. In Daniel, the term "Chaldean" was thus equated with "astrologer" and associated with magician, enchanter, and sorcerer (Dan. 2:2; 4:7; 5:1–11). This was but the beginning of the use of the term for priests and specialists in these arts, as it appears in HERODOTUS)*Hist.* 1.181, 183) about 450 B.C. (See further D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626–565* B.C.) *in the British Museum* [1956]; id., *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* [1985]; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq,* 2nd ed. [1980]; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that Was Babylon* [1962]; id., *Civilization Before Greece and Rome* [1989]; *CAH,* 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], ch. 21.)

D. J. WISEMAN

chalk. A white to grayish loosely coherent limestone (calcium carbonate; see LIME). It consists of the calcareous remains of minute marine organisms and fine grained calcium carbonate of uncertain origin, together with subordinate amounts of shell fragments, varying proportions of clayey and sandy material, and FLINT nodules. It forms thick and extensive beds in various parts of the world, including the Belqa Series (Upper Cretaceous—Eocene, 81–38 million years) of the Holy Land. Chalks and chalky limestones of the Belqa Series occur in northern SAMARIA and parts of western GALILEE and over large areas of the JORDAN River, E of the Jordan Rift Valley. Here isolated flat-topped hills, generally capped with harder chalk beds, rise from the plain where the chalk has been largely eroded by wind, leaving behind flint gravels. This softness and lack of resistance to erosion would account for the only reference to chalk (Heb. *gir H1732)* in the Bible: "When he makes all the altar stones / to be like chalk stones crushed to pieces, / no Asherah poles or incense altars / will be left standing" (Isa. 27:9). See PALESTINE IV.

D. R. BOWES

Chalphi kal'fi (Χαλφι, derivation uncertain). The father of a Jewish commander named Judas (1 Macc. 11:70; KJV,"Calphi";Jos. *Ant.* 13.5.7 §161 calls him *Chapsaios).* Only Judas and another commander, Mattathias, stood with Jonathan MACCABEE when others fled at Hazor after walking into an ambush. Jonathan was able to rally the forces and routed the enemy, killing 3,000 men.

J. B. SCOTT

Cham kam. See HAM.

chamber. This English word is used frequently in the KJV and the NRSV as the rendering of various Hebrew words, especially *liškâ H4384* (e.g., Ezek 40:17) and *ḥeder H2540* (e.g., Isa. 26:20). For many of these occurrences, the NIV prefers "room" (however, see Ezra 8:29; Job 37:9; Ps. 45:13; Cant. 1:4; et al.). The KJV uses the term also in the NT, but only a few times (e.g., Matt. 24:26; Acts 9:37).

chambering. This English term is used once by the KJV in the now obsolete sense of "lewdness" (Rom. 13:13).

chamberlain. This English term is used by the KJV in 2 Ki. 23:11 and throughout the book of Esther (Esth. 1:12 et al.) as a rendering of Hebrew *sārîs H6247* (lit., EUNUCH), which is used of important functionaries, including military officers (e.g., Jer. 52:25). In the NT, the KJV uses it twice: once to render Greek *oikonomos G3874,* "steward, administrator" (Rom. 16:23; NRSV, "treasurer"; NIV, "director of public works"), and another time to represent a phrase that refers to someone in charge of the king's sleeping quarters (Acts 12:20; NIV, "a trusted personal servant").

J. L. KELSO

chambers of the south. This expression is used in Job 9:9 (KJV, NRSV) along with mention of three star formations: the Great Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades. In Babylonian ASTRONOMY there is no S pole corresponding to the N pole, but instead a region called *Ea.* Job is supposedly applying the term "chambers of the south" to the constellations of this region (cf. NIV). Some scholars identify it with stars in the constellations of Argo, Centaurus, and the Southern Cross. Others regard the expression as too indefinite to refer to any special star or group of stars, and take it to refer in general to the constellations of the southern hemisphere. Still others refer it to the vacant stretches of the southern sky, and identify it with the place from which the whirlwind is said to come (thus NJPS, "chambers of the south wind"; cf. Job 37:9).

R. C. STONE

chameleon. This English term occurs once in the NIV and NRSV as a rendering of Hebrew *tinšemet H9491,* in a list that refers to various lizards (Lev. 11:30 [the KJV also uses the term "chameleon" here, but as the rendering of a different Hebrew word]; for a different meaning of *tinšemet,* see OWL). Whether or not this translation is correct, the common chameleon (*Chamaeleo chamaeleon* or *C. vulgaris;* see *FFB,* 11–16) is well known in wooded areas from Palestine along the N Mediterranean coast. It is a small species, with a length up to 6 inches. It is remarkable that no more specific reference is made to it, for its many strange features make it the object of intense dread in many parts of Africa. It is unique in having independent eyes, with colored lids fused over the eyes and moving

with them; a tongue that is projected to roughly the body's length to catch prey; and a skin of which the color can be varied, in part only to match the background, for other factors also can cause a change. The chameleon feeds on small insects. See also LIZARD.

G. S. CANSDALE

chamois. This term is used incorrectly by the KJV to render Hebrew *zemer H2378* (Deut. 14:5). Such a translation is impossible on geographical grounds. The chamois is a small, very agile goat-antelope living in the high mountains of Europe, mostly above the tree line, and just extending into ASIA MINOR. There is no evidence that it was ever found in Palestine. Modern versions understand the Hebrew term to refer to the MOUNTAIN SHEEP.

G. S. CANSDALE

champaign. This English term, which refers to a broad expanse of plain, flat, open country, is used by the KJV once to render Hebrew *ʿărābâ H6858* (Deut. 11:30; cf. also KJV Ezek. 37:2 mg. and Jdt. 5:1). See ARABAH.

champion. A word used in English Bibles to render the Hebrew phrase *ʾîš-habbēnayim,* which means literally, "the man of the middle"; it is used with reference to GOLIATH, who fought DAVID between the two armies that watched (1 Sam. 17:4, 23; the NRSV also uses it to render *gibbôr H1475* in v. 51, where the NIV has "hero," but the NIV in turn has "champion" for *gibbôr* in Ps. 19:5, and in Isa. 5:22 it uses "champions" to translate a common Hebrew phrase that means literally "men of strength"). It was common for individual champions from either side to decide conflicts, because the bloodshed of a full-scale war could thus be avoided. An example of single combat in Homer's *Iliad* is Paris's request to Hector to set him "in the midst" to fight Menelaus to decide the issue (3.69; cf. 7.65ff.).

The phrase "David's champions" is often used today with reference to the list of warriors who served as King David's military elite (2 Sam. 23:1–39 = 1 Chr. 11:41–47; cf.2 Sam.21:11–22). A distinction is made between "the Thirty" and "the Three" who were most distinguished, but the text has been interpreted in various ways (cf. N. Naʾaman in *VT* 38 [1988]: 71–79, and the response by D. G. Schley in *VT* 40 [1990]: 321–26). See also ABISHAI.

M. R. WILSON

Chanaan kay'nuhn. KJV NT form of CANAAN.

chance. See PROVIDENCE.

chancellor. This term is used by the KJV to render the Aramaic phrase *bĕʿēl-ṭĕʿēm (H10116 + H10302),* which was the title of the Persian official REHUM (Ezra 4:1–9, 17 [NIV, "commanding officer"; NRSV, "royal deputy"]; see discussion in *HALOT,* 5:1831–38, s.v. טעם, sect. 4).

change of raiment. This expression is used by the KJV to render two similar Hebrew phrases denoting not simply a change of garments, but special "festal garments" (RSV; the NIV has "sets of clothes") for which one's ordinary garments were changed (Gen. 45:22; Jdg. 14:11–13, 19; 2 Ki. 5:5, 21–23). In the ANE kings and other high-ranking persons often expressed their esteem with presents

of such gala robes.

S. BARABAS

changer. See MONEY CHANGER.

channel. This English term is used in modern versions to render a variety of Hebrew words that can also be translated "stream," "river," etc. The KJV uses it a few times to render *)āpîq H692* (often translated "valley, ravine"). In Isa. 8:7 warning is given that in refusing the gentle waters of SHILOAH (the Davidic kingdom), Israel lies exposed to devastating flood as the EUPHRATES (Assyria) bursts its channels. Elsewhere "the channels of the sea" (2 Sam. 22:16=Ps. 18:15; NIV, "the valleys of the sea") and the foundations of the world are depicted as laid bare by the breath of God. Some see here an allusion to the ancient misconception of a world-encircling ocean stream guided by hidden channels, while others claim that the reference is to the sea floor corrugations detected by oceanographers. But the passage reads more naturally as a poetic allusion to the RED SEA floor laid bare for Israel's crossing.

G. R. LEWTHWAITE

Channuneus kan'uh-nee'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HANANIAH (1 Esd. 8:48).

chant. See MUSIC II.C.

chaos. Chaos in classical Greek thought was the (sometimes personified) misty darkness before all existing things came into being (cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 116). In later Roman times it became the primeval matter out of which the universe was constructed. In Gen. 1:2 the primal state of the universe is described in Hebrew as *tōhû wābōhû (H9332 + H983),* which the NIV renders, "formless and empty." This is often regarded as the nearest expression in Scripture to the Greek idea of chaos, but it is not a synonym for confusion. Rather it refers to a solitude, a vast and empty desolation, unformed and uninhabited. In Jer. 4:23 the same Hebrew phrase is used to describe the land as it was laid waste and made unfit for human habitation by a divine judgment. The reference is to the havoc wrought by the invasion of NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S armies. Appealing to this sameness of expression, some have inferred that a similar judgment is implied in the Genesis account. That is, a sort of primeval catastrophe is thought to have preceded the six days of CREATION. The more common understanding is that in Genesis there is a description of the earth in its initial state as the Creator began the work described in the sequel of the creation narrative.

P. JEWETT

chapel. This English term is used once by the KJV (Amos 7:13) to render Hebrew *miqdāš H5219,* a common word often translated "sanctuary." The reference in this passage is to JEROBOAM'S shrine at BETHEL. Here in the northern kingdom, Amos, a prophet from the southern kingdom, prophesied of Jeroboam's death and Israel's exile (Amos 7:11). Bethel was both the place of the royal residence and the king's "sanctuary." In this place Jeroboam estab lished his royal cult of golden calf worship, which rivaled the Jerusalem temple (cf. 1 Ki. 12:21–33). He appointed in charge AMAZIAH the priest (Amos 7:11–17).

M. R. WILSON

Chaphenatha kuh-fen'uh-thuh (Χαφεναθα). Apparently a section of the wall of Jerusalem that is described as being "on the valley to the east"; it was repaired by Jonathan MACCABEE and the elders of the people (1 Macc. 12:37; KJV, "Caphenatha"). Its location is unknown.

chapiter. KJV term for CAPITAL.

Charaathalar kair'ay-ath'uh-lahr (Χαρααθα λαρ). A leader among those who returned from the EXILE but who could not prove their lineage (1 Esd. 5:36 KJV, following CODEX ALEXANDRINUS; CODEX VATICANUS reads *Charaathalan)*. It is likely, however, that the word should be analyzed as two names, the second of which has been corrupted. Accordingly, Rahlfs's *Septuaginta* (also R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I,* Septuaginta 8/1 [1974]) reads *Chara-ath, Adan,* a reading followed by the NRSV and rendered "Cherub, Addan." In the parallel passages (Ezra 2:59; Neh. 7:61), these are place names. See ADDON; CHERUB.

Characa kair'uh-kuh. KJV Apoc. form of CHARAX (2 Macc. 12:17).

character. See VIRTUE. For the meaning "letter," see WRITING.

characters, common. This expression is used by the NRSV to render a Hebrew phrase meaning "stylus of a man" (Isa. 8:1; NIV, "ordinary pen"). It probably indicated the usual mode of writing an inscription, such as would be familiar and easily legible to the ordinary man. ISAIAH was bidden by God to write on a large tablet the name of his future son, MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ, so that all observers might know that his birth was predicted by God as a sign to Israel of the coming Assyrian invasions. There were more formal or archaic styles of writing also in use in official circles, but Isaiah was to write this name "in common characters" as a public testimony.

G. L. ARCHER

Charashim kair'uh-shim. See GE HARASHIM.

Charax kair'aks (Χάραξ "stake, barricade"). A town, probably in GILEAD, that was home to a group of Jews known as TOUBIANI (2 Macc. 12:7). Some scholars identify it with modern el-Kerak, about 16 mi. NW of Bostra (BOZRAH #3), but J. A. Goldstein (*II Maccabees,* AB 41A [1983], 431–40) believes that the word should be translated "palisaded camp" and that it refers to the fortress of the Tobiads in TRANSJORDAN.

Charchemish. See CARCHEMISH.

charcoal. See COAL.

Charcus kahr'kuhs. KJV Apoc. form of BARKOS (1 Esd. 5:32).

Charea kair'ee-uh (Χαρεα). The ancestor of a group of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:32); the parallel passages (Ezra 2:52; Neh. 7:54) have HARSHA.

charger. An obsolete term for a large flat dish (KJV Num. 7:13 et al.; Matt. 14:8 et al.).

chargers. A word used once by the NRSV and meaning "horses trained to charge" (Nah. 2:3 [MT v. 4]). The MT has *bĕrôš H1360* ("cypress" or "juniper") in the plural, translated "spears of pine" by the NIV. The SEPTUAGINT, however, reads "horsemen," and many scholars conjecture that the original Hebrew text had the plural of *pārāš H7304* (which may specifically connote "war horse"; cf. Ezek. 27:14).

chariot. An ancient two-wheeled vehicle, drawn by oxen, horses, or onagers (wild asses), and used in warfare, hunting, races, processions, and travel.

I. Chariots in the ANE. Heavy wheeled vehicles drawn by asses were used in S MESOPOTAMIA throughout the 3rd millennium B.C. and are represented in finds from Ur, Kish, and Tell Agrab. From Tell Agrab, dating c. 2500 B.C., comes a small copper model of a war chariot drawn by four asses. It consists of a flat platform, a pole, and two disc wheels, and it was driven by a single driver. (See ASS, DONKEY; WILD ASS.)

The true chariot, which was much lighter, was drawn by the faster HORSE. It did not come into use until the 2nd millennium B.C., when folk movements brought peoples from the S Russian steppes and introduced the horse to Mesopotamia. The art of warfare was revolutionized by the horse-drawn chariot. The term *horse* occurs in cuneiform inscriptions as an ideogram meaning "foreigners," and in phonetic form as *sisû* in 19th-cent. tablets from Anatolia. These folk movements had already reached ASIA MINOR in the 19th cent. B.C. As the 2nd millennium wore on, HITTITES in Anatolia, Kassites in Mesopotamia, and HYKSOS in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt all gained advantage in warfare by the use of the chariot. The Hyksos were enabled thereby to conquer most of Syria and Egypt between c. 1800 and c. 1600 B.C. The disc wheel gave place to the spoked wheel about 1700 B.C. when wheels with four or, more regularly, six spokes, came into use and remained until about the 10th cent. B.C. The Assyrians in the days of ASHURNASIRPAL II (c. 881–859) began to use eight spokes. Such wheels remained in use down to Persian times.

In the second half of the 2nd millennium a special class in society, the *mariannu,* is referred to in the documents found at ALALAKH and UGARIT, in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters, and in documents from Egypt. They were men of importance who owned a chariot or wagon, perhaps best described as "chariot warriors." That the two great powers in Western Asia, the Hittites and Egyptians, were using horse-drawn chariots for war is attested both by documents and bas reliefs. The small Aramean states in Syria and the Canaanites in Palestine also learned to use the chariot. In the 1st millennium the Assyrians made extensive use of the war chariot, which was the secret of their widespread military success.

In construction the chariot was very light, the basic materials being wood and leather. Only essential parts were made of bronze or iron. The body was made of light wicker work with a high front to which were attached holders for spears, arrows, and a battle ax. The back was open. In later chariots the axle was regularly at the rear of the chariot body; earlier it was in the middle. Mostly chariots were low-set, although SENNACHERIB used one with wheels as high as a man.

The chariot crew consisted of two to four men. In the Egyptian and early Assyrian chariots there were two men, a driver and a warrior. The Hittites had a third man to carry a shield, and the Assyrians followed this custom. Their records refer to the *šalš rakbu,* "third rider." Three-man chariots were known in Syria and possibly among the Israelites who had a military officer known as *šālîš H8957*,

"third man" (Exod. 14:7; 15:4; 1 Ki. 9:22; 2 Ki. 9:25; et al.). In the time of ASHURBANIPAL, Assyrian chariots carried four men at times. Normally two horses were used to draw a chariot. Some Assyrian bas reliefs show a third horse, not yoked to the chariot but tethered behind. The chariot was of maximum use in battles on the plains, although it was used in mountainous areas also, judging from the Bronze Gates of SHALMANESER III in Balawat, which depict a campaign in the mountainous areas of the Upper TIGRIS.

II. The use of chariots. Chariots were used in both WAR and peace. Reliefs and paintings from various lands show the chariot in use for hunting, processions, and ceremonial rites. On such special occasions runners preceded the chariot calling bystanders to pay honor to the dignitary who was approaching (Gen. 41:43; Esth. 6:11). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods the chariot was popular for processions and festive occasions, as well as chariot races in the arenas.

Numerous bas reliefs and inscriptions show the importance of the chariot in war. The number of chariots engaged in battles was listed, as were the numbers taken as booty. Thus THUTMOSE III claims to have taken 924 chariots in booty at MEGIDDO *(ANET,* 237), and Amenhotep II lists 60 chariots of silver and gold and 1,032 painted wooden chariots among the booty of one of his campaigns *(ANET,* 247). Shalmaneser III of Assyria lists 1,121 chariots and 470 horses as the booty for his campaign against HAZAEL *(ANET,* 280), while at the Battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C., he claims, AHAB the Israelite sent a contingent of 2,000 chariots to the battle *(ANET,* 279). Assyrian and Egyptian records provide many more examples.

III. Chariots in the OT. Several Hebrew terms can be translated "chariot," but the most common word is *rekeb H8207 (merkābâ H5324* also occurs frequently). The first references to chariots in the OT are in an Egyptian setting. JOSEPH was honored by PHARAOH when he rode in the royal chariot (Gen. 41:43). He went to meet his father in his chariot (46:29). Chariots were present at JACOB'S funeral (50:9). Fleeing Israelites were pursued by chariots that were wrecked in the sea (Exod. 14:1–7, 9, 11–18, etc.; 15:4, 19; Deut. 11:4)—an event that became a symbol of God's deliverance of his people (Josh. 24:6; Ps. 76:6).

In Canaan the Israelites were confronted by Canaanite "chariots of iron," that is, with IRON fittings (Josh. 17:16; Jdg. 1:19). They were promised victory over such foes (Deut. 20:1). The chariots of the Canaanites probably hark back to the days of the Hyksos. Skeletons of horses and bronze bridle pieces have been excavated in the cemetery of Tell el-ʿAjul (Beth Eglaim). The Israelite conquest was at first limited to the hill country because of the risk of fighting the Canaanites armed with chariots on the plains. Even though JOSHUA had a victory at the "Waters of Merom" over JABIN of HAZOR and his coalition of kings with their horses and chariots (Josh. 11:1–9), the nature of the victory is unknown. It may have been an ambush, a surprise attack that enabled Joshua's men to burn the chariots and hamstring the horses. Excavations at Hazor

This chariot was given to the Egyptian courtier Yuya by his son-in-law, Pharaoh Amenhotep III (14th cent. B.C.); made of wood and covered in most parts with leather.

have demonstrated the nature of one of the larger Canaanite chariot centers.

But it was many years before the Israelites could conquer the plains that remained in Canaanite hands. Some time later the N tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun defeated the Canaanite army of SISERA and his 900 chariots (Jdg. 4:3). The PHILISTINES, with the help of their chariots, dominated the coastal areas in the days of SAMUEL and SAUL (1 Sam. 13:5). Some of the Israelites advocated the necessity of an Israelite chariot force (1 Sam. 8:11). DAVID may have introduced chariots into the Hebrew army, for he kept a number of chariot horses after defeating the Arameans (2 Sam. 8:4; 1 Chr. 18:4). Chariots featured in the rebellions of ABSALOM (2 Sam. 15:1) and ADONIJAH (1 Ki. 1:5). It was SOLOMON who especially developed Israel's chariot forces. He established chariot "cities" at Hazor and Megiddo, to protect the N against the Arameans at Lower Beth Horon; also at Gezer and Baalath to protect the S against the Philistines; and at Tamar in the Arabah as a safeguard against the Edomites (1 Ki. 9:11–19; 10:26). His army included 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen. The chariots and horses were bought from Egypt and from KUE in E Asia Minor (1 Ki. 10:21–29).

After Solomon's day, the northern kingdom developed its own chariot force. ELAH had two groups of chariots (1 Ki. 16:9), and AHAB had a very large chariot force. Shalmaneser III records that Ahab sent 2,000 chariots to the Battle of Qar-qar in 853 B.C. *(ANET,* 279). It seems probable that the stables excavated at MEGIDDO are the work of Ahab, and not Solomon as was formerly thought. In Jehu's and Jehoahaz's wars with the Arameans, Israel's chariot force was nearly wiped out. HAZAEL of DAMASCUS reduced Israel to ten chariots and fifty horsemen (2 Ki. 13:7) in the days of Jehoahaz. When eventually Samaria fell, SARGON reported the capture of only fifty chariots *(ANET,* 284). There is little mention in the OT of chariots in Judah, which probably had less need of them because of its hilly terrain. JOSIAH had two chariots at the Battle of Megiddo in 609 B.C. (2 Chr. 35:24), but these may have been personal ones. Judah seems to have depended on Egypt for help (Isa. 31:1). In later days chariots featured in the Seleucid wars (Dan. 11:40; 1 Macc. 1:17; 8:6) when some chariots were fitted with scythes (2 Macc. 13:2). There is no evidence that the Jews had chariots, however.

Chariots are used as symbols of royal dignity in the OT (Gen. 41:43; 1 Sam. 8:11; 2 Sam. 15:1; 1 Ki. 1:5; Jer. 17:25; 22:4). ELIJAH and ELISHA are esteemed as "chariots and horsemen of Israel" (2 Ki. 2:12; 13:14) because they symbolize spiritual power. God too has his "chariots," symbols of his power (Hab. 3:8; Ps. 68:17) or his judgment (Isa. 66:15). Chariots appear in Zechariah's visions as messengers of God sent out to the dispersed of Israel (Zech. 6:1–8). "Chariots dedicated to the sun" were used in pagan rites in Jerusalem in Josiah's day (2 Ki. 23:11).

IV. Chariots in the NT. There are only five references to chariots in the NT. Three of these are concerned with the story of PHILIP and the ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH (Acts 8:21–29, 38). The chariot here was evidently a means of transport. The same Greek word (Gk. *harma G761)* is used in Revelation, where the noise of a locust plague is likened to that made by horses and chariots going into battle (Rev. 9:9). A different term *(rhedē G4832,* "carriage") is featured in a list of merchant's cargo (Rev. 18:13). (See V. G. Childe in *History of Technology,* ed. C. Singer et al., vol. 1 [1954], 721–28; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 221–25; S. Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot, and Carriage: Symbol and Status in the History of Transport* [1992]; M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness* [2002]).

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charioteer. Both this term and the phrase "chariot driver" or the like are used in English Bibles to render several Hebrew words, including *rakkab H8208* (1 Ki. 22:34; 2 Chr. 18:33), *rekeb H8207* (e.g., 2 Sam. 10:18 NIV; this word usually means "chariot, chariotry"), and *pārāš H7305* (e.g., 1 Sam. 13:5 NIV; this word usually means "horseman"). Assyrian and Egyptian reliefs depict the chariots of the day, which normally carried a driver or charioteer, and one or more warriors as well.

chariots of the sun. Sun worship as part of the general cult of heavenly bodies is alluded to often in the OT (see SUN; SUN WORSHIP). One passage tells us that King JOSIAH removed from the temple "the horses that the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun" and "then burned the chariots of the sun" *(markĕbôt haššemeš, 2* Ki. 23:11 NRSV). Elsewhere in the ancient world this concept is not unknown. ARAMAIC inscriptions from Zinjirli in the 8th cent. B.C. refer to a deity Rekub)el who is associated with the Sun God, Shamash, perhaps as his charioteer. The same inscriptions show that Assyrian sun worship existed in Canaanite worship as in Judah, for the sun was worshiped alongside BAAL (HADAD).: The Assyrians called the Sun God *rākib narkabāti* ("chariot rider"). The Sumerian word for horse is *anše-kur-ra,* "ass of the mountain" or "foreign land," which some interpret as "ass of the east," perhaps because the chariot-driving, horse-riding Aryans seemed to come from the E (c. 1800 B.C.). In early Roman imperial times at RHODES, four horses were cast into the sea at the annual sun festival.

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charismata. See SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

charity. This term, which in present-day English means "almsgiving, benevolence," is used in the KJV with its older meaning, LOVE (1 Cor. 13:1 et al.; only in the Epistles and Revelation).

charm. See AMULET.

Charme kahr'mee (Χαρμη). The ancestor of a priestly family that returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:25; KJV, "Carme"); in the parallel passages he is called HARIM (Ezra 2:39; Neh. 7:42).

charmer, snake. See SNAKE CHARMING.

Charmis kahr'mis (Χαρμις). Son of Melchiel; he was one of the three rulers of BETHULIA to whom JUDITH appealed for help when HOLOFERNES threatened (Jdt. 6:15; 8:10; 10:6).

Charran kair'uhn. KJV NT form of HARAN.

Chaseba kas'uh-bah. KJV Apoc. form of CHEZIB (1 Esd. 5:31).

Chaspho kas'foh (Χασφω, with variant spellings in the MSS). One of a half-dozen cities in GILEAD where Jews were taken captive by Gentiles; Judas MACCABEE stormed the city and released the Jews (1 Macc. 5:26, 36; KJV, "Casphor"). This town is identified with CASPIN.

chastening, chastisement. See CORRECTION; DISCIPLINE.

chastity. The condition of being *chaste;* the latter is an adjective used in the KJV to render Greek *hagnos G54,* meaning "pure" (2 Cor. 11:2;Tit. 2:5; 1 Pet. 3:2). In some parts of the ancient world, moral chastity or PURITY was not synonymous with religious chastity. However, the moral and religious connotations are fused in the biblical usage of the term. See also HOLINESS.

The Scriptures emphasize chastity and moral purity in religious devotion in both Testaments. Israelites were called upon to lead lives that would reflect moral purity or chastity. Such chastity was expected to stem from their religious devotion to Yahweh and was to mark them as being separate from the practices of the surrounding nations (Lev. 20:21). Departures from the standards set forth in the OT resulted in unchaste behavior of various types among the ancient Israelites (Gen. 38:15; 2 Sam. 13; Ezek. 22:11).

Chastity in the OT did not include celibacy, as both the priests and individuals holding the NAZIRITE vow were not forbidden to marry (Num. 6:1–5). In fact, later Jewish tradition held that, while moral purity was to be desired highly, a man with no wife "is not a [proper] man" (*b. Yebam.* 63a). Likewise in the NT, chastity was stressed but was not to be confused with ASCETICISM or celibacy, although in certain instances Christ taught that a man or woman could forego MARRIAGE in service to God (Matt. 19:11–12; see also SEX; VIRGIN). At the same time Christ taught the sanctity of marriage and gave his tacit approval to the marriage ceremony both in his attendance at such ceremonies and by frequent allusions to marriage in his parables. (See Jn. 2:1–11; Matt. 19:1–6; 22:1–14; 25:1–13.)

In addition, Christ's activities at such occasions as the marriage supper in CANA of Galilee (Jn. 2) would lead one to believe that his teachings concerning chastity did not involve avoidance of social gatherings and related festivities. However, his social activities at times were the grounds for accusation and condemnation by his foes (Matt. 11:19). Evidently the religious leaders of his day expected him to be more ascetic than he appeared to be. In spite of frequent involvement with the culture surrounding him, Christ manifested a style of life that revealed self-control and impeccable moral purity.

The early followers of Christ, like the ancient Jews, were expected to be distinguishable from the world around them by their chaste or moral lives (1 Cor. 5:1–13; 2 Cor. 6:11–18; Tit. 2:5; 1 Pet. 3:2). The Roman satirist Juvenal, writing during the period of the early church, stated that it was not uncommon for women to have eight husbands in less than five years and that DIVORCE was common. In contrast to these practices, the early Christian communities stressed moral chastity, both prior to and

during marriage, and condemned indirectly if not directly such practices as polygamy, infidelity, divorce as practiced by the Roman world at that time, and other unchaste practices. (See for example 1 Tim. 3 and related passages in the NT concerning the Christian life.) Also, the church is referred to as a "chaste" virgin by Paul (2 Cor. 11:2), and Christians were exhorted to maintain purity in their external practices and in their thought lives (Matt. 1–7; Gal. 5:19—6:9; Phil. 4:1–9; 1 Thess. 4:11–12).

Both the Hebraic and Christian religions were expected to be distinguishable from the world around them by their chaste practices and emphasis on moral purity in religious devotion to God.

G. LAMBERT

Chebar kee'bahr. See KEBAR.

checker work. The expression "nets of checker work" is used by some English versions to render an unusual Hebrew phrase that means literally, "lattices—a work of lattice" (only in 1 Ki. 7:17; NIV simply, "network"). It refers to the seven-stranded link chains, four in warp and three in weft (to hold the four in line) draped over each of the pommels of the double capitals of the pillars named Jakin and Boaz in Solomon's TEMPLE. See JAKIN (PILLAR). From them were suspended the 200 POMEGRANATES (v. 20) laid out on the square with a distinct pomegranate at the corners (cf. Jer. 52:23). Pomegranates may be symbolical of the separate parts of the word of God as a unit, and placed at the head of the pillars they raise constant testimony to that word.

H. G. STIGERS

Chedorlaomer ked'uhr-lay-oh'muhr. See KEDOR-LAOMER.

cheek. The cheek comprises the lateral part of the mouth on each side of the face. Its limits are not precise: it is continuous above with the lower eyelid and descends below as far as the base of the jaw. In front it terminates at the nose and at the commissure of the lips (the corner of the mouth). Behind, it extends as far as the ear. The human cheekbone is the malar bone that forms the prominence of the face below and lateral to the eye socket beneath the upper portion of the cheek.

The corresponding Hebrew term, *lĕḥî H4305,* can refer to the jowls or jawbone of an animal (Deut. 18:3; Jdg. 15:11–17; see JAW), but it is usually rendered "cheek" when the reference is to a person (e.g., Cant. 1:10; Lam. 1:2). To smite the cheek is an act of reproach (Job 16:10; Lam. 3:30; et al.). Christ's command to turn the other cheek (Matt. 5:39 = Lk. 6:29; Gk. *siagōn G4965)* forcefully states what he meant the Christian's attitude toward reproach should be. In line with this instruction, both Paul and Peter, using different language, give expression to the special joy and blessing they experienced in thus enduring reproach for Christ's sake (2 Cor. 12:10; 1 Pet. 4:14).

P. E. ADOLPH

cheese. This word occurs three times in the OT, each time as the rendering of a different Hebrew term (1 Sam. 17:18; 2 Sam. 17:29; Job 10:10). The reference in Job's speech ("Did you not pour me out like milk / and curdle me like cheese…") is the clearest reference to cheese as the modern world knows it. Homer, in describing the Cyclops' cave *(Odyssey* 9), pictures a Mediterranean society roughly contemporaneous with the early Hebrew kings; he writes of hanging goatskins of CURDS, no doubt a stage in the production of cream cheese. Curdled with vegetable juice, the whey was allowed to drain away; the curds were dried and pressed into cakes. JERUSALEM'S Tyropoeon Valley was the

Valley of the Cheesemakers; it was doubtless a center of the industry. See also FOOD.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Chelal kee'lal. See KELAL.

Chelcias kel'shee-uhs, kel-kz"uhs. KJV Apoc. form of HILKIAH (1 Bar. 1:1 et al.).

Cheleoud kel'ee-*oo*d. See CHELOD.

Chelleans kel'ee-uhnz (Χελεοι). A people group of unknown identification, mentioned incidentally in the book of JUDITH, which states that HOLOFERNES "plundered all the Rassisites and the Ishmaelites on the border of the desert, south of the country of the Chelleans" (Jdt. 2:23). The name ISHMAELITE is such a broad, inclusive term that the location must remain somewhat uncertain. If the author intended a particular northern group of Ishmaelites, the Chelleans may be connected with modern el-Khalle (ancient Cholle) between Palmyra and the Euphrates River. Some scholars locate them somewhere to the N of the Ishmaelite tribes who lived in E Palestine next to the Arabian Desert. Still others suggest that they may simply be the inhabitants of the town CHELOUS (1:9).

K. L. BARKER

Chelluh kel'uh. KJV form of KELUHI.

Chellus kel'uhs. See CHELOUS.

Chelod kee'lod (Χελεουδ). According to the book of JUDITH, "the sons of Chelod" supported NEBUCHADNEZZAR in his war against Arphaxad (Jdt. 1:6 KJV; others, "Chelleoud"). Following the Syriac version, however, many scholars read "Chaldeans" and understand the sentence differently (cf. NRSV, "Thus, many nations joined the forces of the Chaldeans").

Chelous kel'uhs (Χελους). A town SW of Jerusalem near BETHANY but N of KADESH and the "river of Egypt" (Jdt. 1:9; KJV, "Chelus"; others, "Chellus"). It is probably to be identified with modern Khalaṣa, lying SW of BEERSHEBA on an important road leading S from Jerusalem to Egypt and on a caravan route between GAZA and EDOM (cf. further J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 489; *IDB,* 1:556). Another possibility is Halhul, 4 mi. N of Hebron (see C. A. Moore, *Judith,* AB 40 [1985], 126). See also CHELLEANS.

K. L. BARKER

Chelub kee'luhb. See KELUB.

Chelubai ki-l*oo*'b*i*. See CALEB.

Cheluhi kel'uh-h*i*. See KELUHI.

Chemarims kem'uh-rims. This name occurs only once in the KJV as the transliteration of a Hebrew word that means "idol-priests" (Zeph. 1:4; the word is translated properly by the KJV in 2 Ki. 23:5

and Hos. 10:5).

Chemosh kee'mosh (כְּמוֹשׁ *H4019,* meaning uncertain). The name of the national god of MOAB, Chemosh is mentioned eight times in the OT. In Num. 21:29 the Moabites are called the people of Chemosh (cf. Jer. 48:46), though in Jdg. 11:24 this god is associated with the Ammonites (see AMMON). SOLOMON built a high place for Chemosh, as he did for the gods of several other of his wives, but the text describes Chemosh as the abomination of Moab (cf. 1 Ki. 11:7, 33). JOSIAH destroyed this shrine about 300 years later (2 Ki. 23:13). JEREMIAH prophesied that Chemosh and his devotees would be carried into captivity (Jer. 48:7), which would bring shame to his worshipers (48:13).

The name Chemosh appears twelve times on the MOABITE STONE, two apparently in a compound form *(ANET,* 320). On this stone, King MESHA describes himself as "son of Chemosh-…"; the second part of the name has been obliterated but can be restored as "-yat" on the basis of a fragmentary inscription found in Kerak (cf. also "Kammusunadbi of Moab" on the Taylor Prism, which details Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine in 701 B.C.; see *ANET,* 287). The other compound is Ashtar-Chemosh, which suggests that Chemosh may have been an astral god paired with the goddess ISHTAR (Venus). Mesha constructed a temple for them at Qarhoh (vocalization uncertain), a town probably located close to DIBON.

Almost nothing is known of the character of Chemosh, but the inscription on the Moabite

King Mesha records in the Moabite Stone that he made a high place (sacrificial altar) for his god Chemosh, possibly represented in this statuette from the Iron Age II.

Stone suggests that he was a savage war god. He is thought to be "the ancient underworld deity worshiped in Ebla under the name Kamish" (K. van der Toorn in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East,* ed. J. M. Sasson [1995], 3:2047). While Israel dominated Moab, Chemosh is said to have been angry with his people. With victory, he evidently became quite happy again. (See also D. I. Block, *The Gods of the Nations,* 2nd ed. [2000]; John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* [2000]; *DDD,* 181–89.)

G. H. LIVINGSTON

Chenaanah ki-nay'uh-nuh. See KENAANAH.

Chenani ki-nay'n*i*. See KENANI.

Chenaniah ken'uh-n*i*'uh. See KENANIAH.

Chenoboskion ken'aw-bos'kee-uhn. The site of ancient monastic settlements in Egypt near which the texts of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY were discovered. The modern village is called al-Qaṣr.

Chephar-ammoni, Chephar-haammonai kee'fuhr-am'uh-n*i*, kee'fuhr-hay-am'uh-ni. See KEPHAR AMMONI.

Chephirah ki-f*i*'ruh. See KEPHIRAH.

Cheran kihr'uhn. See KERAN.

Chereas kihr'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of CHAEREAS (2 Macc. 10:31–38).

Cherethim, Cherethite ker'uh-thim, ker'uh-th*i*t. See KERETHITE.

Cherith ker'ith. See KERITH.

cherub, cherubim cher'uhb, cher'uh-bim (כְּרוּב *H4131,* usually pl., כְּרֻבִים [meaning unknown, although "intercessor" has been suggested on the basis of Akk. *karābu,* "to pray, bless"]; χερούβ *G5938* [in the NT, only in the form χερουβίν, Heb. 9:5]). KJV also "cherubims" (superfluous English pl. form). The term refers to a winged angelic creature and is applied mainly to the images made for the TABERNACLE and the TEMPLE.

I. Nature. The nature of the cherub has been a matter of debate. The biblical evidence is basically limited to the OT (Heb. 9:5 is the only direct reference in the NT). Appeal has been made to the ANE milieu, resulting in several views.

A. Identification. The Bible states the existence of spiritual beings created by God that may assume physical form for particular purposes. These creatures may be classified into two categories: (1) those in proper relationship with God are generally called angels or messengers, and (2) those in

rebellion against God are referred to as demons. Some passages (e.g., Eph. 6:12; Col. 1:16) give other designations for these creatures. See ANGEL; DEMON.

There are probably a number of angelic ranks. The Bible mentions the "angel of the LORD," which may be a Christophany. Chief angels are called "archangels" (1 Thess. 4:16; Jude 9) or chief princes (Dan. 10:13). The names of GABRIEL and MICHAEL are associated with these positions. The angelic leader of the demonic hosts is SATAN or the devil (associated by some with the MORNING STAR [KJV, LUCIFER] of Isa. 14:12; cf. the "guardian cherub" of Ezek. 28:14).

The term "living creatures" (Ezek. 1:1–28; 3:13; 10:15, 17; Rev. 4:1–9; 5:1–14; 6:1–8; 7:1–11; 14:3; 15:7; 19:4) probably indicates a classification of specialized angelic beings including cherubim, seraphim (see SERAPH), and other unnamed ranks of supernatural beings. However, they seem to be distinguished from certain angels (Rev. 5:11; 7:11; 15:7). While the living creatures of Ezek. 1:1–28 are to be equated with the cherubim of 10:11–21, those in Rev. 4:1–9 are similar to cherubim in that they have facial features of the same animals. Each living creature in the book of Revelation had a single face, which differs from the two-faced and four-faced cherubim of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:6; 10:14; 41:18). The "wheels" associated with the cherubim of Ezekiel's vision had eyes like the living creatures of Revelation, but not the cherubim themselves (Ezek. 1:18; 10:12). The wheels are considered as another rank of angelic beings in the pseudepigraphical book of *1 Enoch.* The living creatures of Revelation have six wings (Rev. 4:8), which is true of the seraphim (Isa. 6:2), but not of the cherubim, who have two (1 Ki. 6:24) or four wings (Ezek. 10:21).

B. Number. The total number of cherubim created by God is unknown. Four are mentioned in Ezek. 1:5; 10:9, 12. Many artistic representations of them were used in the decorations of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple. The wide decorative use in Israel's religious edifices, along with the common plural form *cherubim,* would argue for the possibility of a multiplicity of these creatures.

C. Appearance. The physical appearance of the cherubim is problematic. With prophetic visions and artistic representations being the sole biblical evidence for form, one could question whether they are realistic attempts to picture the actual creature. The composite nature of these beings and differences of description seem enigmatic. The repetition of the terminology "likeness" and "form" in the description of Ezekiel would indicate a definite inability on his part to express in words what he had seen. It is possible that either he had never before seen such creatures or his readers were not expected to be familiar with them in this form. Even in the 1st cent. A.D., JOSEPHUS pointed out that no one knew what the cherubim looked like *(Ant.* 8.3.3).

It is known from the Bible that cherubim had the general appearance of men (Ezek. 1:5), but hardly like the winged boys of the art of later times. Each had two faces (41:18—those of a man and a lion) or four faces (1:6, 10; 10:14, 21–22—of a lion, an ox [replaced by a cherub's face in 10:14], an eagle, and a man). Each cherub had at least two wings (1 Ki. 6:24) while others had four (Ezek. 1:6, 11). In both cases two wings were extended above and were used to fly. The four winged cherubim used the second pair to cover their bodies (cf. the wings of the seraphim, Isa. 6:2). Under their wings they had human hands (Ezek. 1:8; 10:8, 21, prob. only two). Their legs were straight, not capable of bending. Their feet were like the sole of a calf's foot (1:7).

In an attempt to solve the problems related to the appearance of the cherubim, scholars have turned to the culture of the ANE for complementary information. The archaeological remains have yielded many hybrid human-animal forms in Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, Greek, and Canaanite art from the first two millennia B.C. These include winged sphinxes (cf. ivory box from

Megiddo and the sphinx throne of King Ahiram of Byblos in *ANEP,* plates 128, 451–458 respectively), winged humans *(ANEP,* plates 609, 614), winged humans with eagle's heads *(ANEP,* plates 617, 645), and other combinations of human and animal forms *(ANEP,* plates 641–66).

W. F. Albright (in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader,* ed. G. W. Wright and D. N. Freedman [1961], 91–97) and others believe that the cherubim may be identified with the winged sphinx or winged lion with a human head because of its dominance in the art and religious symbolism of Syro-Palestine. Some would equate the cherubim with the Assyro-Babylonian colossi, Egyptian griffins, and other representations. One must, however, emphasize that none of these proposed identifications accurately depicts the cherubim as described in the Bible.

II. Function. Evidence concerning the function of the cherubim may be summarized under three subpoints.

A. Guardians. After ADAM and EVE were driven out of the Garden of EDEN, God placed cherubim and a flaming, revolving sword to guard the road to the tree of life (Gen. 3:24). In this activity they are similar to the colossi of the ANE who watched the entrances of cities, palaces, and temples. The use of the cherubim in the decoration of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple may indicate a guarding function or reflect the role of divine attendants in the celestial sphere.

B. Associated with fire. Not only were the cherubim found in close relationship with the flaming sword when they protected the Garden of Eden—they are also said to have walked in the midst of stones of fire in the holy mountain of God (Ezek. 28:14, 16), a possible reference to God's presence. Ezekiel in his vision saw God, the cherubim, and the throne-chariot in terms of a thunder cloud spewing lightning and having a rainbow (1:4, 11–14, 21–28; cf. *ANEP,* plates 491–91, 501–501 for divine association with lightning). Coals of fire were seen between the cherubim and the wheels of the divine chariot (10:6). Burning coals were taken from there to be spread in judgment over the city of Jerusalem (10:2). While the seraphim utilized hot coals to purify the lips of God's servant (Isa. 6:1–7), the cherubim dispensed them at God's command as an act of judgment (Ezek. 10:2, 7).

C. Bearers of God's throne-chariot. Yahweh was characterized as the one "who is enthroned *[lit.,* sits] between the cherubim" (1 Sam. 4:4; 2 Sam. 6:2; 2 Ki. 19:15; 1 Chr. 13:6; Pss. 80:1; 99:1; Isa. 37:16) because God made himself known to MOSES from between the two cherubim mounted at opposite ends of the mercy seat of the ARK OF THE COVENANT (Exod. 25:22; Num. 7:89). Even as Yahweh is represented by the cloud of glory upon the two cherubim of the ark of the covenant, so in the ANE deities are illustrated by human forms standing on the backs of lions, bulls, or composite animals singly or in pairs (cf. *ANEP,* plates 471–74, 486, 501–501, 522, 531–31, 534, 537).

The place where God sat on the outstretched wings of the cherubim was called the CHARIOT (1 Chr. 28:18). In Ezekiel's vision Yahweh was visualized as seated on a throne-chariot (Ezek. 1:26; 10:1) having four wheels capable of movement in any direction (1:11–17; 10:11). The wheels were empowered by adjacent cherubim (1:21; 10:17) who used their wings to make the throne-chariot airborne (10:16). See THRONE.

The throne-chariot with the cherubim in Ezekiel was seen as a storm CLOUD upon which Yahweh

Artist's rendition of one of the cherubim that were placed on opposite ends of the mercy seat.

rode (Ezek. 1:4). Other passages (Ps. 104:3; Isa. 19:1) declare that Yahweh uses the clouds as his chariot and rides the swift cloud controlling the weather much like the storm gods in Canaanite stories (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [1965], 484, lists the references in Ugaritic literature to the "rider of the clouds"). In two parallel poetic passages Yahweh is pictured as riding on a flying cherub (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:10). This does not mean that cherubim are to be equated with clouds. Similarly, Ps. 80 seems to attribute to Yahweh the character of a sun god with shining face as he rides a cherub across the sky. This brings to mind the ubiquitous winged sun disc of the ANE (cf. *ANEP,* e.g., plate 653) and the solar chariots of pagan sun worship (2 Ki. 23:11). Neither should be identified as cherubim.

III. OT decorative uses. Composite human-animal figures are found in ancient art representing subordinates ministering to deities. In like manner cherubim were used in connection with Israel's religious architecture having important symbolic meaning. At God's direction they were incorporated into the design of the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle. Solomon's temple utilized them in its decoration. Ezekiel's vision of the millennial temple also exhibited cherubim.

A. Ark of the covenant. On the mercy seat of the ARK OF THE COVENANT were placed two cherubim facing one another (Exod. 25:11–20; 37:1–9). They were made out of hammered gold and were of one piece with the MERCY SEAT. The cherubim were formed with their wings spread above and overshadowing the mercy seat.

B. Tabernacle. Cherubim were embroidered on ten curtains of white fine-twined linen and material of blue, purple, and scarlet. These curtains, twenty-eight cubits by four cubits each, when coupled together, made up either the outside wall or the undermost covering of the tabernacle tent. A veil of the same materials was hung between the Most Holy Place and the Holy Place. On this were also embroidered cherubim (Exod. 26; 36).

C. Solomon's temple. In the inner sanctuary of Solomon's temple were placed two olive-wood cherubim overlaid with gold (1 Ki. 6:21–28; 2 Chr. 3:11–14; 5:1–9). The cherubim were ten cubits high and each had two wings five cubits long. The wingspread of each was ten cubits. They were set up facing the entrance so that one wing of each cherub touched the outside wall of the inner sanctuary on opposite sides, while their other wings touched in the middle of the room. Under the cherubim the ark of the covenant was situated.

On the wood paneled walls of the temple were carved figures of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers both in the inner and outer rooms (1 Ki. 6:29; 2 Chr. 3:7). The relationship of cherubim with palm trees is understood by some as a decorative motif with reference to Gen. 3:24. The same decorations were cut into the olive-wood doors of the inner sanctuary and the cyprus doors of the nave. These were overlaid with gold (1 Ki. 6:31–35). In the doorway of the inner sanctuary a veil of linen and blue, purple, and scarlet material was hung and on it were embroidered cherubim (2 Chr. 3:14).

Solomon made ten laver stands cast from bronze after the pattern of a wagon or chariot (1 Ki. 7:21–39). They had four wheels with axles attached to a squared frame on which panels were fixed. Each of these panels was decorated with lions, oxen, cherubim, and wreaths. The same decoration was applied to the stays on the round band at the top of the stand.

D. Ezekiel's temple. In the temple foreseen by Ezekiel, cherubim were to be part of the decorative scheme (Ezek. 41:11–20). On all the walls around the inner room, the nave, and the whole temple from the floor to above the door were carved cherubim and palm trees. The cherubim had two faces turned in opposite directions: one of a man and the other of a young lion. The design alternated cherubim with palm trees so that there was a palm tree on either side of each cherub and vice versa (cf *ANEP,* plates 654, 656). (See also P. Dhorme and L.-H. Vincent in *RB* 35 [1926]: 321–58, 481–95; M. Haran in *IEJ* 9 [1959]: 31–38; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 291–302, 304, 311–20; J. B. Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* [1962], 281–95; *DDD,* 181–92.)

D. E. ACOMB

Cherub (place) ker'uhb. See KERUB.

Chesalon kes'uh-lon. See KESALON.

Chesed kee'sed. See KESED.

Chesil kee'suhl. See KESIL.

chest. A box (of any size) for keeping valuables. English versions use this term in a few passages (e.g., 2 Ki. 12:1–10 [LXX *kibōtos G3066]; 2* Chr. 24:1–11 [LXX *glōssokomon G1186])* to render

Hebrew *)ărôn H778,* a word that occurs elsewhere frequently with reference to the ARK OF THE COVENANT. Another Hebrew term, *)argaz H761,* occurs only in one passage (1 Sam. 6:8, 11, 15). The KJV also uses "chest" in a difficult verse (Ezek. 27:24; see CARPET).

Chester Beatty Papyri. A group of twelve Greek MSS on PAPYRUS acquired by the late A. Chester Beatty about 1930. They are thought to have come from the Fayum in Egypt. At the same time some other parts of the same collection found their way to the University of Michigan and to the John H. Scheide papyrus collection in Princeton University. By generous collaboration between the various owners, the papyri have been published as units. They range in date from the early 2nd cent. to the late 4th, and include examples of biblical, apocryphal, and early Christian homiletic writings. They played an important part immediately upon their discovery and publication, showing that the use of the CODEX form for the Christian book antedated the 4th cent. and the introduction of parchment on a wide scale. (See F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* [1931–41]; A. C. Johnson et al., *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* [1938].) The biblical texts are designated with Roman numerals, as follows:

Pap. I (3rd cent.) originally contained the four Gospels, but it is now fragmentary, with large parts of Mark and Luke and less of the others remaining. A small fragment of Matthew is in Vienna. The text of Mark here found confirmed the existence in Egypt in the 3rd cent. of a text-type already known from ORIGEN'S quotations. In NT textual criticism it is known as P^{45}.

Pap. II (P^{46}, late 2nd or early 3rd cent.) contains the Pauline epistles from Rom. 5 to 1 Thess. 5 with lacunae. Much of this important MS is in Ann Arbor,

The Chester Beatty Papyri collection includes P^{46}, now at the University of Michigan. Containing most of Paul's letters, it is one of the earliest and most important witnesses to the text of the NT.

Michigan. Its text agrees closely with that of CODEX VATICANUS and the important Athos MS 1739, which give a good text with a low proportion of corruptions, the product of Christian scholarship.

Pap. III (P^{47}, late 3rd cent.) contains Rev. 9:10—17:2. Its text agrees closely with the quotations of Origen and with CODEX SINAITICUS. This text, though early, is corrupt and bears marks of simplification and abbreviation.

Pap. IV (Göttingen no. 961, early 4th cent.) contains Gen. 1–44. This MS and Pap. V, along with the Berlin Genesis, represent the most important early witnesses to the SEPTUAGINT of Genesis. They form a distinct textual group, akin to the important uncial Codex Colberto-Sarravianus. (See A. Pietersma, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Edition with Text-Critical Analysis* [1977].)

Pap. V (962, late 3rd cent.) contains Gen. 21–46, with rather less loss by accidental mutilation than Pap. IV.

Pap. VI (963, 2nd cent.) contains parts of Numbers and Deuteronomy. It has no notable new readings but is significant because of its early date.

Pap. VII (965, early 3rd cent.) contains parts of Isaiah much fragmented, akin in text to CODEX

ALEXANDRINUS and Codex Marchalianus. It has an interesting series of Coptic marginal glosses.

Pap. VIII (966, 3rd cent.) is a fragmentary single leaf of Jeremiah, with parts of chapters 1–5. Pap. IX–X (961–968, 3rd cent.) contains parts of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther. The text of Ezekiel it attests is in close agreement with Vaticanus, together the most important pre-Hexaplaric witnesses (see SEPTUAGINT). The portion of Daniel is yet more important and epoch-making in giving the true LXX text, previously known only in one minuscule and in the Syro-Hexaplar version. Esther agrees with Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.

Pap. XI (964, 4th cent.) contains parts of Sir. 31–37, 41–47; too small for significance.

Pap. XII contains the latter part of *1 Enoch* and the Homily of Melito, bishop of Sardis (mid-2nd cent.) on the Passover, typologically understood. Neither work was previously known in Greek.

J. N. BIRDSALL

chestnut (tree). See PLANE TREE.

Chesulloth ki-suhl'oth. See KESULLOTH.

cheth keth. See HETH.

Chettiim ket'uh-im. KJV Apoc. form of KITTIM (1 Macc. 1:1).

Chezib kee'zib. (1) Alternate spelling of KEZIB.

(2) An ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:31; KJV, "Chaseba").

chiasm (from χιασμός, "crosswise arrangement," from the shape of the letter χ, *chi).* Also *chiasmus.* A literary device whereby words or ideas are repeated in inverted order, so that, for example, the first clause corresponds with the fourth, and the second with the third. (Cf. J. W. Welch and D. B. McKin-lay, *Chiasmus Bibliography* [1999], which includes listings for both OT and NT as well as other literature.) See HEBREW POETRY II.

chicken. Domestic chickens are mentioned only in Jesus' cry to Jerusalem, "how often I have longed to gather your children together, as a hen [*ornis G3998*] gathers her chicks [*nossion G3800*] under her wings, but you were not willing" (Matt. 23:27 = Lk 13:34; cf. 2 Esd. 1:30). This is a striking simile, perhaps spoken as our Lord indicated a hen urgently calling her little chicks to the safety of her wings as some danger—a hawk or crow—threatened.

No explicit references are found in the OT, but two passages merit attention. (1) Part of a day's provision at SOLOMON's table (mid-10th cent. B.C.) consisted of "gazelles, roebucks and choice fowl *[barbur H1350]"* (1 Ki. 4:23). (2) At the time of the return from exile (mid-5th cent.) there is a reference to "poultry" (Neh. 5:18; the word here is *ṣippôr H7606,* a common term for "bird, fowl"). These passages refer obviously to clean birds, and the inference is that they were prepared in captivity, if not actually domesticated.

The domestic fowl is derived from the jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus)* of India. Domestication in its homeland took place early; remains found in the Indus valley, c. 2000 B.C., have bones much bigger than in the wild form, indicating that it was already modified. It appeared in Egypt before the 14th

cent. B.C., brought by sea from the E, so the Israelites may have known it before the exodus, and there is a remote possibility that it came to Palestine from Egypt. Chickens could perhaps have been imported directly from India along with APES and PEACOCKS (1 Ki. 10:22; NIV, "apes and baboons"), because such lists were obviously not complete. From India the fowl was taken overland to the Euphrates-Tigris basin by about 800 B.C. and is shown on proto-Corinthian pottery dated some fifty years later. By 500 B.C. it was well known through the Greek world, with a variety of breeds.

The earliest archaeological evidence from Palestine so far is a seal showing a fighting cock, found at Tell en-Naṣbeh, c. 600 B.C. (see ROOSTER). The seal bears the name Jaazaniah, officer of the king (2 Ki. 25:23), but this is not conclusive proof that chickens were being kept in Palestine. However, it is possible that they had come before the time of Nehemiah or, more likely, been brought by returning exiles. F. S. Bodenheimer *(Animals and Man in Bible Lands, 2* vols. [1961–72], 1:190) points out that goose-keeping is illustrated on ivories at MEGIDDO c. 1000 B.C. Geese had been domesticated much earlier in Egypt and elsewhere and it was usual to fatten them for the table. The Hebrew word *barbur* could well refer to geese. (See *FFB,* 11–17,39.)

G. S. CANSDALE

Chidon k*i*'duhn. See KIDON.

chief. This English term is used to render a variety of Hebrew nouns, including *rōʾš H8031,* "head" (e.g., 2 Ki. 25:18); *śar H8569,* "leader, official" (e.g., Gen. 40:9); *nāśîʾ H5954,* "prince" (e.g., 1 Ki. 8:1); *ʾallûp H477,* "tribal leader" (e.g., Gen. 36:15); and *nāgîd H5592,* "ruler, sovereign" (e.g., 1 Sam. 9:16). See also RULER. In the NT the word "chief" (as an adjective) appears primarily with reference to the chief PRIESTS.

chief musician. This phrase is used by the KJV to render the Hebrew term *mĕnaṣēaḥ* (piel ptc. of *nāṣaḥ H5904,* "to act as overseer"), which is found in the heading of many psalms (e.g., Pss. 1–6). It is translated "director of music" by the NIV and simply as "leader" by the NRSV.

chief priest. See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

chief seats. See SEAT.

child. In biblical times, to be childless was to be regarded with reproach (2 Sam. 6:23; Jer. 22:30), whereas the large family was considered a source of happiness and a means toward success (Ps. 127:1–5). Jesus made special effort in his outreach toward children, much to the consternation of his disciples (Lk. 18:11–16). His teaching emulated the child's simple, trusting approach to the kingdom of God (18:17). He also encouraged the HOSANNA welcome accorded him by children in the temple area (Matt. 21:15).

Whereas the eventual character and skills of a human being are dependent upon both heredity and environment, a child's heredity determines the uppermost limit of his capacity to achieve. Heredity is not subject to significant alteration following conception, apart from the effect of serious disease that might affect the mother during the gestation of the fetus (unborn infant) through chemical interchange or transmission of infectious material between the blood streams of mother and fetus.

Environment, on the other hand, is what serves to fill in the void of this inherited capacity

encountered at birth. Evidently substantial environmental influences begin immediately after birth (cf. Ezek. 16:4–5). Moreover, child psychologists inform parents that the effects of environment are at work much earlier than they used to think they were. Noteworthy is the fact that as the child starts to run about, thus asserting a certain degree of independence, there naturally ensues an occasional clash of wills between parent and child. Psychoanalysts have clearly demonstrated that the manner in which these clashes are dealt during the first two or three years usually affects the future character of the child.

This development of character is brought about by the progressive organization of the child's emotions about certain key ideas to constitute sentiments, attitudes, interests, or so-called complexes, first of all in relation to parents and siblings, and later to teachers, friends, and playmates. Motivation is of great importance in this regard. The mother of Confucius is upheld as the motivating factor in his life and achievements, and down through history there have been many others whose interests and aspirations were acquired from one or both parents during earlier years.

There is much rationale to the assertion of the Roman Catholic Church that, if they are entrusted with the training of the child until seven years of age, there will be little tendency to stray from their teachings after that. This is in accordance with the scriptural injunction, "Train a child in the way he should go, / and when he is old he will not turn from it" (Prov. 22:6). This is applicable not only to trends in behavior but also to intellectual pursuits and the motivation for them. Much potential effect is missed by certain educational circles where the parent is encouraged to keep hands off in situations that arise at age two and three years, with the prospect that the teacher at a later age can do a much better job with the child. Later when the teacher encounters the child, all too often the pattern is set beyond much alteration. By this time, "Even a child makes himself known by his actions, / by whether his conduct is pure and right" (20:11).

In view of the above, it cannot be urged too strongly that parents face their responsibility for teaching the child during the first three years, which constitute the more plastic stages of the child's mental life. This should be in the form of daily urging by parents and setting of ideals, aims, and worshipful attitudes before the child, based upon biblical teaching at the family altar and at other appropriate times. Even where one of the parents in the home is an unbeliever, the responsibility of the believing parent must be recognized (1 Cor. 7:14).

It is a worthwhile guideline that the period from seven to fourteen years of age is the best period for memorizing, and the period of adolescence from fourteen to twenty-one years of age is the best period for reasoning. Since reasoning is prominent during adolescence, it is important that the stage should be appropriately set for it. Adolescence is characterized by a tendency to adopt the attitudes of others of the same age, an increasing stubbornness and impatience with authority, and resistance to conventional patterns of thinking and behavior often manifested by an obstinate independence of parental control. Such a situation is doubtless in view in 2 Ki. 2:23–24, where the KJV's "little children" is more appropriately translated "youths" (NIV). Since adolescence is a period when religious experiences and problems are dealt with most profoundly, an environment of intellectual honesty within a Christian framework should be provided. See also FAMILY; MARRIAGE.

P. E. ADOLPH

childbearing. The act of bringing forth a child, often also termed *childbirth* or more technically *parturition.* It involves much physical effort—appropriately called *labor*—on the part of the mother. For this reason it is often accomplished with greater facility by those who have practiced regular physical exercise, such as the Hebrew women slaves in Egypt did, as compared with most of the rest

of the Egyptian populace, who doubtless lived in greater ease. This evidently accounts for the statement of Exod. 1:19 that the Hebrew women were more vigorous than Egyptian women and were delivered before the midwives attended them. It is also to be noted in this connection that childbirth was accomplished with the mother sitting on a BIRTHSTOOL (1:16, possibly the same double-seated stool used by Egyptian peasant women today), which enhanced the process because of the force of gravity.

Labor normally consists of three stages: (1) dilation of the mouth (cervix) of the womb lasting eight to fourteen hours, (2) expulsion of the infant through a period of an hour or two as the womb contracts more frequently and more forcibly, and (3) separation and expulsion of the afterbirth (placenta) usually within fifteen minutes. Duration of these three stages varies with the size and shape of the mother's pelvis, physical energy of the mother, size and presenting part of the infant, and possible complications of childbirth. In the NT the term is used once *(teknogonia G5450,* 1 Tim. 2:15; it includes the definite article, possibly an allusion to Gen. 3:15).

The pains of childbearing are mentioned frequently in the Bible to illustrate sudden and unexpected anguish (1 Thess. 5:3), or the sorrow accompanying the judgments of God (Isa. 13:6–8). Jeremiah in particular seems partial to this figure of speech (Jer. 4:31; 6:24; 13:21; 22:23; 49:24; 50:43). Paul uses it once to express his concern for the development of his converts by addressing them as his children, for whom he is again in travail until Christ is reproduced in them (Gal. 4:19). He also uses it to depict the SUFFERING of creation, which awaits the consummation of the redemption of the body (Rom. 8:22). See also BIRTH.

P. E. ADOLPH

Childhood of Jesus, Gospels of the. See APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.

Children, Song of the Three. See AZARIAH, PRAYER OF.

children of God. The Hebrew expression "sons of God" (*bĕnê hāʾĕlōhîm)* occurs a few times in the OT with reference to angelic beings (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; cf. Pss. 29:1; 89:6; Dan. 3:25, 28; note also that in Deut. 32:8 there is some textual evidence for this expression instead of the MT's "sons of Israel"). The meaning of the same phrase in Gen. 6:2 is debated; see SONS OF GOD. A similar expression, "sons of the Most High," occurs once, apparently referring to judges and rulers (Ps. 82:6; others take this passage as a mock trial of Canaanite gods). Equivalent descriptions, however, are often applied to the Israelites (Exod. 4:22; Deut. 14:1; Ps. 73:15; Isa 43:6; Hos. 1:10; et al.). In the NT, the expressions "sons of God" (e.g., Matt. 5:9; Gk. *huios G5626)* and "children of God" (e.g., Jn. 1:12; Gk. *teknon G5451)* occur often, and no obvious distinction is made between them (cf. Rom. 8:14–21). For other terms, see the articles on ADOPTION and REGENERATION.

I. Old Testament conceptions. In striking contrast with the beliefs of surrounding peoples, God's FATHERHOOD is never thought of in the OT in a biological sense, and this fact affects all biblical teaching on the subject (cf. the pagan idea mentioned in Jer. 2:27). The idea of sonship appears in a variety of ways.

A. Israel as a nation. The Hebrew nation is called by Yahweh "my firstborn son" (Exod. 4:22; cf. Jer. 31:9; Hos. 11:1; see FIRSTBORN). Israel is the special object of his care, endowment, mercy, and —an idea specially significant throughout Judaism—chastisement. Her filial response was to be

obedience and trust (cf. Isa. 1:2), worship (Exod. 4:23; Mal. 1:6). The Song of Moses (Deut. 32) summarizes the chief grounds of Israel's sonship: by God's CREATION (cf. Isa. 64:8), ELECTION (cf. Deut. 7:7), REDEMPTION (cf. Isa. 43:1–6)—in a word, by COVENANT (cf. Deut. 14:1–2). J. Swetnam (in *Bib* 47 [1966]: 38–44) offers the interesting suggestion that the SEPTUAGINT use of *diathēkē G1347* ("testament, covenant") arose from its representing a covenant of adoption with the purpose of deliverance from bondage, which could be applied to a cultic self-dedication to a god. The biological idea appears in Deut. 32:18, but only as a striking metaphor. Elsewhere the covenant notion is stressed by describing Israel as the wife of Yahweh; and in Jer. 3:4 the two ideas apparently combine.

B. Individual Israelites. We have considered the thought of Israel's children as born to Yahweh (Ezek. 16:20–21; 23:4, 37). Such individualism finds other sources also: in their disobedience (Deut. 32:19), restoration (Jer. 3:14–22), and right to consideration from compatriots (Ps. 73:15; Mal. 2:10). As national life declined, the prophets tended to call for the individual response of a REMNANT. Psalm 103:13 stresses the filial blessedness of the faithful soul, an idea that continues in the intertestamental period (Wisd. 2:18).

C. The Davidic King. As the Lord's anointed, the KING embodied the national covenant both in its immediate and future implications. In 2 Sam. 7:14 his divine sonship receives specially intimate emphasis ("his father…my son"). In Ps. 2:7 his designation as king and son is called a "begetting" *(yālad H3528)*. Similarly in Ps. 89:27, where he is called "my firstborn," the blessings of sonship are the subject of large promises that significantly contribute to the OT messianic hope. See MESSIAH.

D. Human beings. While the idea of man and woman as created in the IMAGE OF GOD would have amply entitled them to be called "children of God," in fact the idea is never expounded. The question "Have we not all one Father?" (Mal. 2:10) may refer to ABRAHAM, since the passage continues by condemning intermarriage, restricting the idea to Jews. At the same time there are indications that non-Israelites, such as RAHAB and RUTH, could become the children of God by inclusion in Israel even as GENTILES and apart from national connections (Isa. 19:24; 45:9–13). In this way the OT laid the groundwork for the universalism of the gospel. See FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

E. The idea of motherhood. The OT avoids both sexuality and sentimentality in its conception of the filial relationship, but does not entirely neglect the maternal element. God's creative work is described in terms of a woman in travail (Job 38:28–29; Ps. 90:2; cf. Israel, Deut. 32:18). Wisdom is "given birth" (Prov. 8:24). His love for his children is more than a mother's (Isa. 49:15). He yearns for them as a mother (Jer. 31:20) and they are reared as by a mother's hand (Isa. 46:3, 4; Hos. 11:3). The idea reappears in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see below) and in the NT (Jas. 1:18).

II. Intertestamental period. All the elements of the filial relationship of God's people appear, though sketchily, in the literature of the intertestamental period. God as a Father is spoken of as delivering the righteous (Sir. 51:10–12; Wisd. 2:16, cf. Matt. 27:42–43), publicly owning them as his children (Wisd. 5:5). He is invoked as "Father and Master of my life" (Sir. 23:1; cf. v. 4). The Prayer of Manasseh foreshadows the spiritual idea of descent (Pr. Man. 6; cf. Matt. 3:9), and in *Jubilees* (1.23ff.) the sonship of 2 Sam. 7:14 is claimed for renewed Israel. The idea of chastening repeatedly appears (e.g., Sir. 18:13; Tob. 13:4–5); this is used to explain both the sufferings of the loyal Israelite and the willingness of a holy God to tolerate his sin (cf. the thought of Wisd. 14:3).

There is a remarkable passage in the DEAD SEA SCROLLS where the writer addresses God as a "father of all [the sons] of Thy truth," going on to compare God's love with a mother's love, and finally asserting that all creatures share in this

A fragment of the Thanksgiving Scroll (before being opened). In one of the hymns, the poet compares God's love to that of a father for his children.

father-care of God (Thanksgiving Hymn 14 = 1QH[a] XVII, 35–36 [Sukenik col. 9]). But this language appears to be unique in the DSS, which regularly use abstractions as periphrases for God in analogous phrases, such as "children of light," "of truth," even "of grace." While the explicit teaching of the idea that the faithful are children of God is comparatively uncommon, yet often in the devotional literature of the period God is addressed in the same way that a father would be spoken to by a child in the patriarchal society of the time. The idea may therefore be said to be found in personal experience, or at least in the longings of believing hearts.

III. New Testament teaching. The fatherhood of God, which in the OT hardly ever left the confines of metaphor, becomes in the NT a dominant element in the conception of God. He is "the Father" absolutely and universally: the archetype of all fatherhoods (*patria G4255,* Eph. 3:15; NIV, "family"). There is not thereby implied a universal sonship, except in a strictly qualified sense.

A. Our Lord's teaching. Casual reading of the Gospels may give a false impression of universalism, until it is remembered that Christ was speaking to the covenant people (cf. Matt. 5:1; in Lk. 15 the argument was to support his acceptance of Jewish prodigals [see vv. 1 –2]). He did, however, teach that all were potentially children of God. To enjoy the kingdom was the privilege of his children (Lk. 12:30–32), and this was open to all nations (Matt. 8:11; cf. Jn. 11:52, "the scattered children of God"). The conditions of such sonship were universally available: (1) acting righteously (Matt. 13:43), (2) ministering to the outcasts (25:34), (3) being peacemakers (5:9), (4) loving enemies (5:44–48). The latter passage (esp. v. 48, "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect")

raises the standard to an impossible height, and leads the way to conditions in terms of REPENTANCE and FAITH (Lk. 13:5; 15:18–19), which are incumbent upon all, suggesting that a Jew would have to acknowledge that national sonship was forfeit and worthless.

John expressly makes faith in Christ an essential condition (Jn. 1:12; 3:16), but the same idea is present in the synoptics: in the context of Matt. 13:43 is the parable of the sower, in which the good seed are those who accept his word. Jesus determines who shall enter the kingdom (Matt. 7:21–23) among those who base their claim on faith in him. The famous "Johannine thunderbolt" (Matt. 11:25–27) stresses the important idea that our experience of God as sons is mediated solely through Jesus as the unique Son of the Father. The outstanding privileges of sonship are said to be INHERITANCE of God's kingdom: access to God in prayer (7:11), confidence in his provision (6:25), the gift of his Spirit (Lk. 11:13), eternal life (Jn. 3:1–16), and likeness to God (Matt. 5:45).

B. The Johannine epistles. John's use of the word *teknon* and the ideas of begetting and birth show his particular interest in the concept of spiritual heredity, a continuity of life between God and his children of which earthly parenthood provides a limited analogy. The believer's life is spiritual and eternal (1 Jn. 2:25); it is instinctively antagonistic to sin (3:9), with a family affinity of love to other believers (5:1); indeed, its essence is love (4:7); and inevitably overcomes mere human opposition (5:4).

The more public aspect (suggested in the term *huios,* though John reserves this word for Jesus), is already found in his gospel (Jn. 1:12), where sonship is given as a privilege. A similar thought appears in 1 Jn. 3:1, where such a title is the bestowal of God's love. The passage moves on to the eschatological hope of likeness to Christ in "seeing him as he is" (cf. 2 Cor. 3:18). In Rev. 21:7 the hope is viewed as an inheritance allotted to the child of God by faith victorious in the cosmic struggle between two fatherhoods, God's and the devil's (1 Jn. 3:10; 5:18–19; cf. Jn. 8:44).

C. The Pauline Epistles. The atmosphere of *the forum* pervades Paul's thought, and his thought begins with the believer as having the status and privileges of a son. Appropriately, the term *huiothesia G5625,* "adoption," appears (ADOPTION was a common practice of the time, among Gentiles at least). It is further conditioned by his dominating interest in the themes of salvation and grace. In relation to the Jewish religion Paul sees sonship as something properly belonging to his people (Rom. 9:4). He develops the OT covenantal idea of sonship as conferred by choice and promise (cf. 2 Cor. 6:16–18). Hence Paul speaks not of a new birth (except perhaps Tit. 3:5) but of a new creation (2 Cor. 5:17). Faith in Christ made a person "of age," able to possess an inheritance and act freely. By contrast, those under the law were like minors being prepared for adulthood, but in practice no better off than slaves (Gal. 3:17—4:6).

The subjective aspect of sonship is expressed in his references to the "Spirit of sonship," by whom "we cry *'Abba,* Father'" (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6; cf. Eph. 2:18; 3:12). The characteristic urge of the Christian is to approach God as his father in the most intimate sense. Paul sets all this against a dark background of universal rebellion, alienation, and spiritual blindness. See ABBA.

Paul's conception reaches back into eternity in Eph. 1:4–5, where God is said to have predestined believers to be his children in Christ, and forward to the end of time when their true condition will be revealed in a glory and fulfillment to be shared by the entire natural order. Paul calls this in one breath the redemption of our bodies and our adoption as sons. Thus God's children receive their inheritance jointly with Christ (Rom. 8:17–23), and they are conformed to his image as a family likeness (Rom. 8:29; cf. 1 Jn. 3:2). The moral character of the children of God is spoken of as

responsive to his Spirit (Rom. 8:14), imitating their Father (Eph. 5:1) and distinguished from the world around by the OT ideals of HOLINESS and blamelessness (2 Cor. 6:18; Phil. 2:15).

D. Other NT writings. The family aspect of sonship is prominent in Hebrews, and is used remarkably in Heb. 2:10–17. The writer shows that it was appropriate for Christ to enter the human family and to suffer as man. He can call "those who are made holy" his "brothers," having a common parentage (cf. Gal. 4:1–6, and contrast, in the Gospels, Christ's deliberate avoidance of the phrase "our Father" [except in the LORD'S PRAYER] to include himself with his disciples [cf. Jn. 20:17]). The idea of growth and progress is common through the epistle, and in Heb. 12 this is linked with suffering, which is seen as God's DISCIPLINE, distinguishing the true child from the illegitimate. The writer has already shown that such experience of sonship has had its prototype in Jesus himself (Heb. 2:18; 5:8).

The epistle of James speaks of God as universally "the Father" and "Father of lights," but in one striking verse (Jas. 1:17) he teaches that "the brethren" are born by the "word of truth" which, when accepted in practical life, has saving power (1:21–27); and that as such they are the "firstfruits," the first promise of a new creation, dedicated to the Lord (Exod. 22:29).

The Petrine teaching on the subject is almost exclusively confined to 1 Pet. 1–2. Here Christians are spoken of as being "born anew"—a process associated with Christ's resurrection in 1:3 and with the word of God in 1:23. Peter appears to pursue the metaphor in 1:14, where he stresses the duty of obedience, and even more in 2:2, where he exhorts his hearers to crave spiritual milk like newborn babes, so that they may grow, presumably, "in grace" (2 Pet. 3:18). The privilege of sonship appears in 1 Pet. 1:3–4, where the believer's hope is in receiving an incorruptible inheritance.

IV. Doctrinal summary. As the fatherhood of God is the archetype of all fatherhoods, so the NT sees the sonship of Christ within the Trinity as the source and pattern of true sonship to God. Derivative sonships may be classified as follows.

A. Sonship by creation. Under this category are the angels (Heb. 12:9; Jas. 1:17) and all human beings ("offspring" in Acts 17:29; God is "Father of all," Eph. 4:6, cf. Lk. 3:38). The relationship is sustained in Christ as the agent of creation (1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:15–17). It involves, as well as divine origin, a potential affinity and privilege, but is vitiated by sin. As A. H. Strong *(Systematic Theology* [1907–1909], 2:474) says: "God is Father of all men, in that he originates and sustains them as personal beings like in nature to himself. Even towards sinners God holds this natural relation of Father. It is his fatherly love, indeed, which provides the atonement."

B. Sonship by election. Israel was God's son in this way (Deut. 32:6; Isa. 63:16; Mal. 1:6), and Christians are likewise sons as the New Israel (1 Pet. 1:1—2; Eph. 3:6, 11). It is a form of sonship especially connected with the covenant, and probably Paul's doctrine of adoption in Christ comes under this category. It involves, in particular, the actual privilege of bearing God's saving revelation in Christ (Rom. 9:5).

C. Spiritual sonship. The entrance of sin has meant that spiritual sonship, the fullest experience of sonship (sometimes called "special" as against "natural" or "general" sonship), comes through repentance, forgiveness of sins, redemption, and rebirth. It is the work of God's Spirit and it results in a present and consummated sharing of the divine nature and moral likeness, of the privileges of

"dominion" (e.g. Rom. 5:17; 6:9, 14) and of spiritual communion with God (Gal. 4:6–9). Some have considered that what is here called spiritual sonship is really only the covenant idea figuratively expressed, but this is hardly adequate to explicate the radical change which the NT envisages in the nature of the believer and the close connections with the indwelling activity of the HOLY SPIRIT. Certainly the full experience of sonship is always represented in Scripture as available to sinners only by faith in Christ Jesus the Lord.

J. R. PECK

children of the bridechamber. A phrase used by the KJV to render a Greek expression that refers to the bridegroom's attendants (Matt. 9:15; Mk. 2:19; Lk. 5:34). The NRSV renders it "wedding guests"; NIV, "guests of the bridegroom."

children of the east. See EAST, CHILDREN OF.

chiliasm kil'i-az'uhm (from Gk. χιλιάς "thousand"). The doctrine that Christ will reign on earth for a MILLENNIUM, that is, 1,000 years; usually synonymous with PREMILLENNIALISM.

Chimham kim'ham. See KIMHAM.

Chinnereth, Chinneroth kin'uh-reth, -roth. See KINNERETH.

Chios kz'os. See KIOS.

chisel. See AX; PLANE.

Chisleu, Chislev kiz'l*oo*, kis'lev. See KISLEV.

Chislon kiz'lon. See KISLON.

Chisloth-tabor kizloth-tay'buhr. See KISLOTH TABOR.

Chithlish, Chitlish kith'lish, kit'lish. See KITLISH.

Chittim kit'im. KJV alternate form of KITTIM.

Chiun k*i*'uhn. KJV form of KAIWAN.

Chloe kloh'ee (Χλόη *G5951,* "verdure, green grass" [an epithet of the goddess Demeter, frequently given to slaves, especially to freedmen]). A woman whose people reported to PAUL on conditions at CORINTH (1 Cor. 1:11). She was probably a Christian, for information from such a source would find easier reception by the Corinthians and would be characteristic of Paul's discretion. Having a heathen name does not prove non-Christian status (cf. PHOEBE, HERMES, and NEREUS, Rom. 16:1, 14–15). Chloe may have lived in Corinth or, more likely, in EPHESUS (where Paul was when he wrote 1 Corinthians).

The Lechaion Way, a road that leads from the port of Corinth into the city itself. Chloe reported to Paul on the spiritual health of the Corinthian church. (View to the W.)

Choba koh'buh (Χωβα). Also Chobai. One of the towns the Jews fortified when HOLOFERNES invaded Palestine (Jdt. 4:4; perhaps c. 350 B.C.). After JUDITH had stealthily decapitated Holofernes in his bedroom, the bewildered "Assyrians" fled in panic. The Jews chased them as far N as Choba (15:4 [*Chōbai*], 5) and even beyond DAMASCUS. The precise location of this town (not to be confused with a place by the same name in Mauretania Sitifensis on the coast of N Africa) is unknown. Suggested identifications include Coabis (cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 498, 502), Hobah (cf. Gen. 14:15), el-Mekhubbi (c. 11 mi. from Tubass and 3 mi. from Besan), and perhaps most likely el-Marmaleh (c. 20 mi. NNE of JERICHO, which is also mentioned in Jdt. 4:4; see C. A. Moore, *Judith,* AB 40 [1985], 149). Some scholars, however, suspect that the name is fictitious.

R. C. RIDALL

choice. See ELECTION; WILL (VOLITION).

choinix. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES III.C.

choir. See MUSIC II.B.

Chola koh'luh. See KOLA.

Chor-ashan kor-ay'shuhn. KJV reading for BOR ASHAN (1 Sam. 30:30).

Chorazin kor-ay'zin. See KORAZIN.

Chorbe kor'bee (Χορβε). The ancestor of a family that returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:12); the parallel passages have ZACCAI (Ezra 2:9; Neh. 7:14).

Chosamaeus kos'uh-mee'uhs (Χοσαμαιος). *A* Simon Chosamaeus is listed as one of the five sons or descendants of Annan who had married foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:32). What appears to be the parallel account (Ezra 10:31–32) lists eight sons of Harim (one of whom is named Simeon), but it does not include Chosamaeus. Some scholars suspect that the text is corrupted.

Choseba koh-zee'buh. KJV form of COZEBA.

chosen. See ELECTION; ELECT LADY.

chreia kray'uh (from Gk. χρεία *G5970,* "use, advantage, necessity"). In Greco-Roman rhetoric, a popular literary form consisting of a practical, useful saying attributed to a well-known figure. The term is sometimes used in FORM CRITICISM to describe a number of Jesus' sayings in the Gospels.

Christ kr*i*st. See JESUS CHRIST. See also CHRISTOLOGY; MESSIAH; and separate articles under the relevant headwords, such as BODY OF CHRIST; DEATH OF CHRIST; DEITY OF CHRIST; EXALTATION OF CHRIST; OFFICES OF CHRIST; RESURRECTION OF CHRIST; TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

Christian (Χριστιανός *G5985).* The word, which occurs three times in the NT (Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet. 4:16), is really a Latin formation, *Christianus*. The *endingianus* is common and merely descriptive: in historical writings of classical times it is used to define a group in terms of its allegiance. For example, in Julius CAESAR's *Civil War,* the troops of Caesar's opponent POMPEY are called *Pompeiani,* but Caesar's own troops are called *Caesariani.* TACITUS *(Ann.* 4.34) records the story that the Emperor AUGUSTUS ridiculed the historian Livy for his republican sympathies, calling him *Pompeianus.* There is nothing, however, in any way satiric in the ending itself, for Tacitus follows the practice already mentioned of naming combatant groups after their leader (e.g., *Galbiani,* the legionaries of the brieflived emperor Galba, *Hist.* 1.51). In Mk. 12:13 mention is made of the "Herodians," the friends and supporters of HEROD's house, and the name is equally without emotive significance.

It follows that, when the members of the early church (the "brothers" of Acts 1:16; "the believers" of 2:44; the people "of the Way" of 9:2 and 22:4; the "disciples" of 11:26) "were called Christians first at Antioch" (11:26), the word was not necessarily a satiric coinage of the Antiochenes, who were somewhat prone to name-calling. The formation of the word demanded no such content. If it was bestowed (as Harold Mattingly has suggested in *JTS* 9 [1958]: 26–37) to parallel the Augustiani, the organized "cheerleaders" of the Emperor NERO, it is the context rather than the etymology that puts the contempt into the word. The suggestion of the great expert in Roman coins is rendered dubious by the date. Luke seems to imply that the term was invented at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA at the time of the events he is describing. This would date it around the years A.D. 40 to 44. It is likely to have been a bureaucratic term, invented by some clerk of the Antioch administration to

cover a distinct group among the Jewish community of which the authorities had become aware. The scorn that was infused into the word was the mood of all time, and, like the glad acceptance of those who actually found honor in a term bearing the name of their Lord, reflected a certain attitude toward Christ.

There are three classical contexts: Tacitus, SUETONIUS, and PLINY the Younger all use the word in writings of the second decade of the 2nd cent. and within a few years of each other. Tacitus *(Ann.* 15.44) speaks of the Christians of A.D. 64, the year of the great fire, a minority group that had incurred the hatred of the proletariat and thus became the scapegoats for Nero's crime. Suetonius *(Nero* 16) uses the same word in the same connection. Pliny, in his famous letter to TRAJAN (A.D. 110–112), describes his repressive acts against the Christians of BITHYNIA in a manner that implies the general acceptance and currency of the term. All this is parallel with the NT evidence.

The first usage, in Syrian Antioch, has been mentioned and dated 40 to 44. Perhaps fifteen years later, Herod Agrippa II (see HEROD VIII), after listening to PAUL, remarked ironically: "Do you think that in such a short time you can persuade me to be a Christian?" (Acts 26:28). Five years later still, or thereabouts, with the Neronian persecution a near or present reality, PETER, possibly writing from ROME, bade those who were in the church in certain eastern provinces not to be ashamed if called to suffer "as a Christian" (1 Pet. 4:16). It would appear that the term, in whatever fashion it was first applied, had become, like "Methodist," accepted by those to whom it was given. It had, after all, a certain appropriateness, for it implied loyalty and acceptance of a person, and that person, the MESSIAH (Christ). The church fathers followed naturally, and in patristic literature, as in the legal codes of Justinian, the term is frequent and regular. (Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary* also lists a superlative, *Christianissimus,* and an adverb *Christiane.)*

Christian pilgrim praying beside the Stone of Unction, inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the traditional site where Jesus' body was placed after being taken down from the cross.

The true modern use of the word follows the same tradition. In all evangelical contexts the Christian is one who accepts, with all its implications, the lordship of Jesus Christ. There is also a deviant use, in which sectarian groups have sought an exclusive application of the term, and a popular use, in which the word is employed to signify that which conforms to ethical standards, social attitudes, or even political allegiance alleged to reflect the spirit of a basic Christianity, without creedal connotation of any sort. (It is in this sense that 19th-cent. Unitarianism claimed the appellation.) French, and English by derivation from French, has a strange and pathetic doublet. In

French both *chrétien* and *crétin* derive from *Christianus.* A "cretin" was an afflicted unfortunate, a human being, and no brute. Honoré de Balzac discusses the pathos of the term in his novel *Médecin de Campagne.*

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Christianity. Although this term does not occur in the Bible, it is evidently derived from CHRISTIAN, a word first used by non-Christians to designate followers of Christ (Acts 11:26; 26:28; cf. also 1 Pet. 4:16). Generally, the followers of Christ referred to themselves by such terms as disciples, brethren, saints, faithful ones, etc. However, no instance is recorded in the NT of these early Christians referring to their collective movement as Christianity, even though the term "Christian" was used with greater frequency as the movement grew in numbers. Likewise, the Jews refused to give any credence to the claim that Jesus was the Christ (i.e., the MESSIAH, "the anointed"; see JESUS CHRIST). On the contrary, the Jews were known to refer to the followers of Christ as belonging to a sect (Acts 24:14), such as the NAZARENE sect (v. 5). They apparently were careful to avoid ascribing any term to this new religion that would have messianic overtones.

Some authorities attribute the early use of the term Christian to the populace of ANTIOCH OF SYRIA or to the Roman *Legatus* in that city. Evidently the use of such a collective term to describe Christians gained favor during the early period of Christian history. PETER refers to suffering as a "Christian," with the understanding that such a term described the followers of Christ in his time (1 Pet. 4:16).

The early use of the term *Christianity* suggests a parallel to *Judaism,* which signified "the Jew's religion." One of the earliest extrabiblical uses of the term is by IGNATIUS of Antioch (*Magn.* 10), who states that "Christianity [*Christianismos*] did not base its faith on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity." Gradually, the usage of this term to describe the Christian movement spread to various parts of the world. By the time of AUGUSTINE, it appears to have become an appellation for the Christian movement *(City of God,* passim). The term as it has been used historically refers to all who follow Jesus Christ and who are connected with the visible CHURCH. The biblical emphasis implicit in the root word signifies a believer in and follower of Jesus Christ. Early Christians believed that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, that he died on the cross for their sins, that he rose from the grave, and that he was to return to judge the world. Not all who belong to the movement called Christianity at the present time hold to those beliefs, which NT followers of Christ adhered to and obeyed. Neither is Christianity structurally the same as it was when the term was first introduced.

G. LAMBERT

Christmas. The traditional anniversary of the birth of JESUS CHRIST. Neither the term *Christmas* (a derivative of *Christ* plus *Mass*) nor the actual celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Christ is recorded in the Bible (early Christians did meet regularly to commemorate the death, resurrection, and promised return of Christ, 1 Cor. 11:20–34). Most Protestants and Roman Catholics observe this anniversary on December 25. Eastern Orthodox and Armenian churches observe Christ's birth either on December 25 or January 6.

Authorities are not agreed concerning the precise date of Christ's birth. Neither is there agreement concerning the time at which the celebration of Christmas actually began in the churches. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, toward the close of the 2nd cent. A.D., cites diverse views concerning the date of Christ's birth among early churchmen (*Stromata* 1.21). Some believe that his early reference to the remembrance of Christ's baptism among the Basilidans included a joint observance

remembering both his baptism by JOHN THE BAPTIST and his birth, since early churchmen in the E seemed to believe that Christ's baptism and birth were on the same calendar dates. By the end of the 4th cent., the eastern churches had adopted special services commemorating jointly the birth of Christ, the adoration of the MAGI, and Christ's baptism by John. Apparently, these services were held at first on January 6, but later were divided between December 25 and January 6. AUGUSTINE points to the prevailing tradition in the 5th cent. among Western churches concerning the birth of Christ and the observance of Christmas. "For he is believed to have been conceived on the 25th of March, upon which day also he suffered.…But he was born according to tradition upon December the 25th" (*Trin.* 4.5).

It is probable that diverse traditions in the early church regarding the precise time of Christ's conception led to the differences of dating for Christmas observances in the E and W. As early as A.D. 336 the observance of Christmas on December 25 was widespread among Western churches. Today in most Western churches, the observance of Christmas emphasizes the immediate events surrounding the birth of Christ. While most Christians do not attempt to be dogmatic about the precise date of Christ's birth, it is now traditional to observe the 25th of December in memory of his coming into the world.

During the period dating from the earliest general celebrations of Christmas, numerous customs have been introduced into the event. Originally, it appears that a special religious ceremony marked the occasion. Gradually a number of the prevailing practices of the nations into which Christianity came were assimilated and were combined with the religious ceremonies surrounding Christmas. The assimilation of such practices generally represented efforts by Christians to transform or absorb otherwise pagan customs.

The Feast of Saturnalia in early Rome, for example, was celebrated for seven days from the 17th to the 24th of December and was marked by a spirit of merriment, gift-giving to children, and other forms of entertainment. Gradually, early Christians replaced the pagan feast with the celebration of Christmas; but many of the traditions of this observance were assimilated and remain to this day a part of the observance of Christmas. Other nations—such as the Scandinavians, Germans, French, and English—have left their mark on the observance as well. Some groups refrain from celebrating Christmas on the grounds that the introduction of pagan practices has destroyed the original significance of the event. They cite the use of Christmas trees and the yule log, among other things, as examples of the paganization of Christmas. Yet many Christians contend that such practices no longer bear pagan connotations, and believe that the observance of Christmas provides an opportunity for worship and witness bearing.

The biblical emphasis connected with the birth of Jesus Christ consists of adoration and worship (Lk. 2:8–12); the giving of gifts to God (Matt. 2:1–11); and expressions of peace and goodwill (Lk. 2:13–14). (See L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution,* 4th ed. [1912], 257–265; K. Lake, "Christmas," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* [1924], 3:601–8.)G. LAMBERT

Christology. The doctrine of the person and work of JESUS CHRIST; the study of his relationship to God and to human beings. By origin, the word ought to mean "the study of the doctrine of the Messiah," for "Christ" is clearly a translation of this old Jewish title; in NT times however, the concept is altered and deepened to include all that Jesus is to the eye of faith. This is not only the faith of his followers, but also the faith of Jesus himself, for a part of any Christology is to consider what Jesus believed and taught about himself. In later controversial days, Christology became the discussion of the person of Christ, and soteriology the study of his work; in the NT, however, where

the interest is not philosophical but practical, Christ's person is usually defined in relation to his work. The subject will be treated here under the main titles used to describe Jesus in the NT.

I. Christ *(Christos G5986,* "anointed," the translation of *māšîaḥ H5431* [transliterated *Messias G3549* in Jn. 1:41 and 4:25]; see also JESUS CHRIST). It rapidly became a proper name to Greek-speaking Gentile Christians, although it obviously kept its full force in the Gospels (Matt. 2:4). Most scholars would agree that, in Acts, "Christ" still has force as a title (Acts 3:18), and many have felt that when PAUL keeps the order "Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:3), or when he keeps the definite article "the Christ" (Rom. 7:4), he is still very conscious of its adjectival nature. Since the custom of "anointing" as a religious rite was Semitic (see ANOINT), the meaning of the word would not be immediately apparent to Greek and Roman converts. Perhaps that is why the name was sometimes confused with the common slave name and homophone *chrēstos G5982* ("useful, good, kind"). It is significant, however, that the followers of Jesus were not called "Jesuits" or some such form after his name, but rather CHRISTIANS, after his title (Acts 11:26).

The verb *māšaḥ H5417* ("to anoint") is used in the OT of the appointment of priests (Exod. 28:41), kings (Jdg. 9:8), and prophets (1 Ki. 19:16). The "secular" use (Ruth 3:3) reminds one that OIL is a sign of gladness in the OT (Ps. 45:7); a "suffering anointed one" is thus an apparent contradiction in terms. "The LORD's anointed" (1 Sam. 16:6) refers to the KING; after David's day, this is always a "son of David," so that messiahship involves kingship and Davidic sonship. In certain of the psalms divine sonship and priesthood are involved as well (e.g., Pss. 2:7; 110:4). A foreign king like CYRUS can be described as God's "anointed" (Isa. 45:1). All of these, however, refer to earthly rulers, with perhaps "millennial" features (Isa. 11:1–9) superadded; the supernatural character of the Messiah is not apparent from the OT. Later Jewish traditions about a Messiah who fails probably sprang up only after unsuccessful messianic revolts in Roman days. When the QUMRAN texts distinguish between a "Messiah of Judah" and a "Messiah of Levi," it may be an attempt to reconcile the kingly and priestly traits in the OT. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

In the NT, some have sought a pattern by which Christ's messiahship is first recognized by the demons, then by his disciples, then by his enemies; with the latter, his death was made certain. Whether or not the full implications of "veiled messiahship" are accepted, it seems clear that Jesus did not at first openly claim this position for himself. Doubtless this reticence was due to the popular misconception of the messiahship, which appears to have been held by PETER (Matt. 16:22). Instead, Jesus waited until his disciples themselves confessed it (Matt. 16:16), something Jesus attributed to divine revelation. From that moment, while accepting the title, Jesus redefined messiahship in terms of suffering and death (16:21). John places this confession both early (Jn. 1:41) and later (6:68–69), but the content is virtually the same.

It is uncertain whether, at the trial before the high priest, Jesus actually admitted being the Messiah or not; the question turns on the meaning of *syeipas,* lit., "you have said" (Matt. 26:64; NIV, "Yes, it is as you say"). If there was deliberate ambiguity, it was not because Jesus was denying messiahship, but because the Jewish concept of messiahship was not his. The "crucified Messiah," a stumbling block to any devout Jew, soon became creedal confession to every Christian (1 Cor. 1:23) and the subject of all early Christian preaching (Acts 3:18).

II. Lord *(kyrios G3261).* This title is part of the early baptismal confessions (e.g., 1 Cor. 12:3). Jew and Gentile alike understood this term, although in different ways. In the Gospels, it is used frequently of Jesus (cf. Mk. 7:28), but the word seems deliberately ambiguous. It could be merely the polite

"sir" of Jn. 20:15; on the other hand, it could be the full confession of the faith of THOMAS (20:28). In the SEPTUAGINT, this Greek term was the usual translation of the name Yahweh or of the reverential Adonai (see GOD, NAMES OF). TO the Jew "Lord" thus expresses Christ's full divinity and equality with God. The thoroughly Jewish and early nature of this title is shown by the liturgical survival of the phrase MARANATHA (Aram. for "Come, O Lord," 1 Cor. 16:22). When the Jewish Christian thus equates Jesus with God, it means that any of the divine functions can be attributed to him (cf. Heb. 1:10). This was already true in the days of Acts, where prayer was addressed to Jesus (Acts 7:59).

To the Gentile, *kyrios* meant "emperor" or "king," for such a secular ruler sometimes proclaimed himself *Dominus et deus,* "Lord and God." In this use the word expresses authority primarily, but no doubt with religious overtones. It also meant the particular god of a group or city or state; and finally it was used of several of the "great gods" of late heathendom, especially those of the syncretistic mystery religions. It was in deliberate opposition to all of these that the Christians called Jesus "Lord." To their heathen compatriots, there were "many 'gods' and many 'lords'" (1 Cor. 8:5), but to the Christian only one Lord, Jesus Christ (8:6). See also LORD.

III. Son of Man (*ho huios tou anthrōpou).* This is the favorite title chosen by Jesus for himself; in John's gospel it is used a dozen times, with nearly seventy instances in the synoptics. Others did not use it as an address for him, nor does the title occur after the time of Acts except in the book of Revelation (although the idea reappears). Perhaps this was because of its peculiar linguistic form when translated into Greek, and a consequent failure to realize its Semitic background of meaning. Like *kyrios*, it is deliberately ambiguous when used of Christ because it has two distinct meanings in the OT. In Ps. 8:4 or Ezek. 2:1, the corresponding Hebrew phrase *ben-ʾādām* simply means "man." It is sometimes held that Ezekiel emphasizes the representative nature of the individual. If so, this would have important NT consequences.

By contrast, Dan. 7:13 introduces a new aspect; there the "son of man" (Aram. *barʾĕnāš,* apparently collective as well as individual) is a heavenly figure, almost divine. Intertestamental literature (esp. *1 Enoch)* develops this concept of a heavenly figure, descending from God, and his agent in judgment of the world; the figure seems now fully individual. When, therefore, Jesus used the title "the Son of Man" to describe himself (Mk. 2:28), it was uncertain in which sense he meant the term, whether because he was "representative man," or because he was this transcendental figure. To the Christian this is not an "either-or" but a "both-and"; for the non-Christian Jew, once he was convinced that Jesus claimed to be this heavenly "Son of Man," it was blasphemy, a capital charge (Matt. 26:64). There was no suggestion of either suffering or death associated with the concept of "Son of Man" in itself; all the associations were those of triumph (Matt. 16:27–28). Therefore to say that "the Son of Man is going to suffer" (17:12) seems as great a contradiction in terms as to speak of a "suffering Messiah."

It is extremely likely that the term was used in Peter's speeches in Acts where Jesus is described as a "man" attested by God (Acts 2:22). It appears in the speech of Stephen (7:56). It is clear from the context that the heavenly "Son of Man" is meant, not the earthly figure. It is thus a false distinction to see "Son of Man" as expressing Christ's human nature. This title, understood in the sense of Daniel, expresses Christ's heavenly origin at least as strongly as "Son of God," as is clearly brought out in John's gospel (Jn. 3:13).

Elsewhere in the NT, the concept does not appear in set terms apart from a quotation from Ps. 8:4 in Heb. 2:6, and the vision of the risen Christ in Rev. 1:13; 14:14. If the representative human nature of the "Son of Man" is stressed, then perhaps much of the Pauline anthropology is based on it.

Modern scholarship has opened up fresh vistas; the "last Adam" (1 Cor. 15:45) and "second man" (15:47) may be variants of "Son of Man"—the more so, as the second is mentioned as "from heaven." O. Cullmann *(Christology of the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [1963]) is very illuminating on all these points. Even if this idea is far-fetched, yet the figure of the heavenly "Son of Man" must underlie the description of the SECOND COMING (1 Thess. 4:17) and probably also the Christology of Phil. 2:6–8. Paul's speech on the Areopagus is based clearly on "Son of Man" theology, although not actually using the title (Acts 17:31). See also SON OF MAN.

IV. Son of God *(huios theou).* This title for Christ is freely used in the Gospels, both by demoniacs (Matt. 8:29) and foreigners (27:54), but it occurs also on the lips of his followers (14:33). In Matthew and Luke this position is associated with the VIRGIN BIRTH (Matt. 1:23; Lk. 1:35). Mark and John assert heavenly origin without entering into the question of the manner (Mk. 1:1; Jn. 1:14). This title seems to be closely associated with the categories of king, son of David, and Christ. It is not used in the early apostolic preaching as recorded in Acts (but *cf. pais G4090,* "child, son, servant," in Acts 3:13 et al.; see section V below). Nevertheless it is a favorite expression in Paul's epistles (cf. Rom. 1:3), and this use corresponds to the theme of his preaching (Acts 9:20).

In the OT, "sons of God" can mean "angels" (cf. Job 1:6). Presumably, by Semitic idiom, they were identified as being "like God," for they had a spiritual, not corporeal, nature. More significant is the use in the Psalter, by which the ideal Davidic king is called God's son; language is at times used which suggests full divinity (Ps. 45:6). This appears to be the sense in which Jesus accepted the title; the Jews regarded it as tantamount to a claim to equality with God (Jn. 5:18) and reacted accordingly. If then "Son of Man" means "man" in the generic sense, "son of God" means "God." That the concept of sonship includes and involves dependence and obedience is clear from the NT (Heb. 5:8). Therefore, it is true that the path of sonship necessarily involved suffering.

"Son of God" asserts Christ's deity, but no more surely than the title "Lord"; a parallel set of passages bluntly call Jesus "God," but they concede little more than has been already accorded him as "Son of God" (Jn. 20:28; Heb. 1:8; and prob. Jn. 1:18). See also SON OF GOD.

V. Servant (*doulos G1528*). The concept of the Servant of Yahweh (*ʿebed-yhwh,* e.g., Deut. 34:5; Isa. 42:19), especially as drawn from the latter half of Isaiah, involved suffering and death with an ultimate triumph. This thought entered into the deepest self-understanding of Christ. It is also found in Acts and 1 Peter as a major "theme," while it reappears as one strand among many in the richness of Pauline Christology. In the representative nature of the "servant" of the "Lord," and the way in which the servant is at times collective, at times individual, this title merges with that of "Son of Man." Similarly, if a proposed understanding of the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels is correct, this phrase is equivalent to the title "Lamb of God" in Jn. 1:29 (Aram. *ṭalyā*ʾ can mean either "lamb" or "servant"). Even if this correspondence is not accepted, the comparison of the Servant to a lamb in Isa. 53:7 would make such an identification probable. See also SERVANT OF THE LORD.

The voice from heaven salutes Christ as the one with whom "I am well pleased" (Matt. 3:17). This is clearly taken from Isa. 42:1; thus, the concept of servanthood appears at the outset of Christ's ministry. There is also the evidence of the evangelist Matthew (Matt. 12:17), who links the healing ministry of Jesus with the fulfillment of the servant-song of Isa. 42. The saying of Christ in Matt. 20:28 is even clearer; he "did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many," recalling Isa. 53. To this passage allude also the words of the institution at the Last Supper ("my blood…poured out for many," Matt. 26:28).

In the early speeches of Acts, "servant" is a dominant category (e.g., Acts 3:13, although Gk. *pais* can also be translated "child, son," as in KJV). The title "Righteous One," used by Peter, Stephen, and Paul (Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14), almost certainly refers to the Servant (Isa. 53:11). Apart altogether from such direct reference, the thought occurs frequently in later NT passages. First Peter, for instance, repeats the "lamb" motif of Isa. 53:7 (1 Pet. 1:19), while Phil. 2:7 describes Christ as "taking the form of a servant." It is probable that the habit of the apostle Paul of introducing himself as "servant of Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; Tit. 1:1) comes from this source.

VI. Word *(logos G3364)*. In Greek thought, the philosophical use of the term LOGOS has a long history, going back to Heraclitus. Nevertheless, this background is more a linguistic preparation than theological, for even the STOIC uses were abstractions. PHILO JUDAEUS personalized the concept, but not in the full Christian understanding of the word. Later GNOSTICISM and the religions of the "great gods" of Egypt used the term in a way closer to the NT; but Gnosticism shows clearly that any incarnation of such an intermediary Logos would be an impossible thought, except in a docetic sense (see DOCETISM; INCARNATION). There is thus no true parallel to the Christian doctrine, according to which the Logos becomes flesh (Jn. 1:14).

In spite of some claims, it does not seem that there are any clear antecedents to this concept among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. In the *Manual of Discipline* (1QS XI, 11, "by his knowledge everything shall come into being") terms such as "knowledge" and "thought" are not personalized, nor are they the same as *Logos*. But in the OT, the *dĕbaryhwh* (e.g., Ps. 33:6 and often) is the creative word, either as uttered by God, or as communicated by him to prophets to utter in his name; for such a word, there can be no failure in fulfilling the divine purpose (Isa. 55:11). This Semitic antecedent for the NT doctrine is continued by the Aramaic *Memra,* used in the TARGUMS as a periphrasis for God (e.g., *Tg. Onk.* Gen. 3:8, "And they heard the voice of the *Word of the* Lord God"). In this sense, the "word of God" is already almost personified.

Outside of John's gospel, *Logos* is used as a title for Christ only in 1 Jn. 1:1 and Rev. 19:13. Even in the gospel it is not used after the first chapter, so that the term cannot be said to dominate the fourth gospel. Nevertheless, the two thoughts that it conveys, that of preexistent creational activity, and perfect expression and revelation of God, are characteristic not only of John (Jn. 1:1–5) but also of Paul (Col. 1:15–20) and of Hebrews (Heb. 1:1–3). In both of these last, the closely connected category of Wisdom is involved.

VII. Savior *(sōtēr G5400)*. Cullmann *(Christology*, 242) remarks that the Aramaic-speaking church could hardly use this as a title for Jesus, since his very name already conveyed this idea (Matt. 1:21, where the play on words is conscious). In the OT, the noun is an epithet of God (2 Sam. 22:3), so in the NT it may still be applied directly to him (Jude 25) or to those raised up by God to save his people (Isa. 19:20). The cognate verb is freely used, but in all cases the sense is material and this-worldly (Matt. 1:21, in applying it to salvation from sins, is a far deeper concept).

In the NT, the noun is used sparingly in early days, though John twice uses the phrase "Savior of the world" (Jn. 4:42; 1 Jn. 4:14), but Lk. 2:11 is a clear example. Acts 5:31 shows it in the early Petrine preaching, and 13:23 in Paul's "Jewish" preaching. Its use in Phil. 3:20 corresponds to that in 2 Tim. 1:10 or Tit. 1:4. The cognate verb is frequent in

Mosaic floor of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (A.D. 330). The center box has the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ, meaning fish, used by early Christians as an acronym for Jesus Christ God's Son Saviour.

Paul. In the Gospels, the verb is used not infrequently, both of physical healings (Matt. 9:22) and "salvation" from danger (8:25). Thus, disease and death are the main evils, but Lk. 23:35 uses it in the fully spiritual sense of the word, as do the epistles.

It has been suggested that the noun was used sparingly in early days because of its wide application in non-Christian circles to kings, and to gods of mystery-cults, as well as to healers like ASCLEPIUS. Scholars have long pointed out that, from the start, this word must have been part of Christian creedal confession, since it corresponds to the last letter of *ichthys* ("fish"), the early anagram and symbol of Christianity *(Iēsous Christos theou huios sōtēr,* "Jesus Christ, son of God, Savior"). Thus Savior, with Son of God and Messiah, must have been considered basic titles. See also SAVIOR.

VIII. Other titles. The term *archiereus G797,* "high priest," is used of Christ in Heb. 2:17 et al. The high priesthood is, of course, a "royal" office, as the reference to MELCHIZEDEK shows (Heb. 5:6). The cleansing of the temple (Jn. 2:13–17), Christ's "high-priestly prayer" (Jn. 17), and various other gospel sayings also point to this title. Another term, *prophētēs G4737,* "prophet," was never an orthodox title for Christ. He was frequently so regarded by outsiders (Matt. 21:11) and even by some disciples (Lk. 24:19), but he never accepted the title as adequate (Matt. 16:13–16). It became the characteristic view of heretical Jewish Christianity, with its reduced Christology. Finally, *archēgos G795* ("founder, leader") is another title of somewhat indeterminate meaning, used in the highly Jewish milieu of Acts and Hebrew, along with several other terms (Acts 3:15; 5:31; Heb. 2:10; 12:2). See AUTHOR. Into the rich vocabulary of Revelation space will not allow an entry; but the terminology is more poetic and descriptive than definitive. It is the language of liturgy and devotion, not that of theological definition.

(See further R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* [1965]; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* [1980]; M. de Jonge, *Christology in Context: The Earliest Response to Jesus* [1988]; M. Erickson, *The Word Became Flesh: A Contemporary Incarnational Christology* [1991]; R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* [1994]; M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* [1995]; C. M. Tuckett, *Christology and the New Testament: Jesus and His Earliest Followers* [2001]; T. L. Inbody, *The Many Faces of Christology* [2002]; D. Fairbairn, *Grace and Christology in the Early Church* [2003]; S. Gathercole, *The Pre-existent Son:*

Recovering the Christologies of Mathew, Mark, and Luke [2006]; G. D. Fee, *Pauline Christology* [2007].)

R. A. COLE

Chronicles, Books of. In the Hebrew Bible, these two volumes bear the title *sēper dibrê hayyāmîm,* "book of the things of the days," that is, "record of the events of the times" or simply "annals." This Hebrew expression occurs some thirty-two times in the books of Kings (e.g., 1 Ki. 14:29; 2 Ki. 1:18) and several times elsewhere (1 Chr. 27:24; Neh. 12:23; Esth. 6:1; 10:2), referring probably to official court records. The title used in the SEPTUAGINT, *Paraleipomenōn* (transliterated in the Latin versions as *Paralipomenon),* meaning "things left over," reflects the view that 1–2 Chronicles contain events omitted in the accounts of Samuel and Kings, especially concerning the kingdom of Judah. Luther, in using the title Chronicles, was following a description of these books by Jerome. In the Hebrew Bible, the books of Chronicles are included in the third division (*Ketubim,* "Writings") and stand last in order, although some Masoretic MSS place them at the beginning of this division. In the English Bible, as in the LXX, 1–2 Chronicles follow 1–2 Kings.

I. Unity. In the transmission of the Hebrew text, Chronicles was regarded as a single unit until A.D. 1448, when the division into two books was introduced in the Hebrew MSS (cf. A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [1957], 2:211). A Masoretic notation at the end of Chronicles indicating that 1 Chr. 27:25 is the middle verse provides evidence that it was considered a single volume. JOSEPHUS, ORIGEN, JEROME, and the TALMUD likewise reckoned Chronicles as a single literary unit. The Syriac version (Peshitta) implies their unity by giving the total number of verses as 5,603. In the course of the transmission of the Greek text of the OT (see SEPTUAGINT), this book was divided into two. Evidence is insufficient to date this division, which may have been made by the translators themselves or by copyists at some subsequent period. By A.D. 400 the Greek version used by Jerome had Chronicles identified as two books.

Examination of the content of Chronicles likewise points to its unity. From beginning to end there does not seem to be any indication of differences in style or interest that would suggest more than one author. This account beginning with Adam and continuing to the return of the exiles from Babylon in 539 B.C. reflects the work of one author who used numerous sources in his composition. OT scholarship has generally recognized the similarity between the account in Chronicles and the Ezra–Nehemiah volume, which in the Hebrew Bible likewise was a single unit. The latter seems to be a continuation of the history of the Jews beginning with the decree of Cyrus in 539 B.C., which concluded the account in Chronicles. The style, content, and interest of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah are so similar that many scholars have thought that one author was responsible for both, although some recent writers have raised doubts concerning such a close relationship between these books. (For a useful summary of current scholarship on this issue, as well as on authorship and date, see G. N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9,* AB 12 [2004], 72–117.)

II. Authorship. Although the evidence may not be conclusive and many scholars contest the tradition, there is no one known from OT times who is more likely to have been the author of Chronicles than EZRA, who is identified as a scribe (Ezra 7:6). The Talmudic tradition (*b. Baba Batra* 15a) ascribes the authorship to Ezra. NEHEMIAH collected an extensive library (2 Macc. 2:13 –15) that likely was available to Ezra for his research in compiling such a volume concerning the establishment of the

history of Israel under David.

Since the Ezra-Nehemiah volume accounts for approximately the first century of the restored Jewish state after the return from EXILE in 539 B.C. and reports primarily on the activities of Ezra and Nehemiah after a brief account of the return and rebuilding of the TEMPLE, it is quite likely that Ezra wrote this book. In order to provide the proper background for the restored Jewish state, Ezra may have felt the need for an up-to-date account of the history of Israel that made his generation conscious of the importance of the temple, and the priests who were responsible for leading in the religious observances according to the prescriptions in the Mosaic law and the organization begun by DAVID, the first great king of Israel. The book of Chronicles would have provided such a historical background.

III. Date. Ezra probably returned to Jerusalem in 457 B.C. Although the temple had been rebuilt in 520–515, the laxity prevailing in Judah when Ezra arrived seemed to provide the opportune time for him to remind the people of the Mosaic law. Nehemiah returned in 444 and again in 432 as governor of the Jewish state providing leadership in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and with Ezra promoting many needed reforms. If Ezra was the author of 1–2 Chronicles, it may well have been during these decades of Nehemiah's leadership that he felt the need of writing the account of Israel's religious past. (Much modern scholarship, however, unconvinced that Ezra was the author, dates Chronicles in the 4th and even the 3rd cent. B.C. See section X below.)

IV. Place of origin and destination. If Ezra wrote the Chronicles it is quite probable that this task was accomplished after he returned to Jerusalem in 457 B.C. Being under Persian rule, the Jewish state enjoyed relatively peaceful times. Nehemiah came to Jerusalem with authority from the king of PERSIA to serve as governor. Since Ezra was so intensely interested in the religious life of his people, he may have found the political leadership of Nehemiah to provide a favorable climate in which to do his research and writing. It is likely this literary account of Judah's religious history was designed to offer a better understanding for the Jews in their relationship with God and the promotion of temple worship in Jerusalem.

V. Literary sources. More literary sources are referred to throughout Chronicles than in any other book in the OT. Great care is shown in noting the various documents the author uses in compiling this unified religious history of Judah. Although many of these sources may have been lost and are no longer identifiable, they likely were known to the generation in which the author lived. They may be divided into two classes:

(1) Official records: the annals of King David (1 Chr. 27:24); the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (2 Chr. 27:7; 35:27; 36:8); the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chr. 16:11; 25:26; 28:26; 32:32); the book of the kings of Israel (1 Chr. 9:1; 2 Chr. 20:34); the annals of the kings of Israel (2 Chr. 33:18); the "commentary" or "annotations" on the book of the kings (2 Chr. 24:27; Heb. *midrāš H4535);* "the directions written by David king of Israel and by his son Solomon" (2 Chr. 35:4).

(2) References to prophetic writings and records: Samuel the seer (1 Chr. 29:29); Nathan the prophet (1 Chr. 29:29; 2 Chr. 9:29); Gad the seer (1 Chr. 21:9); Ahijah the Shilonite (2 Chr. 9:29); Iddo the seer (2 Chr. 9:29; 12:15; 13:22); Shemaiah the prophet (2 Chr. 12:15); Jehu son of Hanani (2 Chr. 20:34); Isaiah the prophet (2 Chr. 26:22; 32:32); "the records of the seers" (2 Chr. 33:19).

In addition, the author had genealogical lists, official documents such as the message and letters

of Sennacherib (2 Chr. 32:10–17), the words of Asaph and David (29:30), and the document with plans for the temple (1 Chr. 28:19). The official records listed above should not necessarily be interpreted as always identifying different documents. Sometimes the same document may have been referred to by a variable designation. In some cases the material ascribed to Israel also includes Judah (cf. 2 Chr. 20:34; 33:18).

Since there are some forty or more passages in Chronicles that are parallel to the record in Samuel and Kings, it seems apparent that the latter sources were available to this author. How many of the official records mentioned in Chronicles refer to Samuel and Kings may be impossible to determine. Most of the prophets listed above are more fully identified in the books of Samuel and Kings. Usually they were closely associated with their respective rulers and consequently constituted reliable sources concerning the ruling king. Interestingly enough, the author of Chronicles normally quoted either an official record or a prophet, but not both.

How the prophetic sources were related to the books of Samuel and Kings is difficult to ascertain. It is quite likely that schools of the prophets existed during the divided kingdom period (c. 931–586 B.C.) and that they kept record of the events taking place in both kingdoms. Likely they were located in various cities—not the capitals of either kingdom—where they were free from the direct influence of the kings so that they could record the deeds of the kings even though they were uncomplimentary. (Cf. E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3rd ed. [1983], ch. 10.) Prophets who encountered their respective kings may have reported their experiences and observations to these centers of prophetic activity where the records were kept.

The books of Samuel and Kings likely were considered the writings of the PROPHETS. Beyond that there may have been many records by prophets available to the author of Chronicles that have been lost to subsequent generations. The author of Chronicles may also have been familiar with the prophetic books from Isaiah to Malachi (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* [1965], 534). Quotations in 2 Chr. 20:20 from Isa. 7:9 and in 2 Chr. 16:9 from Zech. 4:10 are cited as the basis for this assertion (evidence is lacking that would date any of the prophets whose books are in the OT later than the time of Ezra).

VI. Occasion. Although Ezra was active in Jerusalem teaching the law for more than a decade before Nehemiah came as governor in 444 B.C., the completion of the walls of Jerusalem seemed to be the occasion for a renewed emphasis of genuine religious involvement for the Jews who were citizens of the restored postexilic state. Gathered in a public assembly, the people listened to the reading of the Mosaic revelation concerning their responsibilities in the covenant relationship with God. The Feast of Tabernacles was observed in an unprecedented manner, and the covenant was renewed (Neh. 8–10). Nehemiah as the governor was the first to set his seal to the covenant. The people committed themselves to a practical involvement in separation from pagans, Sabbath observance, donations for the rituals of worship, and manual labor to supply fuel. They also accepted responsibility to support those who ministered in the holy things (Neh. 10:28–39).

This extensive community-wide involvement under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah may have been the occasion for Ezra to provide for his people an account of their past that gave them the religious and political background for the reestablished state. As noted above, numerous literary sources were available so that Ezra may have compared Nehemiah's activities with those of David. Although Nehemiah was not king, he was the governor appointed by the king of Persia. Since David had taken leadership in reforms and in the organization of the priests and Levites, and was subject to the Mosaic law, so did Nehemiah in establishing the religion of the Jewish State. The religious

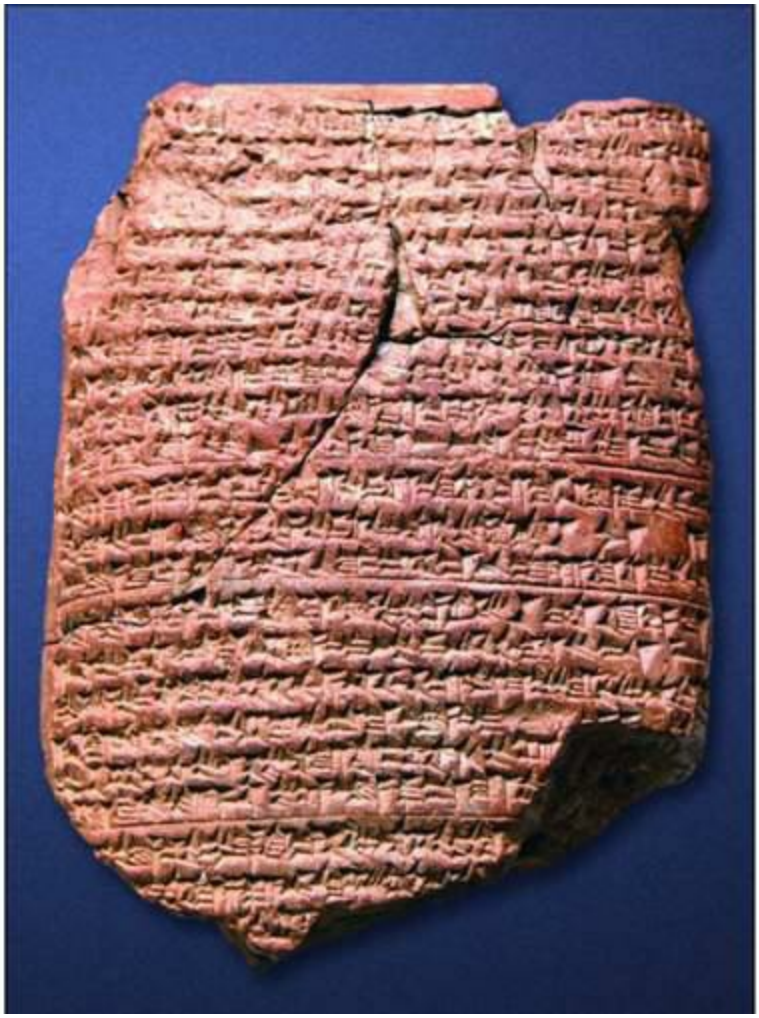
involvements of the Davidic kings in Judah's past may have been referred to repeatedly by Ezra and Nehemiah as precedents, and so Ezra may have compiled the account in the present books of Chronicles as a point of reference for his people and future generations.

VII. Purpose. The purpose of the author is nowhere explicitly stated in the book of Chronicles, but its contents suggest the plan and aim the author possibly had in mind. The kingship of DAVID and his successors seems to be a focal point throughout as the author outlines the history of Israel. Although he reports the rebellion of the northern tribes when REHOBOAM became king, he does not give an account of the establishment of the northern kingdom under JEROBOAM. Seldom does he provide any extended information concerning the kings of this seceded kingdom unless it is definitely related to developments in the southern kingdom of Judah. The fact that Chronicles is not merely a supplement nor a parallel account to Samuel–Kings is also significant. It is true that the former does supplement and parallel the latter frequently, but a careful evaluation of these seems to indicate that the author had a definite purpose for doing so. He omits much that is recorded in Samuel–Kings, but he also provides a considerable number of facts and events that add to the total knowledge of the Davidic dynasty.

The reign of David is given the most extensive consideration (1 Chr. 10–29). Comparing this account with that given in 2 Samuel, which is devoted entirely to the reign of David, certain aims of the author seem to emerge. The Chronicler gives a GENEALOGY tracing the line of David beginning with Adam to the patriarchs and the twelve tribes of Israel over whom David emerged as king. He omits David's reign at HEBRON over the tribe of Judah and offers only a brief account of the tragic end of SAUL's reign. David's reign began with the anointing at Hebron as he was recognized by all Israel and the conquest of the citadel of ZION, the "City of David," as the capital of the nation of Israel, so that Jerusalem became the focal political and religious center of Israel throughout Chronicles. The author also omits the family affairs of David that are so extensively narrated in the books of Samuel. David's great sin, immorality in the family, crime, and rebellion—these are related exclusively in 2 Sam. 12–20.

David's reign is portrayed in Chronicles with emphasis upon his military supremacy and religious interest. His military heroes and victories over surrounding nations are listed. The PRIESTS AND LEVITES were organized and involved in bringing the ark to Jerusalem and in the worship of God. Although David could not build the temple, he was assured of an eternal throne and made arrangements for the building of the TEMPLE. The extensive account in Chronicles of the leadership David exerted in matters of religion must have been of intensive interest to Ezra and Nehemiah as they stimulated the reforms and renewed the COVENANT.

This positive religious interest of the Chronicler seems to emerge throughout the rest of his account. He portrays SOLOMON in all his glory as the one who built and dedicated the temple in Jerusalem. His apostasy and idolatry, so extensively delineated in 1 Ki. 11, are omitted. As for the period of the divided kingdom, extensive reports are given concerning the kings in the Davidic line who were



This cuneiform tablet (BM 21946, late 5th cent. or 4th cent. B.C.) records Babylonian history for the years 605–595 B.C. and includes Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem in 598.

God-fearing leaders and promoted the teaching and observance of the law of Moses. The ministry of the prophets was frequently emphasized as they came with God's messages to encourage and warn the rulers on the throne of David.

Special note is made of the efforts exerted by various kings in fortifying Judah and attempting to purify the worship in Jerusalem. The influence of the priests and Levites was also significant. They were active in supporting and promoting the true religion of Israel according to the Mosaic instructions. JEHOIADA as a priest even led in directing the affairs of state in order to remove idolatry as it prevailed under ATHALIAH. The observances of religious festivities under the leadership of kings who led in some of the outstanding reformations supported by prophets, priests, and Levites are much more extensively reported than the deeds of the wicked and idolatrous kings who at times occupied the throne of David.

A purpose that seems to emerge from a consideration of his entire account is that the author wanted to impress the readers with the fact that people who really feared God could expect divine favor and blessing. As God's people they had a covenant relationship with him. Defection from their commitment as God's people and disobedience to the prophets who were God's spokesmen often brought God's judgment. Although the exiles who returned were unable to establish the kingdom as it had existed under David, they were permitted under the governorship of Nehemiah and the leadership of Ezra to achieve the purpose of wholehearted religious devotion to God as explained by the emphasis of the book of Chronicles. They had the liberty to adjust their pattern in living to that which

had been prescribed for them in the Mosaic revelation and exemplified by numerous leaders who had followed the example of David.

VIII. Canonicity. Ever since the Hebrew Bible was completed, the book of Chronicles has never been subject to question as to its canonicity. See CANON OF THE OT. It was included in the count of twenty-two books by JOSEPHUS, who held that the canon was completed by 400 B.C. According to the arrangement of the books in the Hebrew Bible, Chronicles is included among the KETUBIM ("Writings"), which constitute the third division of the canon. In the LXX, however, the books of Chronicles (as well as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther) were grouped with the historical books and followed 1–2 Kings; this order was followed by the VULGATE and has been preserved by modern versions. (On the position of Chronicles, see the comments by Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9,* 135–37.)

The order or arrangement of the books in the OT canon likely was a matter of historical development and convenience during the 1st millennium of the Christian era. In the Jewish tradition, the first specific indication of any division within the twenty-two scroll canon is that of Josephus. He listed five as law, thirteen by the prophets, and four as "Hymns to God and counsels for men for the conduct of life" (*Ag. Ap.* 1.8 §40). It is unlikely that Chronicles could have been classed in either the first or third group in this classification. Since the Jews continued to transmit their OT text on scrolls, they eventually developed an order in which the twenty-two books were arranged as twenty-four—listing Ruth and Lamentations separately instead of being on the scrolls of Judges and Jeremiah respectively. In this arrangement Chronicles was listed in the third division.

In the transmission of the Greek text of the OT under Christian auspices, the order of the books varies. The NT in its reference to the OT does not reflect any definite arrangement. Frequently it refers to the OT as the "law and the prophets," indicating a possible twofold division. When the CODEX or book form replaced the scroll and the books were bound in one volume, a definite order had to be followed. Although the arrangements by various church leaders differed, the order commonly used in the English Bibles is more closely related to the Greek text than to the Hebrew. Consequently the particular place Chronicles has in either arrangement does not have any bearing on its canonicity in OT times nor since then.

IX. The text. Examination of the text of Chronicles seems to indicate that less care was exercised in the transmission of this book than in some of the others. The number and significance of transcriptural errors in Chronicles, however, has often been exaggerated. The spelling of names varies in numerous cases when compared with the Genesis–Kings account. The similarities between some of the Hebrew consonants and the introduction of vowel points by the Masoretic scribes after A.D. 500 may account for some of the variants in spelling. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

The transmission of numerals in the Hebrew text of Chronicles accounts for a variety of difficulties. Although some scholars have charged the author of Chronicles with exaggeration, a comparison of his figures with those of Samuel–Kings indicates that in the vast number of instances the numerical values are in agreement (cf. G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction,* rev. ed. [1994], 454). Out of approximately twenty discrepancies, one-third have larger numbers in Samuel–Kings than in Chronicles. Some discrepancies can also be explained on the basis of a slightly different context. It should also be noted that frequently numbers are given in thousands indicating an approximation rather than exact figures. It is possible that in OT times alphabetic letters were already used to represent numbers and consequently were more liable to corruption by scribes in transmitting the text (cf. C. F. Keil, *The Books of the Chronicles* [1972], 43–44). On the basis of ELEPHANTINE

papyri usage, it seems probable that the Hebrews used vertical and horizontal strokes for digits up to ten, with special signs for hundreds and thousands. This kind of system would multiply the difficulties in transmitting the text from generation to generation by scribes.

The original records concerning the kings of Judah were contemporary productions by men who preserved information in full accord with the facts of the times in which they lived. Many of these accounts were available to the author of Chronicles. Copies usually were transmitted with utmost fidelity. Consequently, to assert that the scribes deliberately altered the facts is without foundation. Difficulties encountered in the present text need to be examined carefully in the light of all the evidence available. This work should be done with high regard for the original text, which however may have been subject to errors in transmission throughout the centuries.

X. Special problems. A number of scholars have dated the composition of Chronicles considerably later than the time of Ezra. Some consider it to have been written several generations later, c. 350 B.C., and then altered and changed by various editors in subsequent generations (cf. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament,* 540). Others (e.g., R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [1941], 811 – 12) date the compilation of Chronicles as late as 250 B.C. The argument most frequently advanced is the problem concerning the interpretation of 1 Chr. 3:19–24. If this passage refers to six generations after ZERUB-BABEL, then the genealogy projects into a period beyond the time of Ezra. Moreover, a variant reading in the LXX, Vulgate, and Syriac allows for interpreting this passage as eleven generations after the time of Zerubbabel. A careful analysis of the numerous lists given in Chronicles, however, indicates that the author did not always list successive generations. Frequently he listed several sons born to an individual named. It is reasonable to interpret this passage as extending only to the second generation after Zerubbabel (cf. E. J. Young, *Introduction to the Old Testament,* rev. ed. [1964], 391).

The date of Ezra, who may have been the author of Chronicles, is also subject to various interpretations. The "seventh year of Artaxerxes," for example, has been equated with the year 398 B.C. (see W. F. Albright in *JBL* [1921]: 104–24, assuming that this phrase referred to Artaxerxes II). Albright (in his 2nd ed. of *From Stone Age to Christianity* [1946], 366) dated Ezra in the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes or about 428. This was based on the assumption that Ezra 7:7 should read the "thirty-seventh" instead of the "seventh" year of Artaxerxes. However, when all the facts provided in Ezra-Nehemiah are taken into account as given in the text, the most reasonable interpretation is to date Ezra's return in the year 457 (cf. S. J. Schultz, *The Old Testament Speaks,* 4th ed. [1990], 265–77).

Another problem sometimes cited is the reference to a sum of money in darics (*)ădarkōnîm H163,* 1 Chr. 29:7). This name for currency likely was derived from DARIUS I, who ruled Persia from 520 to 486 B.C. In the text it is mentioned in connection with King David. Since the daric had been in circulation for some time when Ezra lived, it is reasonable to assume that Ezra converted the figure he found in the text before him from gold to darics, so that he would communicate more intelligently to his generation how much each of the princes in David's time contributed to the service of the temple.

Some critics have made the charge that the author of Chronicles was in error in tracing the musical guilds serving in the temple back to the time of David. Concerning this, W. F. Albright (in *Old Testament Commentary,* ed. H. C. Alleman and E. E. Flack [1948], 63) made the following observation: "We can now say with entire confidence that the principal musical guilds traced their origin back to Canaanite times long before David." He points out that in Egyptian sources reference is

frequently made to Canaanite musicians during the 2nd millennium B.C. and that the names of the founders of these guilds in the biblical records are demonstrably of Canaanite type. The name CALCOL (1 Ki. 4:31), included in the list discovered at MMEGIDDO, is identified as a great Canaanite musician in service at ASHKELON. (Cf. also Archer, *Survey,* 456.)

XI. Content. The book of Chronicles begins with Adam and concludes with the decree of Cyrus in 539 B.C. In this extensive sweep of history from the beginning of the human race to the 5th cent. B.C., it parallels the historical account in the OT as given in Genesis through Kings.

The history of David and his dynasty is of primary importance throughout this account. More space is allotted to David and the establishment of his kingdom than to any other individual. In a total of approximately fifty pages given to Chronicles in an ordinary English Bible, about fifteen account for David's reign, nine for the introduction tracing the genealogical background, six for Solomon, and about twenty for the kings of Judah ruling on the Davidic throne from Rehoboam to Zedekiah (931–586 B.C.).

For an analysis of the content of Chronicles the following outline may be helpful:

1. Genealogical background: Adam to David (1 Chr. 1:1—9:44)
    1. Adam to Abraham (1:1–27)
    2. Descendants of Abraham (1:28–34)
    3. Esau and the Edomites (1:35–54)
    4. Sons of Israel (2:1–2)
    5. Sons of Judah (2:3—4:23; David's dynasty, 3:1–24)
    6. Sons of Simeon (4:24–43)
    7. Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh (5:1–26)
    8. Sons of Levi (6:1–81)
    9. Sons of Issachar (7:1–5)
    10. Sons of Benjamin (7:6–12)
    11. Sons of Naphtali (7:13–19)
    12. Sons of Ephraim (7:20–29)
    13. Sons of Asher (7:30–40)
    14. Sons of Benjamin (8:1–40)
    15. Residents in Jerusalem (9:1–34)
    16. Family of Saul (9:35–44)
2. David as king of Israel (1 Chr. 10:1—29:30)
    1. Saul's failure and death (10:1–13)
    2. David established as king over all Israel in Jerusalem (11:1—12:40)
    3. Religion established, centered, and organized in Jerusalem (13:1—16:43)
    4. Temple building denied to David; eternal covenant established (17:1–27)
    5. Military victories over surrounding nations (18:1—20:8)
    6. The census and its consequences (21:1–29)
    7. Preparation for temple building (22:1–19)
    8. 8. Organization for temple service (23:1—26:32)
    9. Military and civil officials (27:1–34)
    10. David's charge to Israel and his death (28:1—29:30)
3. The reign of Solomon (2 Chr. 1:1—9:31)

1. Solomon established as king (1:1–17)
2. The building of the temple (2:1—5:1)
3. Dedication of the temple (5:2—8:16)
4. International relations (8:17—9:31)

4. The kings of Judah (2 Chr. 10:1—36:23)
    1. Rehoboam (10:1—12:16)
    2. Abijah (13:1–22)
    3. Asa (14:1—16:14)
    4. Jehoshaphat (17:1—20:37)
    5. Jehoram (Joram) (21:1–20)
    6. Ahaziah (22:1–9)
    7. Athaliah (22:10—23:21)
    8. Joash (Jehoash) (24:1–27)
    9. Amaziah (25:1–28)
    10. Uzziah (Azariah) (26:1–23)
    11. Jotham (27:1–9)
    12. Ahaz (28:1–27)
    13. Hezekiah (29:1—32:33)
    14. Manasseh (33:1–20)
    15. Amon (33:21–25)
    16. Josiah (34:1—35:27)
    17. Jehoahaz (Shallum) (36:1–4)
    18. Jehoiakim (Eliakim) (36:5–8)
    19. Jehoiachin (Jeconiah) (36:9–10)
    20. Zedekiah (Mattaniah) (36:11–21)
    21. Exile and return under Cyrus (36:22–23)

From a critical analysis of the material included in the book of Chronicles there emerge certain emphases that the author must have wanted to impress upon his readers. The following may be noteworthy of consideration.

The genealogy is definitely selective. Since the list of families residing in Jerusalem after the exile is given in 1 Chr. 9:1–34, it is reasonable to conclude that this genealogy had some particular significance for them. The lists given point to the fact that they had been selected through the patriarchs and the tribes of Israel from among all the people who had descended from Adam. In this selection the dynasty of David had been in a particular sense chosen to accomplish God's plan concerning the human race (1 Chr. 3:1–24). Although Saul's genealogy is given, only the tragic conclusion of his reign is included.

Except for the lineage of David, the author offers nothing about the background or early life of David. Even the reign over Judah is omitted. Crowned as king of all Israel, David was established as king, with Jerusalem as the capital and the support of mighty men from all the tribes of Israel. Special emphasis is given to the ark and the extensive organization of the Levites to officiate and serve in the worship of God. Although David was not permitted to build the temple, he was promised that his dynasty would be established forever. Extensive delineation is also given to David's arrangements for building the temple and to the elaborate organization for service in the temple after it was completed.

The account of Solomon's reign is comparatively brief. The temple continued to be the focal point of interest, with extensive coverage of the dedicatory address and prayer by Solomon. Throughout the three and a half centuries surveyed in the rest of Chronicles, the importance of the temple and the maintenance of true worship in harmony with the law of Moses and the practice of David are primarily important. The observance of the feasts and seasons is elaborately described. Emphasis repeatedly is given to the importance of periods of revival after there had been a period of apostasy.

XII. Theology. The theological perspective of the author seems to be indicated in 1 Chr. 10:13–14. Although Saul's reign is omitted, the observation is made that it ended tragically because he was unfaithful, failed to conform to God's commandments or requirements, and consulted a medium instead of seeking guidance from God. Beginning with David, the kings who heeded the prophets and sought to observe the law and maintain worship in the temple are commended. Kings who made ungodly alliances and turned to idolatry were severely rebuked and judged. God-fearing people were the recipients of God's favors.

Captivity and exile were a manifestation of God's wrath upon the people who had spurned the prophets (2 Chr. 36:15–16). With the temple and Jerusalem reduced to ruins, the rule of the Davidic dynasty was temporarily suspended in accordance with the prediction of Jeremiah. With the decree by Cyrus, the Israelites were permitted to reestablish the temple worship even though they were under the domination of the Persian rulers. In this the prophetic word of Jeremiah likewise was fulfilled.

(Significant commentaries include E. L. Curtis, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles,* ICC [1910]; J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles,* AB 12, 2nd ed. [1973], and *II Chronicles,* AB 13 [1965]; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [1982]; R. Braun, *1 Chronicles,* WBC 14 [1986]; R. B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles,* WBC 15 [1987]; S. Japhet, *I and II Chronicles: A Commentary,* OTL [1993]; W. Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles, 2* vols. [1997]; G. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9,* AB 12 [2004], and *I Chronicles 10–29,* AB 12A [2004]; R. Klein, *1 Chronicles,* Hermeneia [2006]. See also H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* [1977]; P. R. Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age* [1991]; B. E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles* [1996]; K. Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-critical and Critical Research, 2* vols. [1996]; S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought,* 2nd ed. [1997]; M. P. Graham, ed., *The Chronicler as Theologian* [2003]; K. Hognesius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16: A Critical Edition with Textual Commentary* [2003]; I. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* [2005]; id., *An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing* [2005]; E. Ben Zvi, *History, Literature, and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* [2006]; and the bibliography by W. E. Mills, *1 Chronicles–Nehemiah* [2002].)

S. J. SCHULTZ

chronology (OT). The arrangement of OT events in time, including their dates and correlation with secular history.

1. Principles of chronology
    1. Authority
    2. Evidence
    3. Absolute dating

2. Primeval
    1. Antediluvian
    2. Postdiluvian
3. Patriarchal
    1. Abraham
    2. Isaac
    3. Jacob
    4. Joseph
4. Egyptian
    1. Israel's descent
    2. Israel's exodus
5. Wilderness
6. Conquest
7. Judges
    1. Basis
    2. Statistics
    3. Correlations
8. United kingdom
    1. Saul
    2. David's later career
    3. Solomon
9. Divided kingdom
    1. Basis
    2. Correlations
    3. Difficulties
10. Judah alone
    1. Correlations
    2. Difficulties
11. Exile
12. Restoration

I. Principles of chronology. Dating the events of the OT serves both to clarify their sequence in biblical history and to emphasize their reality in time and space. Proper procedures, however, are necessary for achieving accuracy.

A. Authority. Evangelical Christians are committed to biblical INSPIRATION (cf. Christ's designation of Gen. 2:24 as equivalent to the words of God the Creator, Matt. 19:5). The authority of the historical and chronological assertions of the OT is thus accepted, as well as that of any NT references that have a bearing upon them. Restorations of original readings, made possible by the SEPTUAGINT or by other ancient texts and versions, are welcomed; but no humanly devised conclusions, whether they are based on ancient secular records (as in Josephus's *Antiquities* or the LXX) or on more modern systems (e.g., the famous dates of Archbishop Ussher, 1650–54, still found in the margin of many Bibles), may legitimately be opposed to the testimony of the inspired Word of God.

B. Evidence. In OT times Israel's months indicated the seasons: ABIB, "fresh [barley] ear" (Lev. 2:14), thus designated the initial month of spring (Exod. 23:15; Deut. 16:1). Each month, moreover, seems to have had thirty days (Gen. 8:3–4; cf. 7:11); but by adding either five or six days at the end of a year, or a thirteenth intercalated month after several years, Israel's CALENDAR continued to reflect true solar years (contrast Egypt's system of a slowly shifting New Year; J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology,* 1st ed. [1964], 21–44). Originally "the end of the year" seems to have occurred after the fall HARVEST, in September (Exod. 23:16; 34:22); but after the exodus, PASSOVER (spring) marked "the first month of your year" (12:2).

Israel later returned to the fall—cf. modern "Jewish New Years" or the ancient Gezer calendar (see AGRICULTURE V)—yet the Mosaic month-numberings were retained, so that, paradoxically, the regnal years of the Judean kings began in their seventh month. This may be demonstrated biblically from the dates that are associated with the seven-year building of the TEMPLE (1 Ki. 6:1, 37–38), from the second month in SOLOMON's fourth year to the eighth month in his eleventh year: for Solomon's fifth year had to have begun that same fall, in the seventh month, so that when the temple was finished six years and one month later, it was still in its seventh year of work. If the fifth year of Solomon had not commenced until the following spring, first month, it would have extended itself well into an eighth year and have been so designated. Cf. also 2 Ki. 22:3, where an event in JOSIAH's eighteenth year is followed (23:23) several months later by a Passover (first month) in the same eighteenth year.

Concerning then the precision and the completeness of such biblical evidence, occasional OT dialogues do involve round numbers, such as "three hundred years" (Jdg. 11:26) or "four hundred years" (Gen. 15:13). But in its chronological records no such imprecision can be demonstrated. Thus ABRAHAM's begetting of ISAAC at the (rounded?) age of one hundred (Gen. 21:5) was preceded by the latter's conception when Abraham was ninety-nine (17:1–24); the "forty year" judgeship of GIDEON (Jdg. 8:28) was followed by precisely three years of misrule under ABIMELECH (9:22) and twenty-three years of judgeship by TOLA (10:2); and DAVID's reign of "forty years" (2 Sam. 5:4) breaks down into seven years, six months, at Hebron and thirty-three years at Jerusalem (v. 5). As for the completeness of the biblical data, certain events (e.g., in the life of the prophet ELISHA) cannot be dated exactly; but the overall OT chronological framework has been established (e.g., that they all occurred during dated reigns from AHAB to Joash [JEHOASH] in Israel). Exceptions involve only the very earliest materials, prior to Abraham, and perhaps also the era of the judges (see below, II.A and VII.A).

C. Absolute dating. Except for the wilderness period and a few citations thereafter, in which events were dated from Israel's one great exodus experience, the OT employed only relative reference points, such as the seventy-fifth year in the life of a certain patriarch. In no case, moreover, is there material that enables us to connect the OT data with our own absolute reckoning of numbered years B.C. and A.D. Even Daniel's 483 years (69 weeks of years, Dan. 9:24–27) to the MESSIAH remain uncertain as to their precise beginning and ending (though see below, sect. XIII). Recourse is thus necessary to nearby, non-Israelitish, cultures that do furnish absolute dates. (See R. W. Ehrick, *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* [1966], esp. 395–461.)

The years of Babylonia's rulers from 747 B.C. down to the second Christian century were accurately recorded in *The Canon of Ptolemy.* The author of this Greek work, Claudius Ptolemaeus (c. A.D. 100–170), was a geographer and astronomer in ALEXANDRIA who also recorded and dated by reign over eighty verifiable astronomical phenomena, such as the eclipses of the moon on 17 March 721 B.C. and 16 July 523 B.C. Similarly, the neighboring Assyrians maintained "eponym"

lists, in which each year was assigned the name of an important official. Since the lists include also an eclipse of the sun on 15 June 763, the whole can be dated from 892 to 648. Furthermore, since Sargon II of Assyria at one point assumed the throne of Babylon, and since this comes out to the year 709 in both *The Canon of Ptolemy* and in the eponym lists, the accuracy of both sources is established.

Prior to 892 B.C., Assyrian king lists revert to about 2000 B.C. They become fairly reliable from the dynasty of Adasi (c. 1700) onward, with a margin of error of less than ten years after 1400. Even more precise are the later Babylonian lists (cf. R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626* B.C.–A.D. *75* [1956]; D.J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings, 626–556* B.C. [1956]). Similar lists from Egypt, which can be cross-checked with the Assyrian and with other astronomical observations, produce dates of c. 2133–1990 for Dynasty XI, of 1990–1786 for XII (Middle Kingdom) "with only a negligible margin of error" *(CAH,* 1/1, 3rd ed. [1970],174, 182–83), and of 1570–1085 for XVIII-XX (New Empire).

OT events may then be assigned absolute dates whenever they are mentioned in these other datable records. The Babylonian NEBUCHADNEZZAR's capture of Jerusalem in his eighth year (2 Ki. 24:12) can be dated precisely to 16 March 597 B.C. The Assyrian SHALMANESER III's contacts with Kings AHAB and JEHU can be dated 853 and 841 respectively; and, while neither contact is mentioned in the Bible, the fact that between Ahab and Jehu appear two other kings that occupy exactly twelve years indicates that 853 must have been the last year of Ahab and 841 the first of Jehu. Counting backward from these dates, one can establish Solomon's death and the division of the kingdom in 930 (give or take a year); and if the 480 years of 1 Ki. 6:1 are taken literally, the exodus took place in 1446 (see EXODUS, THE II). Among the more significant of the OT's absolute dates are these:

Event	Basis	Date
Nehemiah's wall	20th year of Artaxerxes I	444
Return decreed	1st year of Cyrus II	538
Fall of Jerusalem	19th year of Nebuchadnezzar	586
Fall of Samaria	Last year of Shalmaneser V	722
Division of Kingdom	From sixth year of Shalmaneser III	930
Temple founded	1 Ki. 11:42; 6:1	966
Exodus from Egypt	1 Ki. 6:1	1446
Descent into Egypt	Exod. 12:40 LXX	1876 (LXX, 1843)
Jacob born	Gen. 25:26	2006 (1973)
Isaac born	Gen. 21:5	2066 (2033)
Abraham born	Gen. 11:26	2166 (2133)

II. Primeval. Pre-Abrahamic chronology is based upon two sets of genealogical data (Gen. 5 and 11:10–26), separated by the Noachian flood (see FLOOD, GENESIS).

A. Antediluvian. Even pagan legend from SUMER preserved the memory of extended life spans prior to the flood; eight kings are reputed to have reigned 241,200 years! (T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* [1939].) The variant figures found in two pre-Christian texts of the OT, namely the LXX and the Samaritan, seem also to be products of human distortion, though of a less drastic character. While the Hebrew MT lists a minimum of 1,656 years from Adam to the flood (see below), the LXX presents 2,242; and the Samaritan, only 1,307. The former, for example, adds 100 years whenever the Hebrew states that a patriarch begat his first son before the age of 150, while the Samaritan reduces by 100 the three who begat after 150. (For a comparison of MT and LXX chronologies in the Pentateuch, see G. Larsson in *JBL* 102 [1983]: 401–9.)

To interpret the MT figures, however, Ussher chose to adopt a minimal methodology, counting for each individual only the years prior to the birth of his first son. This theory of overlapping patriarchs produced his famous date of 4004 B.C. (more accurately, 4175) for the creation. Other interpreters have preferred to compare the two sets of ten antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs with the three sets, each of fourteen ancestors, in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. 1:1–17) and have concluded that just as the latter could omit three generations (v. 8, lit., "Joram begat [an ancestor of] Uzziah"; cf. in Ezra 7:3 the omission of six generations that are found in 1 Chr. 6:7–10), so Genesis may have omitted a number of links as well. A theory of disconnected patriarchs could thus allow Adam to be dated 100,000 B.C. or earlier. This approach, however, while granting freedom for anthropology, leaves the Bible's detailed lists of figures as generally pointless and also posits an unusually high proportion of omitted links.

A third method of interpretation adduces W. F. Albright's observation that ANE peoples "dated long periods by lifetimes, not by generations" (in *BASOR* 163 [Oct. 1961]: 50; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1966], 54). In Gen. 15, Israel's 400 years in Egypt, which actually covered some ten generations (1 Chr. 7:25–27), is said to entail four such lifetime generations (Gen. 15:13, 16). Applied to Gen. 5, this counting by "successive" patriarchs would mean, for example, that while Adam begat an ancestor of Seth when he was 130 (Gen. 5:3), Seth (5:6–8) actually arose as Scripture's next prominent figure only after Adam's full life of 930 years (5:4). Adam would then, theoretically, date from 10,000 B.C. or earlier; but since Seth was probably not born in the immediate year of Adam's death, man's creation may perhaps be dated 15,000 B.C. or c. a millennium before the famous Lascaux cave paintings *(JASA* 11/1 [1959]: 8, though cf. 17/2 [1965]: 43–47). Some scholars have sought to account for the antediluvian life spans, which average over 900 years, as "the period during which the *family* had prominence and leadership" (John D. Davis, *A Dictionary of the Bible,* 4th ed. [1924], 134); but the names in Genesis seem to reflect actual individuals (cf. 9:28–29). Their decreasing longevity may have been due to a progressive manifestation of the effects of sin (Prov. 10:27).

B. Postdiluvian. Ussher's "overlapping" method of interpretation allowed only 353 years from the flood to the birth of ABRAHAM in 2166 B.C. (see below, IV.A). A flood in the year 2519, however, is difficult to harmonize with the known historical periods of Egypt and Mesopotamia, which develop steadily from c. 3000. It would also create the anomaly that SHEM, with the rest of Abraham's postdiluvian ancestors (except REU), were still living when Abraham was born in 2166 and that Noah himself had died only three years previously (Gen. 9:28). More likely is the system of successive counting, which would put the flood at least 3,284 years before Abraham, as shown in the chart on the next page. (The first column with numbers gives the person's age at the birth of his first child; the

second column gives his age at death, except where otherwise noted.)

Although in Gen. 11:26 Abram (Abraham) is listed first among TERAH's sons, HARAN appears considerably older than the two other brothers, who later married or joined in partnership with Haran's children (Gen. 11:27; 12:4). Terah was probably 130 when Abraham was born, for the latter was seventy-five when he left for Palestine after Terah's death at an age of 205 (Gen. 11:32; 12:4; Acts 7:4; there are, however, other approaches to the differences between the Genesis and Acts accounts). While incredible by modern standards (cf. the objections of E. F. Harrison in *Revelation and the Bible,* ed. Carl F. H. Henry [1958], 249), such age does correspond to the more slowly developing patriarchal life as a whole. Note Sarah's comparative beauty (Gen. 12:11) when she was ninety (17:17) or even older (20:2). It is not invalidated by the emphasis laid by the Genesis narrative on Abraham's advanced age (100) when he fathered Isaac, for there the unique feature was the previous sterility of his marriage (11:30; 17:17). Abraham subsequently had children, when over 137 (23:1; 24:67—25:2).

III. Patriarchal. Four generations of Hebrew patriarchs are described in Gen. 12–50.

A. Abraham. If Abraham was indeed born in 2166 B.C. and lived in UR of the Chaldees until he was an adult, he would presumably have lived for some time under the great Sumerian Dynasty III of Ur, whose founding under Ur-Nammu is dated c. 2113 *(CAH,* 1/1, 3rd ed. [1970], 200). Specific correlations of Abraham with secular chronology, however,

Adam	130	930	Gen. 5:5
Seth	105	912	5:8
Enosh	90	905	5:11
Kenan	70	910	5:14
Mahalalel	65	895	5:17
Jared	162	962	5:20
Enoch	65	365	5:23
Methuselah	187	969	5:27
Lamech	182	777	5:31
Noah	500	500 (to Shem)	5:32
Shem	100 (flood)	100 (flood)	5:32; 7:6
Total	1,656	8,225 years	
Shem	3 (from flood)	503 (from flood)	11:10–11
Arphaxad	35	438	11:12–13
Cainan	130	460	11:13b (LXX)
Shelah	30	433	11:14–15
Eber	34	464	11:16–17
Peleg	30	239	11:18–19
Reu	32	239	11:20–21
Serug	30	230	11:22–23
Nahor	29	148	11:24–25
Terah	70 (to Haran?)	130 (to Abraham?)	11:26, 32; 12:4
Total		3,284 years	

have not been established. The patriarch did have dealings with an unnamed Egyptian pharaoh (Gen. 12:10–20) shortly after his entrance into Canaan c. 2091; he was presumably a minor ruler of the 10th dynasty before its fall to the contemporaneous 11th dynasty of Thebes in the S. Shortly thereafter occurred the raid upon Palestine (ch. 14) by AMRAPHEL and his allied monarchs from Elam and Babylonia. Their names represent valid Elamite and Akkadian forms; but though their activity in Transjordan suggests a date prior to 1900, they remain historically unidentified (some earlier scholars equated Amraphel with the famous lawgiver of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, HAMMURABI, but this view is generally rejected). Evidences of seasonal occupation in the NEGEV of S Palestine suggest dates for the patriarchs between approximately 2100 and 1800, but not before or after these dates (Kitchen, *Ancient Orient,* 49).

B. Isaac. The dates for ISAAC are probably 2066–1886 B.C. if one follows the Hebrew MT. The figures given in the LXX yield the dates 2033–1853. The chart on the next page tabulates the two alternate chronologies.

C. Jacob. While the date of JACOB's flight from Palestine is not directly stated in the OT, his age of seventy-seven may be deduced from the chronology of JOSEPH, as indicated above, and it did have to be some time after his twin brother ESAU's fortieth birthday in 1966 B.C. (Gen. 26:34) and the further aging of their father Isaac (27:1).

D. Joseph. The unnamed pharaoh who elevated Joseph in 1885 B.C. would have preceded the great Sesostris **III,** the seventh year of whose thirty-eight year reign "can be pinpointed [by astronomical data] with great probability to 1872 B.C." (*CAH,* 1/1, 3rd ed. [1970], 182). The Egyptian tone of Joseph's record confirms this date at the peak of the Middle Kingdom (12th dynasty) rather than one later, in the period of foreign (HYKSOS) invasion that followed (cf. G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction,* rev. ed. [1994], 228–33).

IV. Egyptian. This period begins with the descent of Jacob/Israel into Egypt and ends with the exodus.

A. Israel's descent. The MT of Exod. 12:40 sets the duration of Israel's stay in Egypt at 430 years. Hence, if the exodus is dated at 1446 B.C. (see sect. B, below), the descent would be dated 1876. Abraham's entrance into Canaan would then be placed 215 years before that (130 years for Jacob, plus 60 more for Isaac, plus 25 more for Abraham prior to Isaac's birth) at 2091, and his birth at 2166. The LXX of Exod. 12:40, however, reads, "The dwelling of the sons of Israel which they dwelt in the land of Egypt *and in the land of Canaan* [was] 430 years"; this reading is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch and hence may have been the original wording.

Event	Reference	Septuagint	MT
Terah born	Gen. 11:32; 12:4	2263	2291
Abraham born	21:5	2133	2166
Abraham enters Canaan	12:4	2058	2091
Ishmael born	16:16	2047	2080
Isaac born	25:26	2033	2066
Sarah dies	23:1	1996	2029
Isaac married	25:20	1993	2026
Jacob and Esau born	47:9	1973	2006
Abraham dies	25:7	1958	1991
Jacob's flight to Haran	30:24–26; 31:41	1896	1929
Joseph born	50:22	1882	2115
Jacob's return to Canaan	31:41	1876	2009
Joseph sold into Egypt	37:2	1865	1898
Isaac dies	35:28	1853	1886
Joseph elevated	41:54; 45:11	1852	1885
Jacob settles in Egypt	Exod. 12:40	(1843)	1876

Since Jacob and his sons had been in Palestine for thirty-three years before their removal to Egypt (between Joseph's sixth and thirty-ninth birthdays, Gen. 31:41), the LXX/Samaritan reading in Exod. 12:40 then would leave 397 recorded years for the actual Egyptian sojourn, dating the descent in 1843. This latter figure seems better to suit Scripture's rounded references to the Egyptian period. In Gen. 15:13 and Acts 7:6, the "four hundred years" is closer to 397 than to 430, and especially in Acts 13:20 the phrase "about 450 years" is closer to 443 (the 397, plus 40 years in the wilderness, plus 6 years for the conquest up to the division of Canaan, Acts 13:18–19) than to 476, which would

have suggested "about 500."

These references also oppose the reconstruction of Ussher, who, following a variant LXX reading that adds the phrase "they and their fathers" in Exod. 12:40, began his counting with Abraham's first entrance into Canaan, leaving only 215 for the Egyptian sojourn. He was probably influenced by Gal. 3:17, which speaks of the law at Sinai (soon after the exodus) coming 430 years after the promise of "a covenant previously established by God." Since this last verse may refer to God's confirmation of the covenant promise to Jacob at his return to Canaan in 1909 (Gen. 35:9–12) rather than to its initial Abrahamic revelation in 2091, it should not be invoked in opposition to the uniform testimony of Gen. 15:13; Acts 7:6; 13:19 to Israel's four centuries in Egypt (cf. M. G. Kline in *WTJ* 27 [1964]: 7). This much time seems also to be required for Israel's increase from one household to several million people (Exod. 12:37; cf. KD, *Pentateuch,* 2:28–30), for the 8,600 known male descendants of Levi's son Kohath at the time of the exodus (Num. 3:28), and for the ten generations that grew up in Egypt (1 Chr. 7:25–27).

B. Israel's exodus. At what point in history did Egypt begin its systematic oppression of Israel? The pharaoh "who did not know about Joseph" (Exod. 1:8) is not named. That he might have been Aahmes I, the founder in 1570 of the 18th dynasty and of the New Empire, is suggested by this ruler's

Mud-brick pyramid located in Hawara (Fayum region). Joseph was responsible for building storehouses such as are located adjacent to this structure.

hatred of the foreign (and Semitic) Hyksos, whom he expelled in 1567 (cf. 1:9–10). That the oppressive pharaoh might have been the first of these same Hyksos, who occupied the E NILE delta from c. 1730 on, would be favored by the ruthlessness of these conquerors toward those in Egypt, by their location at Avaris (near Pithom and Raamses, 1:11), and by the lengthy oppression that Scripture suggests (cf. Gen. 15:13, and J. Rea in *ETSB* 3 [1960]: 60–61), combined with their known founding of a temple at Avaris in 1720 B.C. (*CAH,* 1/1, 3rd ed. [1970], 183–84).

The whole preceding chronology of the OT depends upon the date that one assigns to the exodus (see EXODUS, THE II). Its season was in the first month of spring (Exod. 12:17, 41), after MOSES' return to Egypt during the Nile inundation of the preceding summer (7:24; 8:6). Scripture states further that Solomon's temple was founded during April/May "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the [exodus]…in the fourth year of Solomon's reign" (1 Ki. 6:1). This latter year began in the fall of 967, so that a counting back of 479 years would produce the date of October, 1446. Since New Year's Day had meanwhile been shifted into the fall from the springtime (see above, I.B), the exodus

must actually have occurred in April, 1446. (Cf. J. Finegan's hypothesis of how one year must presumably have been extended to the following season, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology,* 1st ed. [1964], 203.) If, however, one were to assume a consistently springtime New Year's, then the 480th year before April/May, 966, would seem to fall in 1445 (cf. Archer, *Survey,* 239).

This date in the mid-15th cent. B.C. is confirmed by the statement of JEPHTHAH, spoken over a century before Solomon's temple, that in his day Israel had been settled in Palestine for 300 years (Jdg. 11:26), with of course forty more years of wilderness wandering before that. A similar time lapse is required by the biblical assignment of over three centuries to the judges; and it is confirmed archaeologically by the dating of the destruction of Canaanite HAZOR in the second half of the 13th cent. (*CAH,* 238), which would again place the beginning of the judges period in the early 14th cent. (see below, VII.C) and the exodus in mid-15th. This in turn correlates well with the 1400 B.C. invasion of Canaan by people whom the Egyptian TELL EL-AMARNA letters call HABIRU and with the fall of Canaanitish JERICHO, which simply cannot be dated much beyond this point (see below, VI; cf. Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past,* 2nd ed. [1959], 118, 159).

The majority of modern scholars dismiss 1 Ki. 6:1 as an exaggerated, or even artificial, "twelve generations of forty years each" (Finegan, *Light,* 212) and prefer a 13th rather than 15th cent. B.C. date for the exodus. The older identification of RAMSES II (1304–1237) as the pharaoh of the oppression and of his son MERNEPTAH (1237–1225) as the pharaoh of the exodus has now been generally abandoned (cf. the discovery of a stele dating from the latter's fifth year, which speaks of his defeating Israel *in Palestine;* see *ANET,* 376–78). Many critics rather identify Ramses II as pharaoh both of the oppression and of the exodus (despite Scripture's reference to the death of the oppressor shortly before the exodus, Exod. 4:19). Their arguments, primarily archaeological, are these: In Canaan, a number of cities, such as Bethel, Debir, and Lachish, are known to have been destroyed in the latter 13th cent.; Lachish, indeed, revealed an inscribed, smashed bowl, seemingly dating to the fourth year of Merneptah. In Transjordan, the border fortifications of the nations that opposed Israel's entrance into Canaan (Num. 20:20–21; Deut. 2:9) appear to have developed only after 1300. Finally, in Egypt, the rebuilding of the Hyksos store-city of RAMESES, where Israel was oppressed (Exod. 1:11), was not undertaken until the accession of Ramses II in 1304.

Each of these arguments is open to question. The destruction of Canaanitish cities in the time of DEBORAH (1215 B.C.) in no way prohibits their previous subjugation by JOSHUA in 1400 (cf. the repeated defeats of Bethel in Josh. 8:17 and Jdg. 1:12). Evidences for a Transjordanian sedentary occupation between 1550 and 1250 are mounting (cf. G. Lancaster Harding in *PEQ* 90 [1958]: 10–12); and God *could* have ordered his people to bypass EDOM and MOAB, whether these people had yet erected border fortifications or not.

Finally, any attempt to correlate Ramses II with the store-cities of Exod. 1:11 leads to confusion. If the oppression at Rameses did not begin until after 1304, then, no matter how Moses' birth, growth, and decades of exile to Midian be reduced, Israel's exodus simply cannot be made to precede "the middle of the 13th cent. B.C."; and its subsequent forty years in the wilderness, despite the OT's careful year by year counting, must be treated as "a conventional round number for what was actually a somewhat briefer time" (Finegan, *Light,* 120). But if, on the other hand, the date of 1290/1280 be adopted for the exodus *(IDB,* 1:584), with Moses' birth eighty years earlier (Exod. 7:7; cf. Deut. 34:7), and with the oppression extending indefinitely before that, then the enslavement at Rameses loses all possible contact with Ramses and might even date back to the time of his Hyksos ancestors (Rea in *ETSB* 3 [1960]: 62–63).

In any event, the biblical date of 1446 B.C. accords well with the death of the famous conqueror

THUTMOSE III, whose reign is assigned to 1504–1450 by means of astronomy (*CAH,* 187–88) and whose building projects near Goshen and use of Semitic slaves is well-documented (Archer, *Survey,* 242–45). The pharaoh of the exodus would thus have been his son and successor, Amenhotep II, while Moses' early protector and royal benefactress may have been Thutmose's equally famous aunt, regent Hatshepsut, as indicated below:

		B.C.
Middle Kingdom (12th dyn.)		1990
Jacob dies	(Gen. 47:28)	1859
Joseph dies	(Gen. 50:20)	1805
Second Interm. Period (13th–17th dyn.)		1786
Hyksos temple at Avaris		1720
Hyksos dynasties (15th–16th)		1674
New Empire (18th–20th dyn.)		1570
Expulsion of Hyksos		1567
Moses born	(Exod. 2:2)	1527
Thutmose III		1504
Moses' flight to Midian	(Acts 7:23)	1487
Amenhotep II		1450
Moses' return to Egypt	(Exod. 7:7)	1447
Exodus		1446

V. Wilderness. The Israelites arrived in SINAI three months after the exodus (Exod. 19:1), thus June of 1446 B.C. The nation remained in the wilderness forty years, but only thirty-eight years were actually spent in the "wanderings" (Deut.

Aerial view of red granite mountains in S Sinai.

2:14), commencing after "the time of the first ripe grapes" (Num. 13:20), in 1445. We can deduce that the TABERNACLE was erected in March/April of that year (40:17), with the nation's first numbering and departure from Sinai the following month (Num. 1:2; 10:12). The people would have arrived in KADESH BARNEA in August of 1445. After thirty-eight years of wandering they returned to Kadesh (33:36). Their final departure from that place, marked by AARON's death, occurred in July/ August of 1407 (33:37–38). Moses' address to the nation can be dated in February/March, 1406 (Deut. 1:3). After his death, the nation crossed the JORDAN evidently in April of the same year (Josh. 4:19; 5:6, 10).

VI. Conquest. The TELL EL-AMARNA tablets of Egypt have preserved a body of diplomatic correspondence, sent to Amenhotep III (1417–1379; *CAH,* 1/1, 3rd ed. [1970], 188, 245) by a group of Canaanite vassal-princes, pleading for aid against the invading HABIRU. While this latter force may have embraced elements beyond the biblical Hebrews (cf. EBER's position as a *remote* ancestor of Abraham, Gen. 11:16–26), their reported deeds of conquest and destruction parallel the known activities of JOSHUA and his early successors so closely that a correlation is probable. Furthermore, the last Egyptian royal scarabs discovered at Canaanitish JERICHO belong to Amenhotep III; and, while the general lack of Late Bronze evidence from Jericho demands a certain caution in appealing to data from this site (cf. *NBD,* 191), it appears significant that the Mycenaean pottery characteristic of 1400–1200 is practically nonexistent at Jericho (city IV).

The luxury-loving Amenhotep III conducted an initial campaign in Nubia but seems then to have desisted from military activity, leaving the impoverished and disorganized Canaanite princes to protect themselves as best they might. Scripture states simply that "Joshua waged against all these kings for a long time" (Josh. 11:18), but a chronology becomes ascertainable from the OT references to CALEB. Since this leader had been forty-five at the time of Moses' sending out of the spies (in 1445 B.C.), and since he was eighty-five at Joshua's final division of the land (14:7, 10), this latter event must be dated in the year 1400. Joshua eventually died at an age of 110 (24:29). If he was in his mid-fifties at the time of the exodus—he was Moses' military commander at the time (Exod. 17:9) and appears to have been considerably older than Caleb (Josh. 13:1; 14:11)—his death must have taken

place c. 1390 (24:29).

VII. Judges

A. Basis. (1) Since Scripture furnishes no precise temporal connection between Joshua and the judges, dates for the latter must be calculated by counting backward from the kings who followed them. Even assuming that Saul's inauguration is datable to 1043 B.C. (see below, VIII.A), one is still faced with ambiguities concerning the rule of SAMUEL, who was his immediate predecessor and the last of the judges. If the period in 1 Sam. 7:2 of "twenty years" and Israel's mourning and seeking "after the LORD" is equated with Samuel's leadership (*HDB,* 1:399), then 1063 marks the overthrow of the PHILISTINE oppression that preceded Samuel (1 Sam. 7:7–14) and makes possible a tentative dating for the rest of the events of the period. See JUDGES, PERIOD OF.

(2) Certain sections of the book of Judges record events that had only local significance and that overlap events in other areas. For example, while the Philistines were overwhelming Israel on the W coast, the Ammonites (see AMMON) were simultaneously oppressing the Transjordanian tribes in the E (Jdg. 10:7). Samuel's judgeship succeeded directly upon the Philistine domination; hence, the terms of JEPHTHAH, who fought Ammon, and of the three minor judges that followed (10:17—11:15) must have run concurrently with the forty-year Philistine oppression (13:1).

(3) A given period of oppression or deliverance may embrace more than one judge. For example, EHUD's eighty-year peace (Jdg. 3:30) is supplemented by a description of SHAMGAR (v. 31). The OT record, however, assigns no separate period of deliverance to Shamgar but continues, "After Ehud died…the LORD sold them…" (4:1–2). So also the twenty-two years of JAIR (10:3) seem best to be subsumed under the twenty-three of his predecessor TOLA, who alone is said to have arisen to "deliver Israel" (10:1); and much of ELI's judgeship (1 Sam. 4:18), together with all of SAMSON's (Jdg. 16:31), belong under the forty years of Philistine oppression; for Samson, in reality, accomplished no deliverance at all but simply "led Israel for twenty years in the days of the Philistines" (15:20).

B. Statistics. If we were to add the number of years mentioned in the book of Judges, the total would exceed 400, which does not fit any chronological system. As we have noted, however, some of the periods overlap, and there are various proposals for reducing the figure. Scholars who date the exodus in the 13th cent. argue that the period of the judges covered less than 200 years, whereas an early date for the exodus allows a period of over 300 years (cf. Jdg. 11:26). If we date the beginning of CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM's oppression in 1382 B.C. and the end of Samuel's judgeship in 1043 B.C., the total figure is 339 years. In the following chart, notice the overlapping dates during the first period of Philistine oppression.

The appendix to the book (Jdg. 17–21) belongs to the period of moral chaos that preceded the first oppression (1382 B.C.), for the migration of the Danites in chs. 17–18 is mentioned in the book of Joshua (Josh. 19:47), which must have been composed shortly after Joshua's own death (Josh. 5:1; 6:25; cf. the priority of 18:12 to 13:25), and in Jdg. 20:28 Aaron's grandson Phinehas was still serving as high priest.

		B.C.

Mesopotamian oppression (8 yrs.)	Jdg. 3:8	1382
Othniel (40 yrs.)	Jdg. 3:11	1374
Moabite oppression (18 yrs.)	Jdg. 3:14	1334
Ehud (80 yrs.)	Jdg. 3:30	1316
Canaanite oppression (20 yrs.)	Jdg. 4:3	1236
Deborah and Barak (40 yrs.)	Jdg. 5:31	1216
Midianite oppression (7 yrs.)	Jdg. 6:1	1176
Gideon (40 yrs.)	Jdg. 8:28	1169
Abimelech's misrule (3 yrs.)	Jdg. 9:22	1129
Tola with Jair (23 yrs.)	Jdg. 10:2	1120
Eli (40 yrs.)	1 Sam. 4:18	c. 1120
First Philistine oppression (40 yrs.)	Jdg. 13:1	1103
Ammonite oppression (18 yrs.)	Jdg. 10:7–8	1103
Samson (20 yrs.)	Jdg. 15:20	c. 1090
Jephthah (6 yrs.)	Jdg. 12:7	1085
Samuel and sons (20 yrs.?)	1 Sam. 7:2	1063
Second Philistine oppression	1 Sam. 8:1	c. 1045

C. Correlations. Although the book of Judges furnishes no explicit contact with contemporaneous secular history, the above listed dates do suggest a series of plausible correlations with it. Among the Amarna letters are appeals from a Canaanite king Abdi-Hepa of Jerusalem to Amenhotep IV (AKHENATEN; prob. 1379–1361, *CAH,* 1/1, 3rd ed. [1970], 189), which describe the city as in imminent danger of conquest by the Habiru. The biblical King ADONI-ZEDEK, whom Joshua defeated and executed, c. 1405 B.C. (Josh. 10:1–27), must therefore have been one of Abdi-Hepa's immediate predecessors. The fulfillment of Abdi-Hepa's forebodings may then have been realized at the conquest of Jerusalem by the tribe of Judah, after the death of Joshua in 1390 (Jdg. 1:8), though his fears might also be explainable were he among the Jebusites who reoccupied the city shortly thereafter (v. 21; see JEBUS).

A theory first proposed by John Garstang (*Joshua, Judges* [1931], 51–66) is that Israel's alternating periods of oppression and of deliverance

The ancient site of Zorah (Samson's village) is located at the far right of the closer ridge. The Sorek Valley lies below, with the excavations at Beth Shemesh (Tell er-Rumeileh) in the foreground. (View to the N.)

correspond to the absence or presence of political control in Palestine by the rival powers of Egypt to the SW, and of the HITTITE empire in the N. Israel's oppression from 1382 to 1374 by Cushan-Rishathaim of Mesopotamia may thus have constituted but one phase of Hittite encroachment upon the disintegrating Palestine empire of Amenophis III and IV, while Israel's forty-year rest under O THNIEL (1374–1334) would parallel Palestine's stability when once within the sphere of influence of the great Hittite rulers Suppiluliuma and Murshilish II (accession in 1344, *CAH,* 215–16). The following eighteen years of Moabite oppression may then match the uncertainty of the times, which climaxed in a reoccupation of Palestine by a revitalized Egypt under Seti I (1318; ibid., 20).

It hardly appears accidental that the eighty-year rest (1316–1236) inaugurated by Ehud attaches so closely to the peace that was enforced by the treaties of Seti and of Ramses II (1304–1237) with the Hittites. An ensuing decay on the part of both empires, followed by the final collapse of the Hittites in the face of barbarian invasion, seems to have opened the doors for the twenty-year Canaanite revival and its oppression of Israel, while the preservation of the latter part of Deborah's four decades of prosperity (1216–1176) may have been due, in part, to the strong rule of Ramses III (c. 1199–1168; ibid.) of the new 20th dynasty, the destroyer in c. 1191 (ibid., 75) of those invading SEA PEOPLES whose Philistine remnants were so strongly to oppress Israel a century later. Decadence, however, characterized the later course of this dynasty, and Israel was left to face the chaos created by invading Midianites from the East. A significant confirmation of this dating is furnished by the presence of Mycenaean IIIb pottery (1300–1200) in the ruins of the final Canaanite city of Hazor (see above, IV.B), which campaigned against Deborah and Barak. The only time within this period during which Egyptian control was sufficiently withdrawn to permit such activity had to have been just before or after Merneptah (1237–1225): "Hence Baraq is to be dated in the second half of the thirteenth century" *(CAH,* 217).

VIII. United kingdom

A. Saul. The book of 1 Samuel speaks of SAUL's age upon accession (1 Sam. 13:1, though the precise

numeral has been lost) but does not indicate his total reign; its next reference, "two years," possibly goes with the following verse and indicates that the battle of MICMASH occurred two years after this accession (13:1–2 ASV). The NRSV, however, uses an ellipsis to indicate that this figure is a corrupted statement of total reign: "he reigned…and two years over Israel." The NT states that God gave Saul to Israel "for the space of forty years," after which he raised up David to be their king (Acts 13:21–22; cf. the NIV note at 1 Sam. 13:1); but liberal expositors usually reject the NT testimony and limit Saul's kingship to twenty and two years, or even ten and two *(IB,* 2:946). This, however, is manifestly impossible in the light of Saul's being a "young man" at his accession (1 Sam. 9:2) and yet having a fourth son who had reached the age of thirty-five at the time of Saul's death (2 Sam. 2:10; cf. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient,* 75–76).

A more serious question concerning the forty years of Acts 13 is whether it embraces only Saul's individual reign or whether it includes also the seven years of Philistine domination, with vassal rule by his son ISH-BOSHETH, until the time of DAVID's accession over all Israel (2 Sam. 2:10–11) in 1003 B.C. The latter alternative, leaving thirty-three years for Saul himself (1043–1010), appears more reasonable, since JONATHAN, who had become a hero at Micmash in the opening years of Saul's reign (1 Sam. 13:1–3), was still David's intimate friend in 1010 at its close. Since David was then thirty years old (2 Sam. 5:4, b. 1040), Jonathan would hardly seem to have been more than twenty years his senior; and if Jonathan was born in 1060 he would have been nineteen at Micmash in 1041 and his father Saul c. thirty-five. The events of Saul's later career and of his relationships with David are not precisely dated by the OT, until David's final flight from Saul in 1012 B.C. (1 Sam. 27:7), but they may be approximated as follows:

Saul's dynasty (40 yrs.)	Acts 13:21	1043–1003
Battle of Micmash	1 Sam. 13:2	1041
David born	2 Sam. 5:4	1040
Amalekite war; David anointed	1 Sam. 15–16	c. 1025
David vs. Goliath	1 Sam. 17	c. 1020
Third Philistine oppression	1 Sam. 23	c. 1015–1003
David's flight to Gath	1 Sam. 27:7	1012
Saul dies; David king in Judah	2 Sam. 2:4	1010
Ish-Bosheth king in Israel	2 Sam. 2:10	1005–1003
David's reign (40 yrs.)	2 Sam. 5:4–5	1010–970
King over all Israel; Jerusalem captured	2 Sam. 5:3–9	1003
Mephibosheth aided	2 Sam. 4:4; 9:12	c. 995
Sins of David and Amnon	2 Sam. 11–13	c. 990
Absalom murders Amnon	2 Sam. 13:32	c. 988
Absalom returns to Jerusalem	2 Sam. 14:23	c. 985
Absalom restored	2 Sam. 14:33	c. 983
Absalom revolts	2 Sam. 15:7 LXX, Syr.	c. 979

Solomon's reign (40 yrs.)	1 Ki. 11:42	970–930
Temple begun	1 Ki. 6:1	April/May, 966
Temple completed	1 Ki. 6:38	Oct./Nov., 959
Last contact with Hiram	1 Ki. 9:13	946

B. David's later career. As outlined above, David's later life is likewise subject to some conjecture. Jonathan's crippled son MEPHIBOSHETH had been five at the death of his father and grandfather in 1010 (2 Sam. 4:4); but since Mephibosheth had a young son of his own when he came to David's court (9:11), this latter fact must bring the climactic events that surround 2 Sam. 9 down to c. 995. To this period also belong major parts of the appendix to 2 Samuel (chs. 21 –24), such as David's song of rest (ch. 22; cf. v. 1 with 7:1) or his census (ch. 21; for v. 7 must come after Mephibosheth's discovery, but before Absalom's revolt, 16:8). If the sins of David and his son Amnon came to light c. 990 (11:2—13:22), then Absalom's revolt would date to c. 979, as above.

The United Kingdom under King David.

C. Solomon. Shortly before his death in 970 B.C., David ordered his son SOLOMON anointed over the united kingdom (1 Ki. 1; 1 Chr. 23:1). While Solomon's coregency appears to have been brief, if it was counted at all (P. van der Meer, *The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt,* 2nd ed. [1955], 72), it yet established a significant precedent in Judah; for Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Azariah,

Jotham, and Ahaz were to be granted coregencies with their fathers, and apparently for the same reason: to guarantee their succession and to insure the throne's stability, in contrast to the kaleidoscopic history of N Israel, where only one such instance appears. Solomon's chief foreign contacts were his building arrangements with HIRAM king of TYRE (Ahiram I, 986–935 B.C.) and his marriage to an Egyptian princess (1 Ki. 3:1; 9:16), perhaps a daughter of Siamun, the last pharaoh but one of the 21st dynasty, which terminated in the year 945.

IX. Divided kingdom

A. Basis. After the division of Solomon's kingdom in 930 B.C., each king's reign continued to be correlated with that of his neighbor, producing "contemporary chronological materials of the greatest accuracy and the highest historical value" (E. R. Thiele, *the Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 2nd ed. [1965], 26). This scriptural system operated upon the following bases:

(1) The N kingdom "predated" its reigns, that is, it assigned no accession year to a given ruler but rather reckoned the year of his enthronement both as his own first year and as the last of his predecessor. For example, Nadab's reign, which is said to be two years, began in the second year of Asa of Judah, but his successor Baasha's reign began in Asa's third; and the successor to Baasha's twenty-four year reign began, in turn, in Asa's twenty-sixth (1 Ki. 15:25, 33; 16:8). Judah, on the other hand, "postdated," designating the latter part of a year in which a ruler died as the accession year of his successor, and only the year following as his successor's first. This situation prevailed until 848 B.C., when Jehoram of Judah, who was allied with N Israel and whose wife Athaliah was the actual daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, adopted Israel's predating system. The old system is illustrated in 2 Ki. 9:29 and the new in 8:25 (Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers,* 35). These verses also demonstrate how each scribe would follow his own reckoning system in dating the other kingdom too. Both nations shifted to postdating in 796 B.C., perhaps due to Assyrian influence (ibid., 37–38); for the very nomenclature of accession years corresponds to the Akkadian *resh sharruti.*

(2) As indicated above (I.B), Judah's secular year began in the fall. Solomon's death, and the commencement of REHOBOAM's accession year, occurred at some point after the month Tishri (Sept./Oct.), 931 B.C., hereinafter indicated by using an asterisk with the number of the following year B.C., that is, 930*. In the northern kingdom of Israel, however, Jeroboam, in line with his other deliberate departures from the Judean calendar (cf. 1 Ki. 12:32–33), shifted to a spring New Year in the month Nisan (March/April). This parallels the custom of Babylonia, Assyria, and especially Egypt, with which he had close contact (11:40; 12:2; cf. Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers,* 30). Israel's moved-up, springtime New Year is demonstrated biblically by 1 Ki. 15:1, in which Abijam's accession to the Judean throne in Rehoboam's seventeenth year is dated in Jeroboam's eighteenth, which must have begun in Nisan, indicated with the pound sign, 913#, while Rehoboam's seventeenth had still to run until the month Tishri.

(3) The following interpretative bases concern coregencies (see above, VIII.C) during the divided kingdom period. (a) The years of coregency are regularly included in the totals for the respective reigns. The fact that the five-year coregency of Jehoram of Judah with his father Jehoshaphat (proved by the designation of the year 852* B.C. in terms of both father and son, 2 Ki. 1:17 and 3:1) was not counted in Jehoram's eight-year total (8:17) can only be described as a "variation" (Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers,* 70). (b) The book of Kings records each ruler in a sequence determined by the beginning of sole reign rather than of coregency (contra Thiele, ibid., 138–89). Jehoram's sole reign in 848 (8:16–19) is listed after Joram of Israel in 852 (3:1 – 3), even

though the former's coregency began in 853. (c) "Co-regencies commence with the first rather than accession years" (ibid., 159), a principle violated by Thiele in assigning an accession year to Azariah's coregency with Amaziah in order to bring it back to Tishri, 792 (ibid., 75, 83; contrast his 1st ed. [1951], 71, in which he lists this event as 791/790).

On these bases, the chronology may be reconstructed as in the table that follows. The names of the kings in the southern kingdom are set in *italics*. An asterisk after a number indicates that the regnal year in question began in Tishri *of the previous* year, whereas a pound sign indicates that it began in Nisan of the current year (see section A above).

B. Correlations. In addition to contacts in 853 and 841 of AHAB and JEHU with SHALMANESER III of Assyria (see above, I.C), the following dates fit into

Rehoboam (17 years)	1 Ki. 14:21	930*
Jeroboam I (22)	14:20	930*
Abijam (3)	15:1–2	913*
Asa (41)	15:9	910*
Nadab (2)	15:25	910#
Baasha (24)	15:33	909#
Elah (2)	16:8	886#
Zimri (7 days)	16:15	885#
Omri (12; with Tibni 885–880)	16:23	885#
Ahab (22)	16:29	874#
Jehoshaphat (25), coregent	22:42	872*
full power	15:10	869*
Ahaziah (2)	22:51	853#
Joram (12)	2 Ki. 3:1	852#
Jehoram, unofficial coregent	1:17	853*
full power (8)	8:16–17	852*
Ahaziah (1)	8:25–26	841
Jehu (28)	10:36	841
Athaliah (7)	11:3–46	841
Joash (40)	12:1	835
Jehoahaz (17)	13:1	814#
Jehoash (16)	13:10	798
Amaziah (29)	14:1–2	796
Jeroboam II (41), coregent	14:23	793#
full power		782#

Azariah/Uzziah (52), coregent	15:2	790*
full power	15:1	767
Zechariah (6 mo.)	15:8	753
Shallum (1 mo.)	15:13	752
Menahem (10)	15:17	752
Pekah (20)	15:27	752
full power		740#
Pekahiah (2)	15:23	742#
Jotham (16), coregent	15:5, 32–33	751*
full power		739*
Ahaz (16), coregent	17:1	743*
full power	16:1–2	736
Hoshea (9)	17:1	732
Hezekiah (unofficial regent),	18:1	728*
full power (29)	18:2	726*
Fall of Samaria	18:10	722

The Divided Kingdom.

the above table. (1) In 925*, Rehoboam's payment of tribute in his fifth year (1 Ki. 14:25) to Shishak I of Egypt (c. 945–924; *NBD,* 1097), as A. Malamat observes, "not long before Pharaoh's death" *(BA* 21 [1958]: 99). (2) In 857 and 856, Ahab's two victories over BEN-HADAD II of Aram (20:29; 22:1) and in 853 his death at the latter's hands (22:35), the date of which is confirmed by the known Assyrian battle at Qarqar earlier that same year. (3) In 803, Jehoahaz's deliverance from Aram by a "savior" (2 Ki. 13:5), meaning the Assyrian Adad-nirari III's subjugation of Damascus. (4) In 743, Azariah's unsuccessful confederacy against TIGLATH-PILESER III of Assyria, resulting in MENAHEM's tribute (15:19; cf. Thiele, 2nd ed., ch. 7). (5) In 733 or 732 the captivity of three and one-half northern tribes to Assyria (15:29). (6) In 725–722, from the seventh to the ninth years of HOSHEA, the final three-year siege and fall of Samaria to Shalmaneser V (18:9–10; cf. the *Babylonian Chronicle,* 1.28), though Sargon II, who succeeded to the Assyrian throne in Dec. 722, later claimed this honor and may have participated in the campaign.

C. Difficulties. (1) According to 2 Chr. 15:19, ASA had no war ("no more war," according to most translations) up to his thirty-fifth year but that he was attacked by BAASHA of Israel in his thirty-sixth (16:1); yet by that time Baasha had been dead for over ten years (1 Ki. 16:18). The Chronicler's figures must be understood either as dates for Asa counted from the division of the kingdom, back in 930 (Thiele, 60), or as a miscopying for his fifteenth and sixteenth years, since the fifteenth was an actual time of warfare, with Zerah the Cushite (2 Chr. 14:9; 15:10), in 895* B.C. (2) When 1 Ki. 16:23 records how OMRI began to reign in Asa's thirty-first year (880*), this must refer to Omri's reign in Samaria, after the death of his rival Tibni (v. 22; ibid., 64); for while Omri actually

commenced his reign in Asa's 26th year (885), he did make the move to Samaria from Tirzah in his sixth year (v. 23), or 880*.

(3) According to 2 Ki. 15:30, HOSHEA succeeded PEKAH (732) in Jotham's "twentieth" year. Jotham's reign totalled only sixteen years (v. 33), which must mean that he continued to live on for some time after an official surrender of the throne to his coregent son Ahaz in 736. Jotham's independent spirit (2 Chr. 27:3 – 6) may well have been opposed by a party favoring submission to Assyria (Thiele, 127, 131).

(4) The reckoning of Pekah's twenty-year reign, according to the records of N Israel (2 Ki. 16:7), from this same date (732) assigns him an accession year of 752. JOTHAM, whose twentieth year was also 732, is said to have begun the first year (751) of his coregency with his leprous father AZARIAH (v. 5) in the second year of Pekah (v. 32) and to have ended his sixteen-year reign (736) in Pekah's seventeenth (15:1). This indicates that, in S records, Pekah must not have been credited with an accession year and that 752 must have been taken as Pekah's first year, presumably as a coregent with Menahem. Pekah's twenty-year reign has to include the twelve years of the preceding dynasty of Menahem (ten years, accession in 752) and PEKAHIAH (two years), because his undisputed reign, in Samaria, began only in Azariah's fifty-second year (15:27, commencing Tishri, 740) and was terminated by Hoshea eight years later (in 732, as is known from the Assyrian records). Pekah presumably claimed their years as his own; indeed, he may have possessed certain sovereign powers among his Gileadites (15:25) from 752 onward (Thiele, 124).

Whether or not the final editor of 2 Kings was aware that Pekah's twenty years were to be reckoned from this earlier point cannot be determined with certainty. That the inspired writer placed his descriptions of Pekah's and Jotham's reigns (vv. 27–38) after those of Menahem and Pekahiah (vv. 17–26) demonstrates only that the commencement of the sole reigns must have come in that order—actually in 752, 742#, 740#, and 739* respectively (see above, A.3.b). His awareness that Pekah's period of full power, commencing in the year before Azariah's death (v. 27), had to have been preceded by a coregency is proved, in any event, by his knowledge of Jotham's appointment as coregent with Azariah (v. 5) and of Pekah's own rise to power almost two years before that (v. 32).

(5) The year of Hoshea's accession, Jotham's "twentieth" (732), is also described as Ahaz's twelfth (2 Ki. 17:1). After eight years of power, Jotham must therefore have associated his son Ahaz on the throne with himself, so that his ninth year became Ahaz's first as coregent. Though rejected by Thiele as "artificial" and as a "fictitious overlap" (ibid., 120, 136), such an appointment seems plausible in view of Judah's impending defeat before Tiglath-Pileser that same year, of Azariah's now hopelessly leprous condition (he died four years later in 739*), and of Jotham's later surrender of full power to his son in 736 (see 3 above). Some have wished to advance Jotham's ouster into 735* (Thiele, 128); and Hoshea's accession year did run from 732 into the spring (Nisan) of 731, with the result that Jotham's twentieth and Ahaz's twelfth year just might have commenced early in 731*. Since four years of Hoshea (accession, first, second, and third) are correlated with five years of Ahaz (twelfth through sixteenth), Ahaz's twelfth has to correspond to the earlier half of Hoshea's accession year (before the fall, Tishri, of 732); and his sixteenth, to the latter half of Hoshea's third year (after Tishri, 729, or 728*).

(6) The date of HEZEKIAH's accession is the most problematic in OT chronology. Three major reconstructions have been proposed, each with its own difficulties.

(a) While 2 Ki. 18:1 locates Hezekiah's regency in the above-mentioned year of 728*, v. 2 restricts his reign to a total of twenty-nine years; and, since the accession of his son MANASSEH is definitely placed at 697*, Hezekiah's own official accession could not have occurred before Tishri

(727). The simplest approach is to assume an unexplained lapse of something over one year, perhaps due to the chaos surrounding Ahaz's last days (2 Chr. 28:5–23; cf. Thiele's proposal [1st ed., 116] to assume a regency "taking control of affairs" in order to account for a period not otherwise assigned).

Four objections, the first three of which are subordinate, have, however, been raised by Thiele and others. (i) Scripture is said to be silent about contacts between Hoshea and Hezekiah (van der Meer, *Ancient Chronology, 77);* but the OT does repeatedly correlate their two reigns (2 Ki. 18:1, 9–10); on the other hand, it indicates no attempted contacts, of any sort, with Judah on the part of Hoshea. (ii) It is said that Hezekiah's invitation for the Ephraimite "remnant that are escaped…out of the hands of the king of Assyria" (2 Chr. 30:1, 6 ASV) to participate in the Judean Passover of May, 725 (Hezekiah's first official year; cf. 29:3; 30:2), could not have been issued prior to Samaria's fall in 722; but since part of N Israel had already been taken captive by the Assyrians in 733, and since Hoshea had to face their final three-year siege of his capital from 725 on (2 Ki. 17:5; 18:9), Hezekiah's invitations must have caught him when he was helpless to resist them (they may even have been encouraged by Shalmaneser, as an instrument for undermining the N's solidarity). (iii) An official accession year for Hezekiah in 726* is said to create a series of impossible birthdates. Actually, however, the data are the following:

Ruler	Accession	Age	Reference	Birth	Father's age
Jotham	751	25	2 Ki. 15:33	776	30
Ahaz	743*	20	2 Ki. 16:2	763	13
Hezekiah	726*	25	2 Ki. 18:2	751	12

J. McHugh (in *VT* 14 [1964]: 452) has thus revised Hezekiah's birthdate downward by ten years, assuming that an accession age of fifteen was "easy to confuse" with twenty-five. While the abovelisted ages of fatherhood are quite young, they are not without parallel in the Orient. Thiele (2nd ed., 206) notes King Azariah's birth occurring when his father was fifteen and cites even modern data on the supposed excellence of marriage "when the boy is but ten or eleven years old" (ibid., 128). (iv). The more serious objection to Hezekiah's accession in 726* is the OT's mention of Sennacherib's attack of 701 B.C., occurring in connection with Hezekiah's fourteenth year (Isa. 36:1); but see below, X.B.

(b) Thiele advocates reducing Hezekiah's accession to 715* B.C. and dating the sixteen official years of his father Ahaz from 731* to 715*. His reconstruction is based on the single Sennacherib reference, just cited, but the following objections may be noted. (i) Contrary to normal biblical practice, it must exclude Ahaz's period of joint rule with his father Jotham from the total years of his reign. (ii) It must assume, without warrant, that Jotham died in the twentieth year of his reign (2 Ki. 15:30; cf. Thiele, 123, 129, 183). (iii) It must further assume that this twentieth year was 731* when it has to be 732; see above, sec. (5). (iv) It must either assume an unwarranted increase in Ahaz's regnal years from sixteen to twenty (van der Meer, *Ancient Chronology,* 75), or it must leave the period from Jotham's surrender of power in 736 down to 731* outside the official years of any king at all. (v) It is to this period before 731, and to this period alone, that Scripture limits its description of the deeds of Ahaz (2 Ki. 16; Isa. 7–10). (vi) It must advance the death of Ahaz and the accession of Hezekiah to 715*, while the scriptural passages connected with these events are best associated with 726* (cf. Isa. 14:28–31 and E. G. Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets* [1966], 1:90). (vii) It must assume an unsupported coregency or extension for Hezekiah's reign, after his son Manasseh's accession in 697*. (viii) It must repudiate as false the series of verses (2 Ki. 17:1; 18:1, 9–10) that

ascribe earlier dates to Ahaz and Hezekiah (note Thiele's resultant assertion that the biblical work "was done by men, not God…They were not divine. God alone is infallible," ibid., 197; cf. 135).

(c) A third reconstruction seeks to combine the previous two, accepting Hezekiah's regency in 728* and Ahaz's association with Jotham in 743*, but assuming an extended coregency of Hezekiah with Ahaz, which terminated only with the latter's death and Hezekiah's official commencement of reign in 715*. This does preserve the infallibility of Scripture; but if it commences Ahaz's sixteen official years in 731* it must still face the other seven difficulties listed above, plus having to account for Scripture's supposed employment of three different chronological systems, represented by Ahaz's accession, respectively, in 743*, 736, and 731*. If it begins Ahaz's years in 736, difficulties ii, iii, and v are countered; but i, vi, and vii remain, with variations on i and iv, in that now thirteen years of Hezekiah are excluded from the total for his reign, and the period from 720* down to 715* is left outside the regnal years of any king. It too must then account for Scripture's supposed employment of three different chronological systems, represented in this instance by Hezekiah's accessions, respectively, in 728*, 720*, and 715* (cf. the dilemma of H. G. Stigers in *ETSB* 9 [1966]: 89).

(d) Another solution would be to correct the reading of Isa. 36:1 (copied in 2 Ki. 18:13) from "fourteenth" to "twenty-fourth," thus dating the 701 B.C. invasion of Sennacherib back to 726/725, when Hezekiah assumed sole power. (Cf. the review of Thiele's 2nd ed. in *CT* 10 [1965–66]: 738–40.) This would involve the change of only one letter in the original consonantal text, or the omission of one stroke in the original numerical notation.

X. Judah alone

A. Correlations. The destruction of N Israel in 722 B.C. by no means terminated the Palestine contacts of the great powers of Assyria, Egypt, and Babylon. SHALMANESER V's successor, SARGON II of Assyria, defeated an alliance of Egyptian and Palestine at Raphia in 720 and at Ashdod in 712 (H. Tadmor in *JCS* 12 [1958]: 79–83) or 711 (Isa. 20:1) and drove Marduk-apla-iddina (biblical MERODACH-BALADAN, 39:1) from Babylon in 709 (see above, I.C), though in each of these cases Hezekiah was able to avoid open conflict. Sargon's son SENNACHERIB defeated a similar alliance, this time including Hezekiah, at ELTEKEH in 701 (2 Ki. 18:13–16; *ANET,* 287–88); but after a futile siege of Jerusalem, Sennacherib suffered a catastrophic loss of his army by supernatural intervention (18:17—19:36).

Sennacherib's son ESARHADDON received tribute from MANASSEH in 676 and by the time of his death in 669 had added sufficient foreign immigrants to the population of Samaria (Ezra 4:2) to fulfill Isaiah's prophecy of 734 B.C. that in sixty-five years Ephraim should no longer be a people (Isa. 7:8). It was under Esarhaddon's son ASHURBANIPAL that Manasseh seems to have suffered temporary captivity (2 Chr. 33:11–13, perhaps after Assyria's quelling other revolts in 648) and that the barbarian SCYTHIANS overran the entire ANE (possibly alluded to in Jer. 6:22–26).

Correlations of the accurately dated Babylonian calendar with specific regnal years of Judah begin with Pharaoh NECO II's siege of HARAN in the summer of 609 B.C., thereby placing Neco's preceding destruction of JOSIAH at MEGIDDO (2 Ki. 23:29; 2 Chr. 35:20–24) in the late spring of 609. Neco's final defeat at CARCHEMISH on the Euphrates, which resulted in the Babylonian occupation of Palestine (2 Ki. 24:7), took place in the summer of 605, which was the third year of JEHOIAKIM (Dan. 1:1; or the fourth, according to Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's Nisan-to-Nisan, Babylonian type calendar, Jer. 25:1; 46:2 [Thiele, 163, 166]). Jehoiakim's revolt against NEBUCHADNEZZAR, after serving him for three years (2 Ki. 24:1), thus coincides with the latter's defeat in Egypt in 601. Jehoiakim's death

occurs on 9 December 598; Jerusalem's surrender, on 16 March 597 (2 Chr. 36:10); and JEHOIACHIN's deportation to Babylon, on April 22 (ibid., 166–67). Calculation of the biblical data, forward and backward from these events, produces the following:

Embassy of Merodach-Baladan	2 Ki. 18:13; 20:6	712
Destruction of Sennacherib's host	cf. 20:6	701
Manasseh (55 years)	21:1	697*
Amon(2)	21:19	642*
Josiah (31)	22:1	640*
Josiah's reforms	2 Chr. 34:3, 8	632, 628, 622
Jehoahaz (3 mos.)	2 Ki. 23:31	609
Jehoiakim (11)	23:36	609
Jehoiachin (3 mos.)	24:8	598
Zedekiah (11)	24:18	597
Fall of Jerusalem	25:8	586

B. Difficulties. Elements in Sennacherib's attack of 701 have been used to support a supposed extension of Hezekiah's reign (see above, IX.C.6.b) down to 686*. W. F. Albright (in *BASOR* 130 [April 1953]: 4–11; 141 [Feb. 1956]: 23–27) and others have argued for separating a part of the biblical material at either Isa. 36:2 or 37:9 (incorporated into 2 Ki. 18:17 or 19:9) into a "second campaign," some dozen years after 701. They grant that such a campaign cannot be verified from contemporary annals but adduce (1) Sennacherib's immediate resumption of hostilities as irreconcilable with Hezekiah's submission and tribute of 701 (2 Ki. 18:16); (2) the advance of TIRHAKAH king of Ethiopia (Isa. 37:9; 2 Ki. 19:9), who was still young in 701 and did not become associated on the throne of Egypt's 25th dynasty (Cushite) until 689; and (3) an apparent temporal connection between Sennacherib's defeat and his death (Isa. 37:38), which occurred in 681.

The natural interpretation of Isa. 36–37, however, yields but a single campaign (cf. the continuing siege of Lachish in 36:1–2; 37:8–9). Assyrian greed for "the goose that laid the golden egg" may explain Sennacherib's resumed hostility. Tirhakah, according to a revised interpretation of the Kawa documents, was probably twenty by 701 (Kitchen, *Ancient Orient,* 82–84), even though he may not have become king until 690, and Isaiah may well have referred to him as king if he composed this record in 681 or thereafter. Even those who would extend Hezekiah's life to 686* grant that Sennacherib's death could not have occurred until years thereafter.

As mentioned above, the chief difficulty in dating Hezekiah 726*–697* is Isaiah's association of Sennacherib's campaign of 701 with Hezekiah's fourteenth year (36:1), which fell in 712*. Some have proposed that Sennacherib may actually have attacked Judah in 712, accompanying his father Sargon (cf. H. H. Rowley, *Men of God* [1963], 115), though the close correspondence of Sennacherib's annals of 701 with the details in Isa. 36 and 2 Ki. 18 render this unlikely. Others, as indicated above, have emended Hezekiah's "fourteenth" year to his "twenty-fourth" (ibid., 113),

which would be 702 (for Sennacherib's preparations, with the attack climaxing in 701), though without MS support. Others emphasize how Hezekiah's illness and the embassy of Merodach-Baladan, in this same fourteenth year of Hezekiah (fifteen years before the close of his twenty-nine year reign, Isa. 38:5; 39:1), not simply preceded the Assyrian attack (38:6) but, as Rowley states, "cannot with any probability be assigned to the year of Sennacherib's invasion" (ibid., 114). Such an interval, however, allows not simply for a one-year Assyrian build-up prior to 701 but, since Merodach-Baladan (despite his later intrigues) actually occupied the throne of Babylon only from 720 to 709 (cf. Thiele, 159), it suggests that his embassy arrived in 712 (i.e., the fourteenth year of Hezekiah), that it provoked the attacks both of Sargon in that same year and, ultimately, of Sennacherib in 701, and that it therefore provided Isaiah's initial date (36:1) for the entire, integrated narrative that constitutes chs. 36–39. This would mean that Isaiah recorded Hezekiah's illness after the 701 invasion only because it served as a bridge to the prophecies concerning the Babylonian Captivity yet to come (cf. 39:6–7 and the exile situation foreseen in ch. 40 and following; see E. J. Young, *Who Wrote Isaiah?* [1958], 71).

A concluding set of difficulties arises from the correlations of NEBUCHADNEZZAR's regnal years with the events of Jerusalem's final siege. Beginning in the winter of ZEDEKIAH's ninth year (2 Ki. 25:1, specifically 15 January 588), the city's siege terminated in the summer of his eleventh (vv. 2–3, 19, July 586); and the temple was burned on August 15th (vv. 8–9). These last events belonged to the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (v. 8; cf.

Looking E into the gate chamber at Lachish, with the Assyrian siege ramp in the background. The 21 Lachish letters discovered in the ruins of this gate were written later, during the Babylonian invasion of Judah that ultimately resulted in the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (586 B.C.).

Jer. 32:1), which some have sought to place back in 587 (Finegan, *Handbook,* 1st ed., 208). While Jeremiah does record a small Jewish deportation in 587 (Nebuchadnezzar's eighteenth year, 52:29), the known eleven-year interval between Jehoiachin's captivity in 597 and the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. Ezek. 40:1) renders the figure of 586 secure. So does also the corrected coronation date (7 September 605 for Nebuchadnezzar; cf. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings* [1956]).

XI. Exile. Babylonian chronology furnishes biblical history with the following dates:

1st (princely) exile	2 Chr. 36:6–7; Dan. 1:1–3	605
2nd (upper class) exile	2 Ki. 24:14, 18	597
3rd (general) exile	2 Ki. 25:8–11	586
4th (post-Gedalian) exile	Jer. 52:30	582
Jehoiachin elevated	Jer. 52:31; 2 Ki. 25:27	561
Nabunaid, king of Babylon		556
Fall of Babylon	Dan. 5:30–31	539

Ezekiel provides a more detailed series, given in terms of Jehoiachin's captivity and extending from 31 July 593 to 26 April 571 (Ezek. 1:1–2; 29:17). Following the Babylonian calendar, he began the first year of this exile with Nisan of 597, rather than with Tishri of 598 as in the consistent pattern of 2 Kings (cf. Ezek. 33:21, which states that the report of Jerusalem's destruction reached the prophet in the twelfth year, specifically on 8 January 585). Had he followed the Palestine Tishri calendar, this date would have fallen in January of 586, six months before the city's capture. Jehoiachin's release occurred on 2 April 561 (2 Ki. 25:27); the capture of Babylon by CYRUS's regent, DARIUS the Mede, on 12 October 539; and the entrance of Cyrus himself into the city, on October 29th.

XII. Restoration. The decree of Cyrus the Persian for the restoration of Israel was issued some time during the first year of his reign in Babylon (2 Chr. 36:22; Ezra 1:1), which began officially in Nisan, 538. The description, however, of Israel as settled in Palestine by "the seventh month" (Ezra 3:1) seemingly refers to 537, his second year, since even if his decree had come early in 538 the interval would still have been too brief for its execution before Tishri *(IB,* 3:589). Seven months later (3:8), in the spring of 536, the temple's reconstruction was undertaken, thus fulfilling Jeremiah's prophecy, in 605 (Jer. 25:1), of seventy years of captivity (29:11–12; cf. 29:10), commencing with the exile of that same year (Dan. 1:1–3). Thiele has proposed that Ezra may have continued the autumnal New Year's system of 1–2 Kings and thus reckoned Cyrus's first official year from Tishri of 538, which would date his decree in 537* and occasion other shifted figures. Such Tishri New Years were validated by the 5th-cent. practice of Nehemiah (cf. Neh. 1:1 and 2:1), perhaps "in a spirit of intense nationalism" (Thiele, 30, 161), and of the Egyptian Jews at ELEPHANTINE *(JNES* 13 [1954]: 1–20). Since, however, the contemporaneous 6th-cent. records of the restoration consistently follow the Persian Nisan calendar (cf. Hag. 1:1; 2:10; Zech. 1:1), and since Ezra's commitment to the Mosaic law would favor Nisan (Exod. 12:2), the following table appears to be most likely:

Cyrus' decree for return	Ezra 1:1	538#
The altar set up	3:1–2	537

Second temple founded	3:8–10	536
Esther chosen	Esth. 1:3; 2:16	483,479
Hainan's plots	Esth. 3:7	474/473
Ezra's return	Ezra 7:7, 9	458/457
Nehemiah rebuilds walls	Neh. 2:1; 6:15	444
End of Nehemiah's first governorship	Neh. 5:14; 13:6	432#

Specifically, HAGGAI began his preaching on 29 August 520; and the building of the second temple extended from 21 September 520 to 12 March 515. ZECHARIAH mentions "seventy years" of fasting,

Stepped stone structure of Area G in Jerusalem, including the corner base of a tower built during the days of Nehemiah.

presumably from 586 to 518 (Zech. 7:5). The second return, under Ezra, departed from Babylon on 8 April 457 and arrived in Jerusalem August 4 (Ezra 7:1, 8–9). The initial rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls may date from this point (9:9; cf. the broad authorization in Artaxerxes' decree, 7:18)—even though their completion was frustrated by the Samaritans (4:8, 16, 23) until the later arrival of Nehemiah—since Daniel's "seventy weeks" of years (Dan. 9:24) seem to extend from 458, through the Messiah's baptismal anointing at the end of the sixty-nine weeks (= 483 years, Dan. 9:25; Acts 10:37) in A.D. 26, and his cutting off as taking place three and one-half years later in A.D. 30 (although Dan. 9:26 does not actually so state, and 9:27 probably refers to a different subject).

(Since the first edition of this encyclopedia, some of the works referred to in the present article have appeared in revised form. Note in particular E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3rd ed. [1983], and J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology,* 2nd ed. [1998]. Fresh attempts at reconstructing OT chronology include J. H. Hayes and P. K. Hooker, *A New Chronology for the Kings of Israel and Judah* [1988], and M. C. Tetley, *The Reconstructed*

Chronology of the Divided Kingdom [2005], the latter giving preference to the data found in the Greek versions. For a more general treatment, see R. T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental, and Patristic Studies* [2003].)

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chronology (NT). The arrangement of NT events in time, including their dates and correlation with secular history. It is difficult to assign exact dates to many of the events of the NT for the following reasons:

(1) Secular historians of the 1st cent. looked with contempt upon Christianity; hence they seldom bothered to mention events related to the church.

(2) The methods of reckoning chronology in the 1st cent. were so varied that statements of time made in that age are difficult to interpret. It is true that the Romans since Julius CAESAR had used a solar calendar with the year beginning January 1, yet they had no single system of regularly numbered years. Because Roman numerals were too cumbersome for use in designating the years, dates commonly were identified by their distance from the accession of an emperor or from the year a consul came into office. Often this did not correspond with the regular calendar year.

To add to the complication, the Jews followed a lunar CALENDAR. Previous calendar changes had left them with two New Year's days. The ecclesiastical or sacred year began on the first day of Abib (or Adar, later Nisan), which was the month when Israel was delivered from Egypt (Exod. 12:2). Since the beginning of the month was determined by the phases of the moon, the first day might fall by our calendar from early in March to early in April. The civil year began on the first day of the seventh month (Tishri; cf. Exod. 23:16; 34:22; Deut. 29:1), which corresponds to our September-October. The festivals and the reigns of Jewish kings were calculated from the beginning of the sacred year, while other matters, including the reigns of foreign kings, were reckoned by the civil year. Moreover, a lunar year of twelve months fell short of the solar year by ten or eleven days. The Jews met this difficulty by adding a thirteenth month at the time of the vernal equinox once in about three years (seven times in nineteen years).

(3) Chronological comments are often ambiguous. Jesus' statement "three days and three nights" (Matt. 12:40) appears to have meant by modern reckoning, "the day after tomorrow" (cf. 17:23; Lk. 23:54—24:10). "Three years" (Acts 20:31) could have meant "twenty-seven months" (cf. Acts 19:8–10). "Three days" (Gen. 42:17) sometimes meant something different from "seventy-two hours" (42:18). While biblical writers frequently made statements from which chronological inferences may be drawn, their data cannot always be interpreted accurately. This applies even to Luke's writings, even though his purpose was to "write an orderly account" (Lk. 1:3). It is evident, then, that many of the events of the NT must be dated approximately rather than precisely.

1. Jesus' birth
    1. Course of Abijah
    2. Census
    3. Star of the Magi
    4. Death of Herod
    5. Day and month
2. Jesus' ministry
    1. Baptism
    2. The age of Jesus

    3. The first Passover
    4. Duration of the ministry
    5. Crucifixion
3. The Apostolic Age
    1. Conversion of Paul
    2. Death of Herod Agrippa I
    3. Famine under Claudius
    4. Jewish insurrectionists
    5. Edict of Claudius
    6. Proconsulship of Gallio
    7. Procuratorship of Festus
    8. Life of Paul
    9. Epistles of Paul
    10. Other epistles and Revelation

I. Jesus' birth

A. Course of Abijah. DAVID organized the priests into twenty-four divisions or courses (1 Chr. 24). These courses were to function according to a fixed chronological order. Luke implies that JOHN THE BAPTIST, who was six months older than Jesus (cf. Lk. 1:26, 36, 39, 56, 57), was conceived shortly after his father completed the work connected with his course (cf. Lk. 1:5, 23, 25). So far there seems to be no historical evidence for the date when the division of Abijah served. If it could be ascertained, the time of Jesus' birth would be fixed with greater accuracy.

B. Census. Luke states that Jesus was born while Joseph and Mary were at Bethlehem in compliance with the demand that every man be registered in his native city. He declares that "Quirinius was governor of Syria" at that time (Lk. 2:2). Some scholars object that no extrabiblical evidence exists for a CENSUS by P. Sulpicius QUIRINIUS, governor of SYRIA. In fact, they find no indication that Quirinius governed Syria at all, since the governors of Syria during the last years of HEROD's reign were C. Sentius Saturninus (9–6 B.C.) and P. Quintilus Varus (6–4 B.C.)

Events of the reign of AUGUSTUS were, in general, poorly documented. But if Luke, as he said, had "gone over the whole course of these events in detail" (Lk. 1:3 NEB), it would seem that he should be given credit for knowing who was governor. He should also have known when an event so soul-shaking to the Jews as a Roman census occurred (cf. Acts 5:37). Luke implies that the census that resulted in the trip to Bethlehem by Joseph and Mary at the time of Jesus' birth was the "first" (Lk. 2:2) of a series of enrollments imposed by Rome which affected Palestine. It is conceivable, in view of the poorly documented reign of Augustus, that Quirinius may have been governor in Syria for only a few months, with the census falling at that time. That would not have disrupted the dating for the governorships of Saturninus and Varus.

Fortunately, a much better solution to the problem has been found. A damaged inscription in the Lateran Museum mentions an unnamed Roman who governed Syria twice. T. Mommsen (*The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian* [1909], 2:136) held that this probably was Quirinius, and most scholars have agreed with him. Reacting strongly against the theory that Luke must be assumed to have been in error unless his statements can be substantiated, Sir William M. Ramsay pointed out, with respect to Quirinius, that there were various periods when two men with

the rank of *legatus Caesaris* were appointed over the same Roman province at the same time. One of them apparently took care of political matters while the other commanded the army (cf. *IDB,* 1:601). It is probable, then, that Quirinius was a coregent of Syria in charge of political concerns at the time of Jesus' birth.

The Roman census was made with special reference to property in order to determine taxation. Knowledge of how such censuses were executed is fragmentary. Documents discovered in Egypt indicate that a census was taken there every fourteenth year from A.D. 90 to 258. One was taken also in A.D. 62. If these censuses were taken uniformly throughout the empire, earlier censuses must have fallen in 8 B.C. and in A.D. 6, 20, 34, and 48. Some evidence has been found for a census in A.D. 20. That would seem to place the birth of Jesus in 8 B.C. But Luke's statement "all the world" (Lk. 2:1 NRSV) does not necessarily mean that every area of the empire was enrolled at the same time. In fact, Mommsen declares that Augustus conducted censuses in Italy in 28 B.C., 8 B.C., and A.D. 14 *(Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* 34–35), while Dio Cassius (*Rom. Hist.* 53.22.5) and Livy (*Epit.* 134) state that a census was taken in Gaul in A.D. 27. In Luke's statement about the census he appears to distinguish, by inference, between enrollments made elsewhere in the empire and this new edict that the outlying provinces were to be included. It should be noted, too, that the complicated task of

The altar and star located within the Church of the Nativity (Bethlehem) marking the traditional spot of Jesus' birth.

organizing every village for its first enrollment may have delayed the process beyond the announced

date by several months.

On the data reviewed above it is impossible to establish a precise date for Jesus' birth. If 7 B.C. be accepted, it is with the understanding that flexibility of a year or two in either direction should be allowed.

C. Star of the Magi. Some have sought to explain the star of the MAGI (Matt. 2:2) as a series of conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Pisces, which occurred three times in 7 B.C. Luke's account, however, cannot be fitted into a normal stellar phenomenon. Luke clearly speaks of a star that, at least on the last lap of their journey, guided the Magi with such accuracy that they could tell the very house where Jesus was living (2:9). The star's movements appear to have been miraculous, at least insofar as the Magi's vision of it was concerned. Herod, whose death occurred in 4 B.C., was still active when the Magi arrived (Matt. 2:3–8, 16; see below). See also ASTRONOMY; STAR OF BETHLEHEM.

D. Death of Herod. JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 14.14.4–5) states that HEROD was appointed king of JUDEA by decree of the Roman senate in 40 B.C., during the consulship of Caius Domitius Calvinus and Caius Asinius Pollio. He actually ruled in Jerusalem thirty-seven years after he had captured the city *(Ant.* 14.16.1–3; *War* 1.17.9; 1.18.1–3).

There was an eclipse of the moon just before Herod's death *(Ant.* 17.6.4). Astronomical calculations show that eclipses of the moon were visible in Palestine on 23 March 5 B.C., 15 September 5 B.C., 12 March 4 B.C., and 9 January 1 B.C. But Josephus says that Archelaus, who succeeded Herod (Matt. 2:22), was deposed in A.D. 6 in the tenth year of his reign *(Ant.* 17.18.2; cf. *War* 2.7.3, which gives the year as the ninth). This information points to 4 B.C. as the year of Herod's death. That it occurred in the spring of the year is seen by Josephus's statement that Herod died shortly before the Passover *(Ant.* 17.6.4—17.9.3). That year the Passover fell on April 11. Herod's death must have fallen then early in April, 4 B.C. (For the view that Herod died in 1 B.C., see J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology,* rev. ed. [1998], 301.)

The infant Jesus seems to have lived in Palestine something less than two years before being carried into Egypt to escape Herod's wrath. This inference is based on the supposition that the star appeared to the Magi immediately upon the occasion of Jesus' birth (cf. Matt. 2:2, 16). Adding some months between the slaughter of the infant males of Bethlehem and the death of Herod, yet taking into account that the Jews customarily counted parts of years as years, it is probable that Jesus' birth occurred about 5 or 6 B.C.

E. Day and month. Both the day and month of Jesus' birth are uncertain. There was much opposition in the early church to the pagan custom of celebrating birthdays. December 25 began to be observed in the Western church after the accession of Constantine. Hippolytus says the custom began in the 2nd cent. *(Dan.* 4.23). January 6 was the date chosen by the Eastern church. December 25 was selected probably because the Romans celebrated the Mithraic feast of the sun god on that day. The winter solstice also was observed about that time. By choosing that day, the church grasped the opportunity to convert purely pagan observances into a day of adoration of the Lord Jesus. Cyprian and Chrysostom both express this thought. The fact that shepherds were watching their flocks on the hills of Judea, however (Lk. 2:8), make the choice of a winter month seem unlikely.

Although the data are too indefinite to warrant the establishment of a fixed date for the birth of Jesus, the year 6 or 5 B.C. is fairly accurate.

II. Jesus' ministry

A. Baptism. Luke locates the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry by relating it to the terms of office of a number of Roman and Jewish officials, but the only exact date he gives is "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" (Lk. 3:1). A serious question with respect to which system of dating Luke was using makes it impossible for the modern chronologist to know for certain what year was meant.

Josephus states that TIBERIUS succeeded to the throne upon the demise of Augustus (*Ant.* 18.2.2), who died 19 August A.D. 14. According to the usual Roman reckoning, "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius" extended from 19 August A.D. 28 to 19 August A.D. 29. Most chronologists are unwilling to date John's ministry so late. Consequently, many scholars have adopted Ussher's suggestion that Luke was reckoning Tiberius's reign not from Augustus's death, but from the time when Augustus made Tiberius coemperor with him, in A.D. 11. According to this view, the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign would have fallen in A.D. 26, and the baptism of Jesus late in 26 or early in 27. If Luke was using Jewish chronology, "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius" fell in the year A.D. 27, beginning with Tishri 1. The chief difficulty with this theory lies in the absence of numismatic evidence that the years of Tiberius's reign were reckoned in this manner.

EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 1.10) states that Christ was baptized in the fourth year of PILATE's governorship and that Pilate was appointed about the twelfth year of Tiberius's reign. Upon what Eusebius based the statement is not clear. It is improbable that Pilate began to rule before A.D. 26 or 27, and his ten-year period in office ended shortly before Tiberius's death in 37. Modern scholars place Pilate's governorship in the period 26–36.

Taking into account the date of Jesus' birth, Luke's statement that Jesus was "about thirty years old" (Lk. 3:23; cf. section B below), and the brevity of the ministry of John, who had been imprisoned by the year 28 (cf. J. R. Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* [1940], 664), it would seem that Jesus' baptism took place in the fall of 26.

B. The age of Jesus. The word "about" in the statement that Jesus "was about thirty years of age" (Lk. 3:23) when he began his ministry is difficult to interpret. It is possible that Luke intended to give Jesus' approximate age. Since Jewish men assumed places of leadership after they were thirty years of age, it would appear that Jesus was no younger than thirty; and the facts connected with his ministry and death do not allow the supposition that he was much past that age. Nor is it likely that Jesus, who always was quick to fulfill every detail of his mission (cf., e.g., Lk. 9:51; 12:50; Jn. 14:31), tarried beyond what was proper when it was time for him to begin his ministry. It is probable, therefore, that Luke meant to imply that Jesus' ministry began when he was thirty years of age.

C. The first Passover. During the first PASSOVER Jesus attended after beginning his ministry, the Jews stated that the TEMPLE had been in the process of construction for forty-six years (Jn. 2:20). They were referring to Herod's project of remodeling Zerubbabel's temple, upon which, according to Josephus, Herod embarked in the eighteenth year of his reign *(Ant.* 15.11.1), namely, 20–19 B.C. That makes the Passover of which John wrote fall in the year A.D. 26 or 27. It is probable that Herod did not begin the project at exactly the time he had announced. Since Augustus made a visit to Syria in the earlier part of that year, Herod must have been fully occupied for several months entertaining Augustus and his retinue (cf. *IDB,* 1:601). If the Jews counted from the time operations actually

began, it is probable that the first Passover of Jesus' ministry fell in the year 27.

D. Duration of the ministry. Until recently it has been assumed by most scholars that Jesus' ministry lasted between three and four years. Eusebius thought so (*Eccl. Hist.* 1.10.39–40). Melito (c. A.D. 165) also speaks of Jesus working miracles for three years *(Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* 22:135). W. M. Ramsay supported the same view *(Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* [1898], 212–13).

A ministry of ten years was posited by IRENAEUS on the basis of Jn. 8:56, and on the assumption that if Jesus came to save all ages he must have passed through every age (Jesus thus must have ministered until he was forty—on the threshold of old age). At the opposite extreme are those who understand the phrase "the year of the Lord's favor" (Lk. 4:19, quoting Isa. 61:2) to mean one literal year. Certain of the early fathers held this view, among them CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromata* 1.21); it has also been accepted by some modern scholars, such as H. von Soden.

While John frequently refers to events that indicate the passage of time, the synoptists give little attention to the matter. In John, mention is made of the Passover (Jn. 2:13, 23; 6:4; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; et al.), the Feast of Tabernacles (7:2); the Feast of Dedication (10:22); and "a feast" (5:1). He also speaks of the harvest (4:35), which began in April. Three distinct Passovers are included here, requiring a period of something more than two full years. It is not certain, however, that John mentions every Passover feast during Jesus' ministry, since his purpose in referring to them was to explain Jesus' presence in Jerusalem and to provide a logical setting for the things which he said and did.

Some think they see indications of a two-year period in Mark's gospel. His reference to the harvest (Mk. 2:23) is believed to indicate that it was the spring of the year, as does perhaps the comment about "green grass" (6:39), though the latter may find its explanation in a nearby spring of water, or in a stream rather than in the season of the year. F. J. A. Hort arrives at a one-year period for Jesus' ministry by excising as a primitive addition "the Passover" from Jn. 6:4 (see WH, 2:77ff.), but no MS or version gives him a basis for this claim. He rests it solely on the fact that Irenaeus did not mention this Passover in his enumeration of Jesus' trips to Jerusalem. An argument from silence is at best weak. The assertion that "Jesus, when he began his ministry, was about thirty years of age" (Lk. 3:23) suggests that his ministry lasted more than one year; for it seems unlikely that a writer would state that of a man whose work *ceased* in the same year that it began.

From the foregoing considerations it is evident that the ministry of Jesus lasted from two to three and one-half years, with two and one-half years being most probable.

E. Crucifixion. The church fathers seem to have been uncertain as to the exact year of Jesus' death. Most of their comments appear to have been influenced by the biblical data. Clement of Alexandria dates it in the sixteenth year of Tiberius, forty-two and a half years before the destruction of Jerusalem, therefore in A.D. 28. But Clement allowed only one year for Jesus' ministry (*HDB* rev., 157). Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 1.10) put the crucifixion as late as A.D. 33.

Before the date can be settled with a reasonable degree of certainty, it is advisable to consider the day of the week and the day of the month on which Christ died. John's gospel seems to put it on the fourteenth day of Nisan. The following day was the Sabbath and the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, hence the haste with which the burial of Jesus was consummated. The synoptists, however, apparently assign the CRUCIFIXION to the fifteenth of Nisan, with the sabbath falling on the sixteenth. The suggestion that Jesus died on Thursday is untenable, since it contradicts the eastern manner of calculating "the third day" prophesied for the resurrection.

The determination of the year could be accomplished by ascertaining the exact day of the month if it could be shown that in a given year of that period only the fourteenth or the fifteenth could have fallen on a Friday. But the Jewish manner of determining the beginning of Nisan was not precise. The beginning of each month was reckoned from the time of the new moon and was celebrated with a feast (Num. 28:11 –15; 1 Sam. 20:5, 18, 24). But in early times at least, the first day of the month was not reckoned from the new moon but from the time, some thirty hours later, when the moon first became visible. Powers holds that before the time of Jesus the rule of *Badhu* was devised, apparently to keep the Passover sabbath and the weekly sabbath from falling on consecutive days (cf. G. Ogg, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus* [1940], 217–18). This rule made it possible, too, for Jews in the Dispersion to know the day when the feast would begin, for without some fixed system cloudy weather made the calculation of the first day of the month impossible.

In the year of the crucifixion, the fourteenth of Nisan, for those who reckoned it from observing the moon, fell on Thursday. According to the synoptics, Jesus and the disciples sat down to the feast on that evening; but the majority of the Jews, who followed the rule of *Badhu,* ate the Passover on the following evening. This explains why the Jews who crucified Jesus had yet to celebrate the Passover when Jesus and his disciples had already eaten it. If it could be proved that the above theory is true, the puzzle of the apparent discrepancy between John and the synoptics on this point would be resolved. Unfortunately, its validity has not been securely established.

The fourteenth or fifteenth of Nisan could have fallen on Friday, 11 April 27; on Friday, 7 April 30; and on Friday, 3 April 33. The fourteenth of Nisan fell on Friday, 18 March 29. Of all these possibilities, the crucifixion most likely fell on Friday, 18 March 29 or 7 April 30. The former has more traditional support and fits better into the dates for the nativity and baptism. Most modern scholars, however, prefer the year 30, and some recent chronologists have argued for the year 33 (cf. H. W. Hoehner, *The Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ* [1977], 71–114; Finegan, *Handbook,* §630).

III. The Apostolic Age

A. Conversion of Paul. There is no evidence that allows us to determine when PAUL (Saul) was born, although a date in the first decade of the century seems likely. More can be said regarding the date of his conversion, which certainly took place some time after PENTECOST. It could not have taken place immediately after this event: time must be allowed for the experiences of the early church in Jerusalem (Acts 2:44—8:1) and for Saul to have persecuted the Christian Jews "in all the synagogues…even to foreign cities" (26:11 NRSV). The believers at the Syrian capital of DAMASCUS had had time to hear of Saul's persecutions and of his authority to bind the Christians in that place (9:13–14).

After Saul's conversion he remained at Damascus "several days" (Acts 9:19), after which he fled because he himself had now become an object of persecution. When he fled, the Nabatean ARETAS IV was ruling the area (cf. Acts 9:25; 2 Cor. 11:32–33). This Aretas was the father-in-law of HEROD Antipas, but Herod divorced his wife to marry the wife of his brother Philip (Matt. 14:3; Mk. 6:17; Lk. 3:19). Because of a boundary dispute, Antipas and Aretas engaged in a bitter war (Jos. *Ant.* 18.5.1–3). When Antipas was defeated by Aretas, Antipas sought and obtained the assistance of the Romans, whereupon TIBERIUS dispatched Vitellius, proconsul of Syria, to help Antipas. While in preparation, however, Vitellius received word that Tiberius had died (16 March A.D. 37). Believing his authority to fight Aretas to be gone, Vitellius recalled his army (cf. *CAH,* 10 [1934], 649; *HJP,*

rev. ed. [1973–87], 1:388).

Paul indicates (2 Cor. 11:32) that Aretas was in charge of Damascus when the apostle fled from that city, escaping in a basket over the wall. This could not have been on the occasion of Paul's conversion but rather after his three-year stay in ARABIA (Gal. 1:17–18; cf. *ISBE* [1929], 1:240), the apostle's sojourn in Arabia falling between Acts 9:21 and 22 (cf. section H below). Paul's conversion, then, was likely in A.D. 33 or 34.

B. Death of Herod Agrippa I. The best information regarding Herod Agrippa comes from Josephus

Looking N into Syria along the base of Mount Hermon. The road to Damascus, where the Lord appeared to Paul, traveled along the valley below the mountain.

(cf. *Ant.* 18.6.10; 18.7.2; 19.5.1; 19.8.2). He states that Caius (or Gaius, also called CALIGULA, who reigned from A.D. 37 until his assassination in 41), soon after succeeding Tiberius, gave to Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip. In the year 39 Agrippa received the tetrarchy of Antipas; and he became king of Judah, Samaria, and Abilene in 41 when CLAUDIUS ascended the throne. Agrippa's total reign was seven years, only three of which had been over Judea. The book of Acts implies that he died at the same festival at which he was stricken (Acts 12:23). Josephus states that his death came within five days (early in 44).

Two coins have been discovered that purport to come from the eighth and ninth years of Agrippa's reign. Yet if the festival at which Agrippa died was "in honor of Caesar," as Josephus states (*Ant.* 19.8.2) and as the majority of authorities hold, these were the quadrennial games instituted by Herod the Great at Caesarea in 9 B.C. and should have fallen in A.D. 44 or 45. The stronger evidence is in favor of Josephus's statement.

It is likely that the death of JAMES, and PETER's imprisonment mentioned earlier (Acts 12), took place near the beginning of Agrippa's reign, probably in A.D. 41. This suggestion is strengthened by Luke's indication that he launched the persecution to gain the favor of the Jews (12:3); and indeed he appears to have been held in high esteem by them at the time of his death.

C. Famine under Claudius. While various famines occurred within the Roman empire during Claudius's reign (A.D. 41 to 54) there is no evidence, outside of Luke's account, of "a severe famine…over the entire Roman world" (Acts 11:28). Luke seems to locate the famine in question about 41. TACITUS speaks of a wide scarcity in 51, and Suetonius describes a famine severe enough to

reduce noticeably the grain-tribute that arrived at Rome. Of this he gives no date (*HDB* rev., 157). Josephus refers to a famine *(Ant.* 20.2.5; 20.5.2) that ravaged Judea while C. Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander were its procurators. (The former was in office from A.D. 44 to 46; the latter, from 46 to 48.) Obviously this famine lasted for a number of years. Josephus tells how Queen Helena, at that time, sent her servants to Egypt to buy food and distribute it to those in Palestine who were in want. Many of the Jews had already died of starvation. Despite conflicting data and the difficulty of determining the exact years of the famine to which Luke refers, it appears to have fallen within the period from 41 to 45, the latter date being preferred.

D. Jewish insurrectionists. GAMALIEL pointed out two leaders, Theudas and Judas, who led abortive uprisings against Rome (Acts 5:35–37). Josephus tells of a magician bearing the name Theudas who arose while Fadus was procurator of Judea (A.D. 44–46). Many followed him to the Jordan, where he had told his followers that at his command the waters would divide allowing them to cross it on dry land. Fadus cut short the wild scheme of Theudas by sending a troop of horsemen against him and his supporters. Many of the latter were slain; the rest were taken alive. After being held prisoner for a while, Theudas was decapitated and his head was carried to Jerusalem *(Ant.* 20.5.1; cf. L. H. Feldman's note in the LCL edition).

This Theudas could hardly have been the one to whom Gamaliel referred, for Gamaliel was speaking of him before the events described above took place. The Theudas in question may have been a man whom Josephus called Judas *(Ant.* 20.5.2). If so, Theudas was the son of Ezekias, a very strong man who was leader of a band of robbers. He and his profligate followers attacked the palace at Sepphoris in Galilee, seized its weapons, and carried off much money. In order to call attention to himself and obtain royal acclaim, he mutilated many people. Herod had great difficulty in apprehending him. The Judas of whom Gamaliel spoke was in the days of QUIRINIUS's census; details of his activities are not available.

There was also Simon, a slave of Herod. He is said to have been handsome, tall, and robust; apparently, he gained a sizeable following. After having himself proclaimed king, he burned the royal palace at Jericho and plundered and burned many of the king's houses in other parts. Some Roman soldiers under Gratus conquered Simon and cut off his head. Neither the date of Judas nor that of Simon is known for certain. If Judas came into prominence during a census (Acts 5:37), it was probably the census of A.D. 20 (cf. I.B above).

E. Edict of Claudius. When Paul first went to CORINTH, he met PRISCILLA AND AQUILA, who had been displaced from Rome because Claudius had issued an edict expelling the Jews (Acts 18:2). Both Suetonius (*Claudius* 25) and Dio Cassius *(Rom. Hist.* 60.6.6) mention the edict without giving its date; but Orosius *(Hist.* 7.6.15) dates it in the ninth year of Claudius's reign, that is, A.D. 49. Usually Orosius is one year off in his dates, but he seems to have been correct in this; for Luke tells us that when Paul arrived in Corinth the first time, Aquila and Priscilla had "recently come from Italy."

F. Proconsulship of Gallio. The proconsular governors of senatorial provinces regularly held office for one year. GALLIO's term of office (Acts 18:12) could not have been earlier than A.D. 44, for it was then that Claudius gave Achaia back to the senate to be administered by a propraetor with the title of proconsul (cf. Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist.*60.24). Furthermore, the career of Gallio's philosopher-brother Seneca probably does not allow a date for Gallio's term of office before 49 (the

year when Seneca was brought back from exile to become NERO's tutor). A badly mutilated inscription at Delphi is the key to the proconsulship of Gallio. It states that Gallio was appointed over Achaia at the twenty-sixth acclamation of Claudius as emperor. This probably occurred between January 25 and August 1 of the year 51 or 52. Since Gallio suffered with malaria while in Corinth, his appointment, which some believe began 1 July of 51, probably lasted no more than one year (cf. *CAH,* 10 [1934], 682 n. 2). Luke's statement that Paul remained in Corinth "for some time" after appearing before Gallio, along with his reference to eighteen months as the limit of his stay (Acts 18:11, 18), suggests that he appeared before Gallio near the end of Paul's first year in Corinth. In view of the above, it is fairly certain that Paul's stay in Corinth extended from late 50 or early 51 to about the middle of 52.

G. Procuratorship of Festus. Luke states that FESTUS succeeded FELIX as procurator of Judea after Paul had been in prison at CAESAREA for two years (Acts 24:27). Felix, who succeeded Ventidius Cumanus in office, was already ruling in A.D. 52 (cf. Jos. *War* 2.12.8). Josephus asserts that Felix became procurator during the reign of Claudius *(Ant.* 20.7.1). Felix was tried in Rome for his violent but ineffective intervention between Jews and Gentiles who had rioted in Caesarea. But he escaped punishment because of NERO's affection for Felix's brother Pallas *(Ant.* 20.8.9). According to Tacitus, although Pallas was removed from office before 13 February 55 *(Ann.* 13.14.1; cf. 13.15.1), he continued to influence the emperor. But the death of Pallas was in 62 *(Ann.* 13.14.1–2; 13.23.1–3), while Nero began to reign in the summer of 55. At Paul's arrest, the chief captain assumed that the apostle was the Egyptian who had led an insurrection that had been suppressed by Felix during the reign of Nero (cf. Acts 21:38; Jos. *Ant.* 20.8.6; *War* 2.13.5). This happened in the spring of 55. Since Paul had been in prison at Caesarea for two years when Felix was removed (Acts 24:27), the accession of Festus could not have been earlier than 57. Allowing for a one-year margin of error, most scholars believe that Festus assumed office in 59.

H. The life of Paul. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in harmonizing Paul's account in Gal. 1–2, which describes his activities following his conversion, with Luke's account of the same activities. Paul was converted at Damascus and remained there with the disciples for several days (Acts 9:19–22). In Galatians, Paul mentions his retirement from Damascus to "Arabia"—probably the wilderness area near Damascus, since it was subject at that time to the king of Arabia (J. R. Dummelow, ed., *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* [1909], 948, col. 1). That the three-year period in Arabia, which is not mentioned in Acts, belongs between Acts 9:21 and 22 is suggested by contrasting the "several days" of v. 19 and the "many days" of v. 23. That also explains why he did not stop at Jerusalem en route from Arabia.

"Then after three years" (Gal. 1:18) from the time of his conversion (which had become the focal point of his life) he went to Jerusalem. The church was afraid of him, but BARNABAS presented him to the apostles (Acts 9:27). He saw Peter especially and James the Lord's brother (Gal. 1:18–19). Because of danger in Jerusalem (Acts 9:29), he retired after "fifteen days" (Gal. 1:18) to Syria and Cilicia (v. 21; Acts 9:30). There he doubtless continued to preach Christ, for the churches in Judea heard rumors, evidently from Syria and Cilicia, that he "who formerly persecuted us is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy" (Gal. 1:23). It was Barnabas who persuaded Paul to minister in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, where he remained for a year (Acts 11:25–26). Then came the famine trip to Jerusalem (11:27–30). Returning to Antioch (12:25), Saul (Paul) and Barnabas worked there until the Holy Spirit and the church sent them on the first missionary journey (chs. 13–14) about A.D.

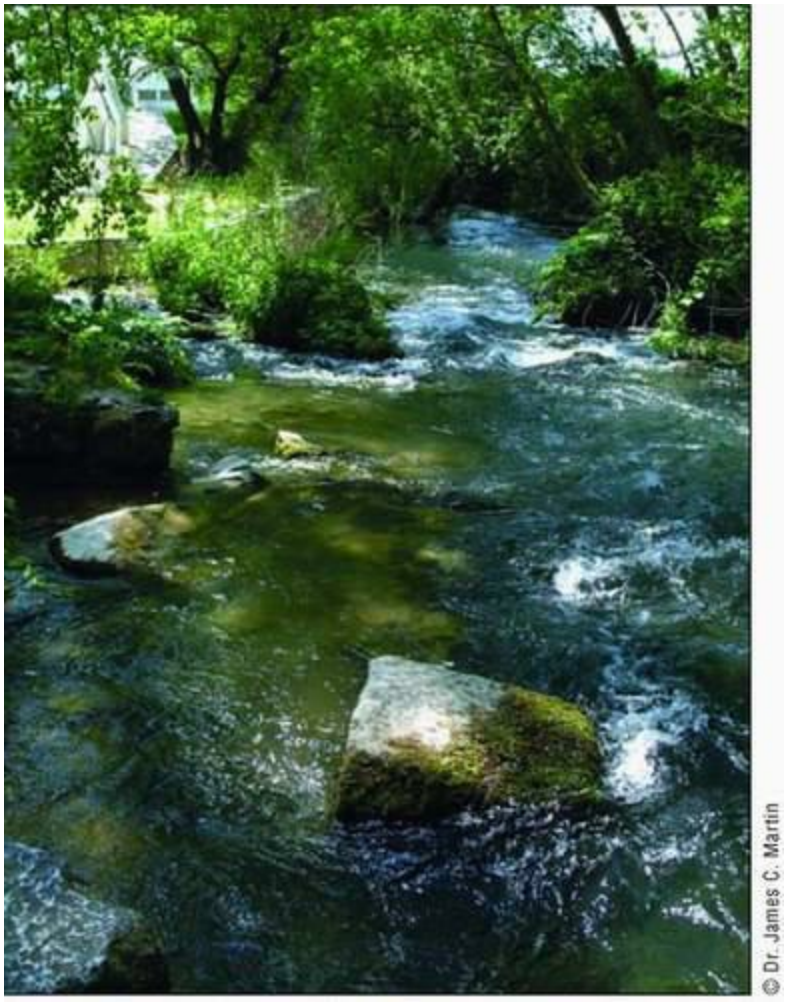
46–48.

Returning again to Antioch, they found Peter laboring with the brethren. When some from Jerusalem arrived, Peter, who had been in full fellowship with the Gentile converts, vacillated but was corrected by Paul (Gal. 2:11–12; however, many scholars place this incident at a later time). Paul and Barnabas had a dispute with the visitors from Jerusalem who were teaching that Gentile converts should be circumcised (Acts 15:1–2); whereupon it was decided that Paul and Barnabas and others should take the matter to the church at Jerusalem (A.D. 49). Luke recounts in Acts 15 what took place during the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM; according to some scholars, Paul describes the same meeting in Gal. 2:1–10.

After returning to Antioch, Paul, choosing Silas as a companion, went on his second missionary journey (c. 49–52). Passing through the Galatian country and Phrygia, they arrived at Troas, crossed into Macedonia, then to Achaia where he spent eighteen months in Corinth (Acts 18:11). It was then that he appeared before Gallio (c. 52; cf. II.F above). He is believed to have written 1 and 2 Thessalonians during this visit at Corinth.

Confirmation for the place of writing of the Thessalonian epistles comes from the fact that Paul, Silas (Silvanus), and Timothy were together when they were written (1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1); from Luke's statement that the three were together at Corinth (Acts 18:5); and from the total disappearance of Silas from Luke's account from that point on. Apparently a few months elapsed between the two epistles, for the idleness mentioned in 1 Thess. 4:11–12 had developed into rather serious proportions by the time the second epistle was written (2 Thess. 3:6–15). Also, sufficient time was necessary for Paul's messenger to observe conditions in Thessalonica and the results of his first epistle and return to Corinth with the report. Leaving Corinth, Paul went to Jerusalem via Ephesus and returned to Antioch (Acts 18:22).

The apostle began the third missionary journey (prob. A.D. 53 to 57) "after spending some time" in Antioch (18:23). Passing again through Galatia and Phrygia, this time he went to Ephesus, where he spent between twenty-seven and thirty-six months (cf. 19:8, 10; 20:31). Here he wrote 1 Corinthians (1 Cor. 16:8), probably near the close of his ministry there. Leaving Ephesus, he passed through Troas (2 Cor. 2:1–2) on his way to Macedonia (2 Cor. 7:5; Acts 20:1). While in Macedonia he wrote 2 Corinthians (2 Cor. 2:13; 7:5–7). Not long after, he went into Greece, spending about three months at Corinth (Acts 20:3), during which period he wrote the letter to the Romans. Retracing his steps through Macedonia, he crossed over to Troas, sailed down the coast of Asia, and went



When they reached Philippi, Paul and his companions went outside the city to a river and announced the gospel to the women who had gathered there for Jewish worship.

to Jerusalem. Here took place his arrest, leading to appearances before Felix and Festus, and his trip to Rome.

Probably about A.D. 63, after Paul had been in Rome for two years, Luke wrote the Acts (Acts 28:30). While in prison at Rome, Paul apparently wrote the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians. The first three of these were written and dispatched at the same time (Col. 4:7–9; Phlm. 10–12; Eph. 6:21–22). This is also suggested by the great similarity of expressions and subject-matter in Colossians and Ephesians. It is likely that Philippians was written prior to Ephesians, after Paul had been at Rome for some time, for in Ephesians he requests prayer that he may be given utterance to speak boldly for Christ while in bonds (Eph. 6:19), and in Philippians that desire has been fulfilled (Phil. 1:12–14). That Philippians was written after Paul had spent considerable time in Rome is seen also in his statements about EPAPHRODITUS: (1) the Philippian church sent him with a gift for Paul after they learned that the apostle was in prison at Rome (Phil. 2:25; 4:18); (2) the Philippians had had time to hear that Epaphroditus had been sick (2:26); and (3) Epaphroditus had had time to hear that the Philippians had heard that he had been sick (2:26). Since news traveled slowly in those days, Paul must have been in Rome a number of months when he wrote this epistle. Philippians should be dated about 62 or 63 and the other prison epistles about a year earlier.

When Paul wrote Philippians he expected to be released soon (Phil. 2:23–24). That expectation apparently became a fact, though it is not clear whether his dream of reaching Spain (cf. Rom. 15:28) ever was realized. Turning eastward, he left Titus in Crete (Tit. 1:5) and Timothy in Ephesus (1 Tim.

1:3) to be overseers of the churches there. Perhaps his desire to visit Philemon was fulfilled at that time also (cf. Phlm. 22). He seems to have spent a winter in Nicopolis (Tit. 3:12), and to have been taken prisoner again while at Troas during the following summer (2 Tim. 4:13). He found himself in prison at Rome with winter coming on (ibid.). Paul expected to die this time (2 Tim. 4:6). Tradition states that he was executed on the Ostian Road just outside Rome at the command of Nero. Since Nero died in June of 68, Paul's death must have been about 67. The following table ties together the events of Paul's life (all dates are A.D. and most of them are approximate):

Events	**Dates**
Birth	5 (?)
Conversion	34
Famine visit to Jerusalem	45
First missionary journey	46–48
Conference at Jerusalem	49
Second missionary journey	49–52
Third missionary journey	53–57
Imprisonment at Caesarea	57–60
First Roman imprisonment	61 –63
Second Roman imprisonment	66–67
Death	67

I. Epistles of Paul. Of all the extant writings of Paul, the Epistle to the GALATIANS is the most difficult to date. Part of the confusion arises over what Paul meant by "the churches of Galatia" (Gal. 1:2). In the 3rd cent. B.C., many Gauls migrated from eastern Europe to a region in the northern part of ASIA MINOR (Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium became their chief towns), and became known as Galatians. When Rome gained control of Asia Minor, the southern districts of LYCAONIA, PISIDIA, and PHRYGIA were made parts of the new province of GALATIA (under Augustus in 25 B.C.).

The N Galatian theory sees Paul evangelizing this original Galatian country on the second missionary journey (Acts 16:6), and returning through that region on his third missionary journey (18:23). It holds that he addressed the epistle to them rather than (or at least as well as) to the churches in ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, ICONIUM, LYSTRA, and DERBE. The S Galatian theory holds that he wrote only to the churches in the S, which he founded on the first missionary journey.

It is evident that the chronology of the Galatian epistle depends to some degree on the location of the churches addressed. If Paul was writing only to the churches of S Galatia, the epistle may have been his first, possibly appearing before the conference at Jerusalem (Acts 15). If, on the other hand, he was writing to churches in northern (ethnic) Galatia, he could not have written it so early and may well have penned it as late as the third missionary journey, near the time of his letter to the Roman church.

Arguments for the North Galatian theory and a late date. (a) A person writing to people of a familiar area would use popular (ethnic) rather than technical (political) names for places in that area. In Acts, for example, Luke states that Antioch was Pisidian (Acts 13:14) while Lystra and Derbe were Lycaonian (14:6). In answer, it should be noted that Paul's, not Luke's, usage is significant for our purpose. Luke's use of ethnic names, when referring to these regions, does not prove that the southern area was not also Galatia any more than the fact that Chicago is a city in Cook County proves that it is not also a city of Illinois. Paul typically used terms in their official, Roman sense; for example, JUDEA, CILICIA, SYRIA, MACEDONIA, and ACHAIA.

(b) The patristic writers thought Paul wrote the epistle to the churches in northern Galatia. This probably was because the fathers' interpretation of the situation was based on the circumstances that prevailed in their own day rather than Paul's.

(c) Luke does not mention Paul's ailment (Gal. 4:13–15), which he would have done had he been writing to the S Galatians. This is at best an argument from silence and might be used against either theory.

(d) The fact that the Galatians were "so quickly" turning from Christ unto a modified Judaism (Gal. 1:6) shows that they were fickle, hence were of Gallic origin. Yet the Gallic people are known to have kept their own religion, language, and laws while under Roman rule (cf. *ISBE* [1929], 2:1155, col. 2). On the other hand, the quick change of attitude toward Paul by the inhabitants of Lystra in the S (Acts 14:8–19) condemns them as fickle.

(e) The Galatian epistle is doctrinally similar to the Roman letter, even containing some of the same illustrations; hence both were written about the same time. They are indeed similar in several respects, though vastly different in others; and they were inspired by widely different situations. The central doctrine, not the time, could account better for their similarities. Moreover, a late date for the letter does not necessarily rule out a S Galatian destination.

Arguments for the South Galatian theory and an early date. (a) Paul ceases to give details of his Christian life in Galatians after mentioning his correction of Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11). This suggests that he wrote the epistle about that time.

(b) Although Paul deals in Galatians with the problem discussed by the whole church at Jerusalem (Acts 15), he makes no reference to the conference, which strongly supported his position.

(c) Paul mentions Barnabas as though he was well known to his readers (Gal. 2:1, 13). The only record of Barnabas's entry into Galatia was on the first missionary journey.

(d) Paul indicates that the Galatian churches were cooperating in the offering for Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:1), where Paul obviously is on his way to Jerusalem (Acts 20:1–6) with the offering (cf. 2 Cor. 8; Acts 24:17). No representative from N Galatia is named, though two are listed from S Galatia.

(e) No mention of the founding of churches in Galatia appears in Acts 16 and 18. It is only stated that he passed through Galatia and Phrygia. He apparently made no new disciples in Galatia on these journeys but concentrated on "strengthening all the disciples" (18:23; cf. 16:1–6).

(f) No allusions especially suited to Gauls are found in the epistle.

(g) The "so quickly" of Gal. 1:6 is more possible if related to the S Galatian theory, since it was easier for Judaizers from Jerusalem to go to the cities of S Galatia than to those of the N.

(h) There is no record of the existence of churches in N Galatia until about A.D. 200 (cf. Dummelow, *Commentary,* 944).

In view of the superior weight of the arguments for the S Galatian theory, it is likely that Paul wrote the epistle from Syrian Antioch early in A.D. 49. However, it is important to note that most of

these arguments support a S Galatian destination without ruling out a late date. Accordingly, some scholars believe that the letter was written to the churches in the S, but possibly as late as the third missionary journey around the year 55. (See M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* [2001], ch. 7.)

The PASTORAL EPISTLES appear clearly to have been written subsequent to Paul's release from his first Roman imprisonment. Both 1 Timothy and Titus speak of events that do not fit into the earlier chronology of Paul's life as seen in the Acts and Paul's other letters. For example, earlier writings never suggest that Paul left Timothy in Ephesus when he himself was going into Macedonia (1 Tim. 1:3), nor that he left Titus in Crete (Tit. 1:5). Neither do they mention the winter which Paul planned to spend in Nicopolis (Tit. 3:12). When he wrote to the Philippians, he expected to be released (Phil. 1:25; 2:24). This expectation, evidently, was fulfilled, at which time Paul made his way to Crete, Ephesus, and Colosse (Phlm. 22), as well as to Macedonia (Tit. 3:12). Evidence is clear that when he wrote 2 Timothy he was again in prison, this time expecting to be executed (cf. 2 Tim. 1:8, 16; 2:9; 4:6).

From the data mentioned above, Paul's epistles may be tabulated as follows (dates are approximate):

Epistle	**Place Written**	**Date**
Galatians	Syrian Antioch (?)	49 (?)
1 Thessalonians	Corinth	51
2 Thessalonians	Corinth	51/52
Galatians	Ephesus (?)	55 (?)
1 Corinthians	Ephesus	55
2 Corinthians	Macedonia	56
Romans	Corinth	57
Ephesians	Rome	61/62
Colossians	Rome	61/62
Philemon	Rome	61/62
Philippians	Rome	62/63
1 Timothy	Macedonia (?)	64
Titus	Macedonia (?)	64
2 Timothy	Rome	67 (?)

J. Other epistles and Revelation. The chronology of the epistle to the Hebrews depends in part on its authorship. If Paul wrote it, it was written by A.D. 67. The evidence, however, points to an author other than Paul. See HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE. Since the temple apparently was still standing and the priests functioning (Heb. 5:1–4; 8:4; 10:11; 13:10–11), and since the people addressed seem to have been entering upon a time of trial (cf. 10:36; 12:4), the epistle was likely written about 69.

The epistle of James has been variously dated. Among those favoring an early date (before A.D. 50) are Alford, Dods, Mayor, Neander, Plumptre, Renan, Stanley, Weiss, and Zahn. Others, such as Ewald, Farrar, Kern, Schmidt, and Wordsworth, put it near the close of James's life. Josephus states that James was killed by the high priest Ananus after Festus's death, before Albinus arrived (*Ant.* 20.9.1), which was in the year 62. Among those who believe the epistle to have been written at a much later date are Bacon, Baur, Davidson, Harnack, and others.

Neither internal nor external evidence for the date of writing is conclusive. Some believe that Paul used James's epistle when he wrote Rom. 5:3–5 and 7:23 (cf. Jas. 1:2–4; 3:14–16), making its appearance earlier than A.D. 67. Wordsworth, Farrar, and Ewald argue for a date around 62 on the supposition that James wrote it shortly before his death to correct certain misconceptions of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. A very early date (about 45) is favored by a number of authorities because they believe the epistle reveals a primitive form of church organization; because it appears to be a narrow link between Judaism and Christianity; and because such doctrines as love for one's neighbors, the lordship of Christ, and the hope of his early return were much in the minds of the early church.

Those who contend for a very late date appear to do so on the grounds that it manifests a waning of the theological position of Paul. The difference in Paul and James, however, is only one of degree of emphasis. James acknowledges faith but emphasizes works as its evidence, while Paul regularly insists, in his epistles, on a high level of ethical practice. Those who argue for a late date because the epistle stresses love, Christ's lordship, and his soon return, and because it reveals a simple church organization, should bear in mind that the same things hold generally throughout NT literature. The argument that James wrote to correct misconception regarding justification by faith carries considerable weight and suggests that it was written about A.D. 62.

The hot springs from Hierapolis mixed with the cold water from the mountains near Colosse to produce lukewarm water. This encrusted pipe that brought such water to Laodicea is a reminder of the words to the church in that city: "I know your deeds, that you are neither cold nor hot. I wish you were either one or the other!" (Rev. 3:15).

There is also much debate regarding the epistles of Peter. TACITUS declares that great multitudes of Christians were put to death during the persecution under Nero in A.D. 64 (*Ann.* 15.44). Although Christians were suffering persecution at the time Peter's first epistle was written (1 Pet. 1:6–7; 2:19–

25; 3:13–17; 4:3–4, 16–18; 5:9), the author warned of a coming "fiery trial" (4:12), which came for those whom Peter addressed (cf 1:1) at least by the time of DOMITIAN's reign (A.D. 81–96). In the book of Revelation the government is represented as Christianity's implacable enemy, while in 1 Peter Christians are urged to submit to civil rulers (2:13–17). These different attitudes toward civil government suggest that these books came from different decades. Tertullian *(Scorpiace* 15) and Origen (in Euseb. *Eccl. Hut.* 3.1) speak of Peter's death in Rome. Tertullian attributes it to Nero. Since Nero died in 68, and Peter in 67, the epistle must have been written about 64 or 65.

If Simon Peter wrote 2 Peter, it was written before 67. Many who deny its Petrine authorship place it in the 2nd cent. The earliest patristic evidence for Peter's authorship comes from Origen, about the middle of the 3rd cent. (in Euseb. *Eccl. Hut.* 6.25.8). He believes that Peter wrote it, but registers some doubt. Eusebius (c. A.D. 325) lists 2 Peter among those books that were accepted by the majority (ibid. 3.25.2). Jerome (A.D. 340?–420) acknowledges that Peter wrote it, but states that many doubted its Petrine authorship because it is vastly different in style from 1 Peter (*Illust. Men* 1). But the differences in the style of these epistles may be explained from the fact that Silvanus was the scribe of 1 Peter (1 Pet. 5:12), while 2 Peter appears to have been written by the apostle himself. Internal evidence for the Petrine authorship of the second epistle may be seen in his reference to his experiences with Jesus (1:14, 16–18). Some believe the heresy described in ch. 2 was too well developed for Peter to have written it, but the heresy attacked by Paul in Colossians is much like that described in this epistle. Everything considered, 2 Peter probably was written about A.D. 66 and should be attributed to the chief apostle.

Those who attribute the epistle of Jude to the brother of Jesus date it between 64 and 80. It must have been written before 70, or the author would have used the destruction of Jerusalem in his list of illustrations (Jude 5–7). Those who consider the epistle to be pseudonymous generally date it about 150. There is no valid argument, however, against dating it about 65.

The Johannine epistles give little on which to base chronology. False teachers were present (cf. 1 Jn. 4:1; 2 Jn. 10–11; 3 Jn. 11). If the Jewish world had broken up recently, it seems probable that some mention would have been made of that fact. Several phrases in 2 and 3 John are identical or similar to those of the first epistle and the gospel, revealing a common author. All seem to have been written about 90 to 96.

Arguments for an early date (before 70) for the book of Revelation on the basis of a literal interpretation of Rev. 11:1 and 17:9–11 are weak in view of the apocalyptic nature of the book. Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.18) assigns the Apocalypse to the latter part of DOMITIAN's reign; so, too, does Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.30.3; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.2). Internal evidence indicates a period of severe persecution. which fits best the latter part of Domitian's reign, or about 96. See also separate articles on each of the books of the NT.

(For more detailed studies, see G. Ogg, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus* [1940]; id., *The Chronology of the Life of Paul* [1968]; H. W. Hoehner, *The Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ* [1977]; R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* [1979]; J. Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul,* rev. ed. [1987]; G. Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* [1984]; R. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* [1998]. Note also the recent summaries in *ABD,* 1:1011–22; *DJG*, 118–22; *DPL,* 115–23.)

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chrysolite. A transparent yellow or green gemstone (Rev. 21:20). The term is derived from the Greek *(chrysolithos G5994),* meaning "golden stone," and has been applied to various yellowish gems,

particularly TOPAZ (cf. KJV and NIV, Exod. 28:17 et al.), yellowish varieties of BERYL, and chrysoberyl (a beryllium aluminum oxide of greenish to yellowish green color). Zircon (zirconium silicate), tourmaline (complex borosilicate of aluminum), and apatite (fluophosphate or chlorophosphate of calcium), in their yellow-colored varieties, also have been referred to as chrysolite. The term is now used in mineralogy to refer to pale green olivine (magnesium iron silicate), which is found as prismatic crystals. Olivine is an essential mineral of ultrabasic igneous rocks (e.g. peridotite). It occurs in many basalts and gabbros and is formed by the metamorphism of impure dolomite.

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chrysoprase. The ancient name of a golden-green precious stone *(chrysoprasos G5995,* Rev. 21:20) generally thought to have been a variety of BERYL. During the Middle Ages it was one of the precious stones to which was attributed the facility of shining in the dark. In mineralogy the term is now used for an apple-green variety of CHALCEDONY, the color of which is probably due to the presence of nickel oxide amongst the fine grained silica.

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Chrysostom, John kri'suhs-tuhm, kri-sos'tuhm (Χρυσόστομος "golden-mouthed"). Born in the middle of the 4th cent. (prob. a few years before A.D. 350), John studied law and theology in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, where he came under the influence of Diodore of Tarsus, the founder of the so-called Antiochene school of INTERPRETATION. During his twenties he lived the life of a strict hermit, but in 381 he was ordained as deacon; a few years later he became priest and distinguished himself as an unusually powerful preacher (earning him the sobriquet Chrysostom). In 398 he became Patriarch of Constantinople, but his efforts at reforming not only the church but also the morals of the court brought him into conflict with Empress Eudoxia. He was banished in 404, first to Antioch and then to PONTUS, and being forced to travel in inclement weather, died in 407.

In addition to his reputation for holiness and his ecclesiastical leadership, Chrysostom is known as one of the "Doctors of the Church." Following the historical exegesis of the Antiochene school, he expounded large portions of Scripture. His commentary on Galatians, for example, is widely considered to be the finest exposition of a biblical book in the ancient church. He also wrote numerous treatises on a variety of issues, including such theological subjects as the priesthood, divine providence, and the Trinity. (Many of his more important works were translated for *NPNF,* Series I, vols. 10–14. See also F. H. Chase, *Chrysostom: A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation* [1887]; C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. [1959]; J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* [1995]; M. M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* [2000].)

Chub kuhb. KJV form of UUB.

Chun kuhn. KJV form of CUN.

church. The English word *church* (cf. also Scottish *kirk*) is derived from the Greek word *kyriakos G3258,* signifying "the Lord's" or "belonging to the Lord." In the NT, however, it translates a different Greek term, *ekklēsia G1711* (from *ekkaleō,* "to call out, summon forth," a verb not found in the NT). This noun was originally employed in secular Greek society to denote an assembly or

congregation of free citizens summoned or "called out" by a herald in connection with public affairs (cf. Acts 19:39). Occasionally it was applied to an assembly of any kind, whether lawfully convened or not. In the SEPTUAGINT the "congregation" of Israel is referred to as the *ekklēsia,* especially when gathered before the Lord for religious purposes (Deut. 31:30; Acts 7:38).

In its simplest meaning, *ekklēsia* may be taken to denote the "assembly" or "congregation" of those who are the recipients of God's heavenly grace. It is not clear whether the early Christians used the term because they regarded themselves as "called out" from the world (but cf. 1 Pet. 2:9). K. L. Schmidt (in *TDNT,* 3:513) points out that the electorate of a Greek city-state were called out or summoned (*ekklētoi)* by the herald (*kēryx G3061).* This background suggests, he says, "that God in Christ calls men out of the world," but elsewhere (ibid., 530) he comments that "there is no point in laying particular stress" on the word's etymology.

In the sayings of Jesus, the actual word *ekklēsia* occurs only twice. The first occasion was when PETER uttered his great confession of faith at CAESAREA PHILIPPI (Matt. 16:18), and the other instance was in the context of instructions that the Lord gave his disciples concerning their duty toward an offending brother (Matt. 18:17). In the apostolic writings the use of the word becomes more common. Sometimes it is used to denote scattered groups of Christians over a wide area, such as "the churches of Galatia" (Gal. 1:2). On other occasions it is used with reference to the body of Christians dwelling in the same immediate locality, such as "the church at Antioch" (Acts 13:1). A small company of Christians meeting together in a house for worship and edification also is referred to as a church (Rom. 16:5; 1 Cor. 16:19; Col. 4:15; Phlm. 2).

In no case is the word used with reference to a building in which public worship is conducted. The word *church* is applicable essentially to people, and in its broadest sense is used to describe "the company of the faithful throughout all the world." It is significant that the word SYNAGOGUE too was used originally to denote not a building but an assembly of people gathered together for a specific purpose. It was later that the same word came to be applied to the meeting house in which the congregation met for worship. James uses both Greek words with reference to a Christian congregation (Jas. 2:2, *synagōgē G5252;* 5:14, *ekklēsia).* In their use of terms, both Jews and Christians were showing their historical continuity with the "congregation" of Israel, the OT church.

1. The formation of the church
2. The nature of the church
    1. The body of Christ
    2. The temple of the Holy Spirit
    3. The new (heavenly) Jerusalem
    4. The new Israel
    5. The pillar and bulwark of the truth
    6. The household of God
    7. The bride of Christ
    8. Other expressions
3. Characteristics of the church
    1. Unity
    2. Holiness
    3. Catholicity
    4. Apostolicity
4. Membership of the church

5. The life and worship of the church
    1. Church life
    2. Christian worship
    3. The sacraments of the church
6. The ministry of the church
    1. The apostles
    2. Deacons
    3. Presbyters/Bishops
    4. Prophets
    5. Evangelists
    6. Pastors and teachers
    7. Spiritual gifts
7. The government of the church
    1. Episcopal
    2. Presbyterian
    3. Congregational
8. Prerogatives of the church
    1. "The keys of the kingdom"
    2. "Binding and loosing"
    3. The exercise of discipline
9. The mission and ultimate destiny of the church
10. Issues relating to the church
    1. The church and the kingdom of God
    2. The church as "extension of the incarnation"
    3. The church and the churches

I. The formation of the church. It has been argued that the church was not deliberately founded by Christ. According to E. F. Scott *(The Gospel and its Tributaries* [1928], 77—78), Jesus "had made no effort to form an organized society," though the church "was the inevitable outcome of his work." Of course much depends on what is intended by the word *church.* It is true that Jesus did not organize the church in the sense of laying down a constitution, but he did bring into being a new religious community when he chose his disciples. Referring to Peter's confession of faith at Cae-sarea Philippi, Charles Gore writes: "In virtue of this personal faith vivifying their discipleship, the apostles became themselves the first little Ecclesia constituting a living rock upon which a far larger and ever enlarging Ecclesia should very shortly be built slowly up, living stone by living stone, as each new faithful convert was added to the society." The use of *ekklēsia* by Paul in Gal. 1:13 proves that the apostle found this word existing within Christian circles at the time of his conversion. There is no reason therefore to doubt the fact that the Lord himself used it. At the same time it would be true to say that Christianity began as one of several different parties in 1st-cent. Palestinian Judaism. The earliest Christians were known as Nazarenes. They constituted a separate "synagogue" or community within the larger community of Judaism.

The fact is that Jesus gathered in the first instance a band of disciples, and these in turn became the nucleus of the "new Israel." To that "little flock" he directed his ethical teaching—to them he gave a missionary commission. His followers were committed to a new way of life, but they were also promised divine power to enable them to attain it. R. Newton Flew *(Jesus and his Church* [1943])

comments: "The idea of the Ecclesia as a community, on earth, indwelt by the Spirit of God, carrying the word of revelation, unique alike in its origin, its fellowship, its allegiance, its message, and its mission, is essential to Christian theology if theology is to be measured by the writings of the New Testament." The church is essentially divine in its origin and is not a merely human institution.

II. The nature of the church. The NT offers several figurative descriptions of the church, each one stressing some particular aspect of its nature.

A. The body of Christ. This phrase is used with reference to the church universal (Eph. 1:22; Col. 1:18), but it is applied also to a single congregation (1 Cor. 12:27). The use of this metaphor lays emphasis on the unity of the church, the interdependence of its members, and their vital relationship with its Head, the Lord Jesus Christ himself. See BODY OF CHRIST.

B. The temple of the Holy Spirit. In the OT, the TEMPLE—and the TABERNACLE before it—was the place where God had chosen to dwell in the midst of his people. By the use of this figure, emphasis is placed on the fact that Christians individually and corporately are indwelt by God the HOLY SPIRIT: thus the church at Corinth is a temple of God in which the Holy Spirit dwells (1 Cor. 3:16). In the epistle to the Ephesians, Paul speaks of believers as growing into "a holy temple in the Lord" (Eph. 2:21); while the apostle Peter describes believers as "living stones" that are built up into "a spiritual house" (1 Pet. 2:5). By the use of such imagery, the accent is placed on the holiness of the church and also on the fact that it constitutes a worshiping community.

C. The new (heavenly) Jerusalem. In the NT the church is seen to be the spiritual counterpart of Jerusalem as the Jews had regarded that city (Gal. 4:25–26; Rev. 3:12; 21:2). Under the old covenant, Mount Zion was the place upon which Israel's worship was centered, and JERUSALEM in a special sense was regarded as the place of the divine Presence (Heb. 12:22). The concept of a renewed Jerusalem is a familiar one in the OT.

D. The new Israel. The apostle Paul visualized the church as being a new Israel raised up. The old Israel had failed, and God's judgment had fallen upon it. The Lord had said in one of his parables, "the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people who will produce its fruit" (Matt. 21:43). Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, are to regard themselves as "the seed of Abraham" (Gal. 3:29; cf 6:16). Similarly the apostle Peter takes phrases that were originally applicable to ancient Israel and applies them to the Christian church (1 Pet. 2:9). The "new Israel" knows no racial barriers, but embraces all those who truly belong to Christ.

E. The pillar and bulwark of the truth. This expression is found in 1 Tim. 3:15 (NRSV) with reference to the church in general. The implication is that the church is the guardian of God's TRUTH and the defender of it. The church is grounded on the truth, and is the citadel of it.

F. The household of God. The emphasis is on the fact that Christians have been born into God's family and, therefore, stand in a special relationship to him as well as to one another (Gal. 6:10). Knowing the same Father, they should recognize themselves to be brothers and sisters in Christ.

G. The bride of Christ. The marriage relationship is used in Scripture as an illustration of the

relation between God and his people Israel, and between Christ and his church. In the Gospels there are a number of references picturing Christ as the heavenly Bridegroom (e.g., Matt. 9:15; 25:1–12; Mk. 2:19; Lk. 5:34–35). John the Baptist is represented as "the friend who attends the bridegroom" (Jn. 3:29). In the book of Revelation there are the most explicit references to the church as being the bride of Christ. In Rev. 19:7 the church is seen as the bride of the Lamb. In the same chapter the "wedding" is pictured whereby the bride begins her consummated life in the new age.

H. Other expressions. The NT has a number of different metaphorical descriptions of those who make up the membership of the church. Originally the church appeared as a sect within Judaism, the "sect of the Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5). Christians themselves preferred to be known as those who belonged to "the Way" (Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14). When Paul wrote to the different churches he had founded, he almost invariably addressed them as "saints" (Rom. 1:7 et al.). These same people were reminded on various occasions that they were witnesses (Acts 1:8), fellow citizens (Eph. 2:19), soldiers of Jesus Christ (2 Tim. 2:3), stewards of the grace (1 Pet. 4:10), and aliens and exiles as far as this world is concerned (1 Pet. 2:11). They were to see themselves as constituting "a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God" (1 Pet. 2:9).

III. Characteristics of the church. The church is both in origin and in end God's church. Human beings do not create the church by their efforts, but receive it as a gift from God. It is constituted by him and for him. Membership in it is not by human appointment but by divine call. It is therefore essentially a divine institution. It has been described as "the blessed company of all faithful people." It is not a rigid structure, but a fellowship of all those in whom individually or corporately the Spirit of Christ dwells. It is a community of believers, of those who are "called to be saints" (Rom. 1:7). Certain characteristics are said to be "notes" or "marks" of the church.

A. Unity. Much discussion has taken place as to the character of that UNITY for which Christ prayed on the eve of his crucifixion (Jn. 17:1–26). His prayer is not merely for the unity of those who were already his disciples, but also for the unity of believers in subsequent ages. Such unity is comparable with the unity existing within the Godhead itself. It represents that "unity of the Spirit" about which the apostle Paul wrote (Eph. 4:3). Clearly this is a prayer relating to authentic believers who are truly members of Christ's body. Such a unity transcends the divisive elements of race, sex, and class (Gal. 3:28). Spiritual unity can of course exist and flourish without uniformity. Diversity may exist without disunity (1 Cor. 12:4–6). The unity of which the NT speaks is not manufactured, but maintained. It already exists as the creation of the Holy Spirit. The church is one because Christ its Lord is one, and all who are united to him are also united to one another (Eph. 4:1–6).

B. Holiness. The NT makes it clear that HOLINESS is the purpose of God for all his people (1 Pet. 1:15–16). It is the outcome of the work of the Spirit of God in the believer. To be holy means to be separated from sin, and set apart for God. As Christ is holy, so the church must be holy. By virtue of Christ's mediatorial righteousness, the church is accounted holy in God's sight, but this holiness should find expression in the everyday lives of its members.

C. Catholicity. This word, which is so frequently misunderstood, refers primarily to the fact of the church's universality. Christianity is intended for all people everywhere. In the Christian church believers constitute one organic whole. The church is meant to embrace all nations (Matt. 28:19),

teach all things necessary for salvation (Jn. 16:13), and nourish its members in all Christian graces (Eph. 5:25–27). The catholicity of the church lies not only in its worldwide outreach, but also in its pos session of universal truth.

D. Apostolicity. The church may truly be described as apostolic since it is "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the chief cornerstone" (Eph. 2:20). The church that was founded through the apostles is still guided by the apostles through their writings, which are incorporated in the NT. The true apostolicity of the church depends, therefore, upon acceptance of the truths preached by the apostles, and living the kind of life they enjoined and exemplified.

It was of this church that the Lord said, "The powers of death [*lit.* the gates of Hades] shall not prevail against it" (Matt. 16:18). This is true for each individual member of the church as well as for the church as a corporate body. The true church outlives all its persecutors, and no member of it will ultimately perish.

IV. Membership of the church. Under both the old COVENANT and the new there has always been in the world a visible company of people set apart for God. In OT times this was the nation of Israel, whereas the church may be viewed in terms of the "new Israel." Under the old covenant, CIRCUMCISION and participation in the PASSOVER were outward signs of covenant relationship, whereas now Christian BAPTISM and participation in the LORD's SUPPER are outward signs of membership in the church. The teaching and activity of Jesus Christ clearly imply a distinguishable community. The first members of this new community that the Lord called into being were the disciples. They were the nucleus of the new Israel. The Lord addressed his ethical teaching to them and revealed to them the meaning of his own messiahship. It was to this new community Christ had founded that believers were added at PENTECOST when they responded to the preaching of the gospel (Acts 2:47).

It seems that the early church required some such simple confession of faith as "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor. 12:3) as a sort of "baptismal creed," on profession of which a person might be baptized. Water baptism was the normal sign of entry into the Christian community in the NT. It is made clear, however, that it is FAITH in Christ that makes a person a member of the Christian community, and it is in baptism that he confesses this faith. When we read of churches in the NT located in different areas, we envision groups of baptized Christians in the countries or places mentioned. The membership of these churches consisted of those who had professed faith in Christ's gospel and who had been baptized in Christ's name. The community of God's people on earth has always proved to be somewhat mixed in its constituency. Not all who are nominally and outwardly members are necessarily in true and living communion with God.

The Reformers thus drew a clear distinction between (a) the catholic or universal church, which is invisible and consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be gathered in, and (b) the visible church, which also is catholic or universal, and consists of all those throughout the world who profess faith in Christ whether or not that faith is genuine. The apostle Paul distinguished between those who were true Jews and those who merely conformed to Jewish rites (Rom. 9:6–8). There are numerous indications from the teaching of the Lord and from the NT generally that the visible community of God's people is likely to be mixed and not wholly pure in its membership. Experience shows that not all who appear to respond to the gospel invitation are in fact genuine converts to Christ (cf Matt. 13:47–49; 22:9–14).

The Lord warned his disciples of a coming day when the genuineness of their profession would

be put to the test (Matt. 7:24–27). He showed that mere acknowledgment of him, or even participation in his service, was no guarantee of genuineness and final acceptance in God's sight (Matt. 7:21–23; Lk. 13:23–30). In his parabolic teaching the Lord showed how Satan's strategy is to plant tares among the wheat; both will grow together until harvest (Matt. 13:24–30, 36–43). In the final analysis only God himself knows those who are his. The Lord himself recognizes the true Israel, which is to be found within the nominal Israel. In the teaching of the Lord the most solemn emphasis is placed on the inevitable separation that ultimately will be made between the merely nominal and the truly genuine disciples, even though they temporarily may appear to be one in the visible community of his professed followers. Even the purest churches on earth are likely to become subject to some admixture of truth and error (1 Cor. 13:12; Rev. 2:2). Mankind must not think of the visible and the invisible as being two distinct churches, but as different aspects of the one church as it is viewed from the human or the divine side.

While this distinction between the visible and invisible church has to be recognized, it is nevertheless the responsibility of the visible church to see as far as is humanly possible that those who are added to it are genuine believers. The ideal of a pure church may be unattainable, but it should remain the ideal. The invisible church ought to be the pattern for the visible. It is the responsibility of the visible church to realize as far as is possible the perfections of the invisible, so that its membership shall consist only of true believers.

V. The life and worship of the church

A. Church life. While the primary function of the church is to glorify God (Eph. 3:10; 1 Pet. 2:9), it also makes certain human provisions. (a) It provides fellowship for its members. The new relationship of the disciples with Christ found expression in a social form. In the early days of the Christian church fellowship was a very significant feature (Acts 2:42, 44–47; 4:32–35). (b) It bears testimony to the world. The church was formed for the purpose of witnessing to the world (Acts 1:8); it is commissioned to evangelize (Matt. 28:19–20). (c) It provides channels for service. Through the medium of the local church, Christian service within the community is facilitated.

Christian charity was widely practiced from the beginning. One of the chief means of linking together the various Christian groups existing in the early days of Christianity was the practice of mutual aid. The largely Gentile Christian church at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA took the opportunity to show its sense of fellowship with the completely Jewish Christian church of Jerusalem by sending a donation to that church at a time of great scarcity in Palestine (Acts 11:29–30; 12:25). Such charity was not displayed merely on an interchurch basis, but was a major activity within local churches. The original Seven were, in fact, almoners taking charge of the distribution of church funds to the poor (Acts 6:1–6). See DEACON. The apostle Paul organized a large-scale collection among the various churches he had founded to relieve the poverty of the Jerusalem church (Rom. 15:25–27; 1 Cor. 16:1–2;2 Cor. 8–9). See CONTRIBUTION. The sense of mutual obligation was kept alive, and Christians in different local churches were reminded of their essential unity in Christ with believers in other areas.

There seems to have been a charitable organization, at least in the Gentile churches of the NT, known as the "order of widows." WIDOWS who had no relatives to support them were regarded as an obvious charge upon the charity of the local church. The qualifications for relief included real destitution, having a good personal reputation for charity and hospitality, and having been married once only (1 Tim. 5). The practice of Christian stewardship is strongly commended throughout the NT. The apostle Paul taught that giving must be systematic and regular (1 Cor. 16:2). It must not be

inspired by unworthy motives nor regarded simply as a duty. Giving must be sacrificial (2 Cor. 8:2–3; 9:6, 11). Moreover, Christian stewards must be scrupulously honest and open in all their financial dealings (2 Cor. 8:20–21).

B. Christian worship. The first converts to Christianity were those whose religious and cultural background had been shaped by the synagogue. Christianity, therefore, entered into the inheritance of an already existing pattern of WORSHIP provided by the temple ritual and the synagogue liturgy. As T. W. Manson *(The Church's Ministry* [1948]) has pointed out, "the first disciples were Jews by birth and upbringing, and it is, a priori, probable that they would bring into the new community some at least of the religious usages to which they had long been accustomed." The three main elements forming the pattern of synagogue worship were praise, prayer, and instruction. The service would open on the note of corporate praise. The OT hymnbook, the Psalter, was then read with Christian eyes and used to express Christian worship (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; Jas. 5:13). The canticles found in the opening chapters of Luke's gospel no doubt found their way at an early stage into Christian worship. There would also appear to be fragments of Jewish-Christian hymns in the NT (e.g., Rom. 11:33–35; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:15–16). There are indications of specific Christian hymns having been composed, and there may well be extracts from these in several epistles (Eph. 5:14; Phil. 2:6–11; Col. 1:15–20; 1 Tim. 3:16; Heb. 1:3).

There is abundant evidence that corporate PRAYER was an integral part of the worship of the early church. The Lord himself had given every encouragement in this direction (Matt. 18:19–20). The Acts of the Apostles reveals the prayer fellowship of the earliest believers (Acts 2:42, 46; 4:31). They called upon the name of their risen Lord as they met for worship (1 Cor. 1:2). The word AMEN was adopted, since it was a familiar term in synagogue worship, as it had been in the OT. It occurs at the close of those NT doxologies that ascribe praise to God and his Christ (Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 16:27; Gal. 1:5; Eph. 3:21; Phil. 4:20; et al.). It was also in common use as the worshiper's assent to what he heard from the lips of his fellow-believers (1 Cor. 14:16).

The chief element in synagogue worship was the reading and exposition of the Law and the Prophets (Acts 13:14–15), and this basic pattern was carried over into Christian assemblies. Paul seized the opportunity of proclaiming Christ as the fulfillment of the Law and the Prophets (Acts 13:46; 19:8). Timothy was encouraged to give attention to the public reading of the Scriptures (1 Tim. 4:13). Paul expected that his own letters would be read out at public worship (Col. 4:16; 1 Thess. 5:27; Phlm. 2). Before the close of the NT canon, there is evidence that Paul's letters were being accepted on a par with "the other Scriptures" (2 Pet. 3:15–16). They were the objects of study and meditation.

From the Acts of the Apostles one is able to construct the content of the KERYGMA, that is, the public proclamation of the gospel. Emphasis was placed upon the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as events that fulfilled OT prophecies and that called for a verdict. There is no information to the same degree regarding the instruction given to behavior in the context of public worship. There was "prophecy" (1 Cor. 14:3), "revelation," and ecstatic utterance with interpretation (v. 26). There appears to have been considerable fluidity, with time given for spontaneous participation.

It is probable that in NT times there was already established a general pattern of worship, and there was also an accepted doctrinal standard (2 Cor. 9:13; Phil. 1:27). The membership could be defined clearly and defaulters were summarily dealt with. The sacred deposit of the faith was to be jealously guarded and handed on intact to succeeding generations (2 Tim. 2:2). The earliest Christian confession of faith could be summed up in the words: "Jesus is Lord" (Rom. 10:9; 1 Cor. 12:3; 2 Cor.

4:5). This was a fitting formula for the new convert to use in testifying to his new life (Acts 8:35–38; 16:31–33).

C. The sacraments of the church. The term SACRAMENT is applied to the two NT ordinances, baptism and the Lord's Supper, which the church has always regarded as binding upon it. The Latin word *sacramentum* was used in military circles to denote the oath by which a Roman soldier bound himself to be faithful to his commander. It was introduced into the language of the church toward the end of the 2nd cent. or soon after. Sacraments may be defined as ordinances in which spiritual realities are set forth by visible SIGNS, that is, signs that can be discerned by the senses. The sensible sign in baptism is washing with water in the name of the triune God, while at the Lord's Supper it is the giving and receiving of bread and wine. A sign is such that beside the impression it makes on the senses it suggests the thought of something else to the mind.

In the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* the following definition is given: "Sacraments are holy ordinances instituted by Christ wherein by sensible signs Christ and the benefits of the New Covenant are represented, sealed and applied to believers." The word "represented" means that spiritual things are set forth figuratively or emblematically. "Sealed" carries beyond the mere idea of pictorial representation, and conveys the thought of ratification; thus the sacraments entitle the Christian to claim all the promised benefits of the Covenant of Grace. The word "applied" conveys the thought that the sacraments are not to be regarded merely as external signs or seals by which something material is employed to symbolize or ratify the spiritual gift that is promised, but that they are the channels of a real communication of the grace of God in Christ Jesus to all who receive them in faith.

The spiritual efficacy of these ordinances is always conditional, and is not to be associated in any absolute way with the simple administration and application of them. They have no spiritual power of themselves apart from the Spirit of God on God's side and faith on man's side. The sacraments have been described as "badges of Christian profession," that is, marks to distinguish Christians from non-Christians.

1.The sacrament of baptism. Probably the ordinance of BAPTISM derived its outward form from either Jewish proselyte baptism or the rite observed by JOHN THE BAPTIST. John had been administering

Cruciform baptismal font from the 5th cent. discovered near Hebron.

this ordinance for several months before the Lord began his ministry, and in due time Christ himself submitted to it. The underlying idea common to Jewish baptism, the baptism of John, and Christian baptism is that of washing or purification. No doubt it was the Jewish rite which John the Baptist adapted for the purpose of his own mission. In preparation for baptism John stressed the need for repentance for the remission of sins. Submission to it was an outward profession of repentance on the part of the candidate, while water was the recognized symbol of cleansing.

In the case of the Lord's submission to baptism, the main emphasis was upon his consecration to his messianic ministry, with the accompanying divine attestation of his unique sonship. It is probable that this decisive event in the life of Jesus exercised considerable influence both on the form and on the meaning of the baptismal rite in the apostolic and subapostolic periods. It is significant that Jesus referred to his approaching death as a "baptism I am baptized with" (Mk. 10:38–39; Lk. 12:50), and also spoke of the coming martyrdom of some of his followers in similar language. John the Baptist witnessed to the imperfect and transient nature of the baptismal rite he administered. He places his baptism with water over against a future baptism with the Holy Spirit and with fire (Matt. 3:11; Mk. 1:8; Lk. 3:16), which received fulfillment at Pentecost.

There was in the primitive church no other way than by baptism for persons to be incorporated into the new Israel. Baptism in its primary meaning is a symbolical act whereby God designates men and women for union with himself, so that they may enjoy all the blessings included in the gospel. Baptism is associated with the establishing of the new covenant and symbolizes one's personal entering into its benefits. See COVENANT, THE NEW. It has a certain parallel with the Noachian covenant (1 Pet. 3:18–22). See COVENANT (OT) IV.B. It is also likened to the baptism of the Israelites in the cloud and the sea (1 Cor. 10:1–2). In that case the accent was upon separation—the passage through the sea separated Israel from the pursuing Egyptians, and the cloud separated them to God. Another parallel is with the Abrahamic covenant. What circumcision was in that covenant, baptism becomes under the new covenant. Circumcision is referred to as a "seal" (Rom. 4:11); the same word appears to be used in connection with baptism (2 Cor. 1:21–22; Eph. 1:13). The relationship between circumcision and baptism is made explicit in Col.2:ll–12.Thus Christians enjoy the reality that was prefigured in circumcision.

The church down the centuries has been sharply divided both concerning the mode and the rightful recipients of baptism. Baptists have always argued strongly for immersion on the grounds that this would appear to have been the mode in apostolic times (Matt. 3:16; Jn. 3:23; Acts 8:38), and that this is the only form that adequately sets forth the meaning of the rite, the argument being that in baptism the death and resurrection of Christ are symbolically proclaimed (Rom. 6:3–5). Others have argued that the amount of water available is relatively unimportant. The NT word translated "baptize" does not necessarily imply total immersion (cf. Lk. 11:38), nor is there any indication that all baptisms in the NT were by this method. It is questionable whether all of the three thousand converted on the day of Pentecost were totally immersed.

The issue regarding the rightful recipients of baptism is a more serious one. Baptists and others who accept Baptist principles argue that the baptism of believers is the only valid form of baptism according to the NT. Thus baptism can be given only when the candidate has heard the gospel preached and has responded to it in penitence and faith (Acts 2:38; 8:36). While all are agreed that, in the case of an adult, baptism is the visible sign and seal of the covenant blessings, the question arises as to whether it should be administered to the children of those who claim to be numbered

among the people of God.

Paedobaptists argue that the early Christians, who were mostly Jews and were therefore used to the idea of infant circumcision, would have needed specific instructions from the Lord if the children of believers under the new covenant were to be excluded from the privilege of receiving the covenant sign. NT evidence is cited which suggests that the children of believers are in a privileged position. The apostle Paul speaks of children in a home where only one parent is a believer as being "holy," and this suggests the idea of belonging to the covenant people. Reference also is made to the fact that there are several instances of whole households being baptized (Acts 16:15; 1 Cor. 1:16), suggesting that children would have been included. Oscar Cullmann *(Baptism in the New Testament* [1950], 44) points out that there is no instance in the whole of the NT of a person born into a Christian household having his baptism postponed until faith has become his own possession through public profession.

2. The Lord's Supper. There would appear to be considerable NT evidence for suggesting that the breaking of bread was the main purpose for which the local church gathered (Acts 2:42–47; 20:7–12; 1 Cor. 11:17–20). This was certainly the practice of the 2nd-cent. church. The NT EUCHARIST differed, however, from its modern counterpart. It was more than merely a sacramental meal and always included instruction. No sooner had the church been fully constituted on the Day of Pentecost than one finds the two Christian ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper duly recognized and practiced. In selecting bread and wine to be the symbols of his body and blood, the Lord availed himself of elements that were already present on the table as part of the ritual of the Jewish Passover that he was then observing with his disciples. The new ordinance was grafted on to the old (Matt. 26:17; 1 Cor. 5:8). Various sections of the Christian church have chosen different NT phrases when referring to this ordinance. There are those who speak of the *Lord's Supper* (1 Cor. 11:20), and the *Lord's Table* (10:21), while others prefer the designation *Communion* (10:16 KJV); yet others use the term *Eucharist* signifying "thanksgiving."

While there are considerable differences of view in understanding the nature of the ordinance, it is generally recognized as a feast of commemoration (Lk. 22:19), being a memorial not only of all that Christ was and said and did, but in a peculiar sense a commemoration of his death (1 Cor. 11:26). The thought of joint participation is also vitally important. There is an actual participation in Christ by the church when it is assembled together. Believers express visibly their union with one another because of their union with the Head of the church, Christ himself (1 Cor. 10:16–17). The idea of a covenant relationship is clearly expressed in the words of institution (Matt. 26:28; 1 Cor. 11:25). A covenant implies a mutual obligation, and when Christians gather at the Lord's Table they renew their vows of allegiance. Whereas one may think of the Lord's Supper as essentially a reminder of the past, it is also a feast of hope (Matt. 26:29; 1 Cor. 11:26). The earthly feast points forward to a more glorious paschal feast in the coming kingdom, and Christians are reminded of the "blessed hope" of their Lord's return.

Whereas Christians are generally agreed that the Lord's Supper should be regarded as the supreme act of Christian worship, there is considerable difference of opinion as to the frequency with which it ought to be observed. From the various allusions in the Acts of the Apostles and also in the Epistles, it is usually inferred that the early Christians came together for the breaking of bread regularly on the first day of the week (Acts 2:46–47; 20:7; 1 Cor. 11:20). In some sections of the Christian church, however, Communion services are held only once or twice a year, and considerable stress is laid on the need for adequate self-examination beforehand (1 Cor. 11:28).

In apostolic times it is fairly clear that the Eucharist formed part of a fellowship meal or AGAPE.

It is difficult to know whether the references to breaking bread (Acts 2:42; 20:7–12) in fact denote this common meal or only the Lord's Supper. By the time Paul wrote to the church at Corinth it is evident that the church had formed the habit of meeting together for a meal before partaking of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:17–34). The apostle deplores the behavior of some church members who made such an occasion an excuse for gluttony. The *agape* may have evolved from Jewish common meals or from a desire to perpetuate the table fellowship the apostles had enjoyed with their Lord during his earthly ministry. As time went on, the *agape* had to be separated from the Lord's Supper because lack of mutual consideration prevented the Eucharist from being celebrated in a proper spirit.

VI. The ministry of the church

A. The apostles. In the NT church any radical distinction between "clergy" and "laity" was unknown. Every church member was reminded that he or she had a specific MINISTRY to fulfill. The whole church is called to a work of ministry. There is, however, a group of men who stand in a class by themselves—the apostles. The term APOSTLE simply means "one who is sent." In secular usage it was applicable to the dispatch of an army or of a fleet to make war. Later it was used to signify envoys of any kind sent for a set purpose and on a special mission. Those sent simply carried out the orders of their superior. The emphasis is on the sender rather than the person sent.

The qualifications of these men are set out by the apostle Peter in Acts 1:21–22. They were appointed by the direct ordination of Christ (Mk. 3:14) and were eyewitnesses of his death and resurrection. The benefit of their special apostolic ministry is made permanently available for the whole church in their writings preserved in the NT. There can be no successors to the apostles as such. In other words, true apostolic succession is a succession of apostolic teaching rather than of some specific form of ministry. Generally speaking, the apostles do not seem to have been located in one particular place, but rather to have exercised a roving commission and to have traveled extensively. In Jerusalem, where the Christian church was first established, the apostles were the undisputed leaders, with PETER probably occupying the most prominent position.

There is no evidence in the NT to suggest that the apostles normally presided at services of Holy Communion or were in the habit of baptizing; nor does one gain the impression that they made a habit of ordaining. It is likely that the word *apostle* was used in a twofold sense: to denote a special delegate sent from a church (2 Cor. 8:23; Phil. 2:25), but chiefly to describe those who had had the unique experience of knowing the incarnate Lord. As A. F. Walls put it, "In the nature of things the office could not be repeated or transmitted: any more than the underlying historic experience could be transmitted to those who had never known the incarnate Lord, or received a resurrection appearance" (*NBD,* 59). Their witness to Christ was direct rather than derived, and for this reason they are a class apart.

B. Deacons. In the synagogue at this time there were three offices: minister or DEACON, presbyter or elder, and the ruler or president of the elders. See ELDER (NT). Early in the history of the Christian church the need for proper administration was quickly recognized. This need was first met in the local situation by the appointment of the Seven (Acts 6:1–6). Many feel that the Seven were the original "deacons." It is noteworthy that they were chosen by the church as being men spiritually equipped for the task as well as being good administrators. They were ordained by the apostles, their ordination being accompanied by prayer and the laying on of hands.

In the first instance, these men were set apart to take care of the administrative side of church

life in order to free those with the more specifically "spiritual" gifts for the work to which God had called them. The qualifications for the office of deacon are laid down by the apostle Paul in 1 Tim. 3:8–13. It is clear from this passage, as well as from Acts 6 and Phil. 1:1, that the position of deacon was widely recognized in the early church. Probably there was no close similarity between this office and that of the Levite or synagogue attendant with which Jewish Christians would have been familiar.

C. Presbyters/Bishops. The first reference to elders or presbyters is in connection with the church at Jerusalem (Acts 11:30). There is no reference to elders at Antioch (13:1), nor are they mentioned in the apostle's earlier letters. Paul and Barnabas, however, on their first missionary journey appointed elders in all the churches they founded (14:23). It is clear that the elders whom Paul addressed at Ephesus (20:17) and those referred to in 1 Peter and in Titus had an important role to fill in the life of the church. At this stage in the history of the church the terms *presbyteros G4565* and *episkopos G2176* (see BISHOP) were interchangeable. Paul, for example, calls for the elders of the church at Ephesus (Acts 20:17) and then addresses them as bishops or guardians (v. 28). Similarly Peter exhorts the elders of the churches to fulfill the office of bishop or overseer worthily (1 Pet. 5:1–2).

Qualifications for eldership are laid down in Paul's first letter to Timothy (1 Tim. 3:1–7). One of the main functions of the elders was general pastoral oversight of the church. Elders also had certain executive powers (Heb. 13:17), and they labored in word and doctrine (1 Tim. 5:17). They visited the sick (Jas. 5:14) and also had the responsibility of ordaining others (Tit. 1:5). It is an interesting side light that just as the term *elder* was familiar to those who had been brought up in a Jewish environment, so the term *bishop* or *overseer* was frequently used by the Greeks to describe the overseer of a religious club or society. It should be noted also that elders have the functions of both pastors (Acts 20:28; 1 Pet. 5:2) and teachers (1 Tim. 3:2; Tit 1:9). The main functions of the elder were to preach the gospel, to give pastoral oversight, and to exercise spiritual leadership. No clear instructions are laid down concerning who was empowered to preside at the Lord's Supper, or to baptize. In fact, there is a noticeable absence in the NT of precise instructions on such matters.

It would seem that varieties of ministry grew up as occasion demanded and the Spirit of God directed. One thing is clear—there is no reference in the NT to a Christian minister that represents him as a sacrificing priest. The church as a whole is regarded as a priesthood (1 Pet. 2:5, 9), and the Lord is referred to as the great High Priest. The function of the sacrificing priest of the OT was no longer required, since the one great sacrifice of Calvary had now taken place. While the NT does give support to the idea of certain men being set apart for specific ministries, it gives no encouragement to the raising up of a priestly caste with sacerdotal functions. At the same time the NT makes clear that some form of ministry is essential to the stability and life of the church. There are no hard and fast rules. There is instead a constant waiting on God, a readiness to hear the voice of the Holy Spirit and to obey what is heard. In the early days of Christianity there seems to have been considerable variety of ministry in the church.

D. Prophets. The PROPHETS are bracketed with the apostles as far as leadership in the early church is concerned (1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). The prophet, like the apostle, was directly called by God and fulfilled his function without reference to human appointment or authorization. In the church at Antioch prophets are closely associated with teachers (Acts 13:1). They no doubt combined proclamation with prediction (11:28; 21:10–11). They included in their ministry exhortation (15:32), edification, and consolation (1 Cor. 14:3). Like the apostles, the prophets were special gifts to the primitive church—men to whom by the Spirit was given remarkable insight into the "mystery of

Christ" (Eph. 3:3–5).

E. Evangelists. PHILIP, chosen as one of the Seven, is also described as "the evangelist" (Acts 21:8). The office of EVANGELIST is mentioned immediately after "apostle" and "prophet" (Eph. 4:11). The allusion is to leaders in the church endowed with a particular gift for evangelism. The modern equivalent might well be "pioneer missionary." In the early church an evangelist was one who first brought the gospel message and paved the way for the more systematic work of settled church officers.

F. Pastors and teachers. Pastors and teachers are given to the church primarily "to prepare God's people for works of service" (Eph. 4:11–12). Their work is to act as shepherds and pastor the church of God. They are to be considered worthy of all honor and support (1 Tim. 5:17). Probably the phrase "pastors and teachers" is to be understood as indicating the two complementary types of ministry that elders in the local church are called upon to exercise.

G. Spiritual gifts. There are numerous references in the NT to SPIRITUAL GIFTS that are widely distributed in the Christian church, in order that men and women may be equipped for their particular ministries. Paul speaks of the Spirit who "gives them to each one, just as he determines" (1 Cor. 12:11). The main lesson is that ministry of whatever form calls for spiritual endowment, and those set apart for it by the church must be recognizable as having the necessary spiritual gifts that are their essential equipment.

VII. The government of the church. The NT does not lay down precise rules regarding either the form of ministry or the government of the church. Over the centuries several different theories of church government have emerged, each of which claims some scriptural basis. Basically these different orders may be described as the episcopal, the presbyterian, and the congregational. See also CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

A. Episcopal. The episcopal system is the government of the church by bishops. Episcopalians recognize the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons as being basic to the life of the church. The only minister entitled to ordain is the bishop, to whom have been passed certain functions originally associated with the apostles themselves. Some would go so far as to argue that the apostles ordained their successors, and these in turn ordained their successors in an unbroken line to the present day. This theory, however, is open to serious question. The elaborate episcopal system, as known today, is not to be found in the NT except possibly in embryo. The modern Anglican bishop, for example, unlike the elder of the NT, has the oversight of a large number of churches in his "diocese" and exercises authority over the clergy of that area. The elders of the NT are responsible to the chief Shepherd alone, and have a strictly local charge.

The modern monarchical bishop sees himself more closely akin with the apostles and the ministry they exercised than with the presbyter-bishops, whose ministry was largely, if not entirely, confined to the local church. It is true that while both Timothy and Titus appear to have had a good deal of authority over a number of churches, they were more localized than the apostles, and are no real counterpart of the modern monarchical bishop. James, whom Paul possibly describes as an apostle (Gal. 1:19), occupied a prominent position in the church of Jerusalem, and he does not seem to have traveled as widely as the other apostles. In certain respects he would be a more accurate

prototype of the present-day Anglican bishop, although his authority was by no means absolute. Episcopalianism is the outcome of a steady process of development, and in its present form is not to be found in the NT.

B. Presbyterian. The system of church government by presbyters or elders also claims scriptural precedent. The Reformers saw in the NT presbyters officials who bore rule in the churches. In each local church there were a number of presbyters who formed a kind of committee in charge of church affairs. In Acts 15 we find the presbyters acting in concert with the apostles in solemn council. When, in the course of time, the apostles disappeared from the scene, the presbyters remained as the most important church officials. Most Presbyterians would claim that their system is more faithful to the spirit and to the letter of the NT than any of the other modern systems.

Bearing in mind such NT passages as Acts 1:15–26 and 13:1–3, Presbyterians do recognize that the congregation should have some voice in the selection of men for the ministry. A distinction is made between teaching and ruling elders (1 Tim. 5:17). The teaching elder is ordained by the laying on of hands of other presbyters after receiving a "call" from a local congregation. Ruling elders are chosen by the congregation and admitted to their office also by a form of ordination. They may not assume the ministry of the Word and sacraments, but they do assist in the government of the church in the exercise of discipline. They also have responsibility in organizing the finances of the church.

C. Congregational. Congregationalism is that system of church government adopted by those Christians who emphasize the autonomy and independency of the local congregation. They claim that no one is in a position to exercise authority over a local congregation of the Christian church. No "order of ministry" is recognized, in the sense of a class made distinctive by some special endowment of divine grace conferred upon them at an ordination ceremony. Ordained individuals are, strictly speaking, viewed as laypeople doing the work of the church full time.

Stress is laid upon the fact that Christ alone is the Head of his church (Col. 1:18 et al.). When two or three believers meet together the Lord is with them (Matt. 18:20). Since believers as a whole represent the priesthood, under the new covenant there is no place any longer for the interposition of a special class of priests. The priestly function is now exercised by all. If the ordinary believer has the right to immediate access to God (Heb. 10:19–22), it is impossible to envisage a ministry that exercises any essential mediating function. It is often pointed out that in the NT emphasis generally is on the local congregation. There is little evidence of any episcopal or presbyterian control over the church as a whole. The presbyter-bishops appear to have exercised their authority within the sphere of the local congregation, but not beyond it. The Christian ministry is simply the ministry of Christ through men called and commissioned by him.

The NT evidence is insufficient to know precisely what the position was in the early church. It is known that there were certain officers such as presbyter-bishops and deacons, but exactly what their status or functions were is not known. None of the present-day systems of church government can claim to have solely scriptural justification, although there are elements in the NT that gave rise to each of them. It is significant that in the course of history God has been pleased to give his blessing on more than one form of Christian order.

VIII. Prerogatives of the church

A. "The keys of the kingdom." To the church are given "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt.

16:18), which is a pictorial way of saying that to it is given the privilege of unlocking and throwing open the gates of God's city for those who would enter. Those KEYS were used by the apostle Peter on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2). He opened the gates of the kingdom to the vast crowd that listened to his preaching.

B. "Binding and loosing." The church is said also to have the power of BINDING AND LOOSING (Matt. 16:19). The verbs *bind* and *loose* were rabbinical terms that related to rules and regulations for the ordering of the Jewish community. When the Lord conferred this power on Peter, and later upon the Twelve, he was giving them the right to take appropriate measures for the conduct of the church's affairs and the exercise of its discipline. John R. W. Stott has summed it up as follows: "It is by binding and loosing certain practices (declaring them lawful or unlawful) that the church can go on to bind those who disregard its teaching, and loose those who…having disregarded it, repent" (*Confess Your Sins* [1964], 45). In Jn. 20:23 (NRSV) the words "forgive" and "retain" are used. It would seem that the Lord is giving to the church authority for the declaration of the terms of divine absolution, or the fact of divine condemnation. It is the task of the church to declare in the name of Jesus the grounds on which God will forgive and on which he must condemn. See FORGIVENESS.

C. The exercise of discipline. The exercise of DISCIPLINE is a prerogative of the church. The Puritan theologian John Owen (*Works* [1862], 15:512) defined discipline as "the due exercise of that authority and power which the Lord Christ, in and by his word, hath granted unto the church for its continuance, increase, and preservation in purity, order, and holiness, according to his appointment" (cf. Matt. 16:19; Rom. 12:8; 2 Cor. 10:4–6; Rev. 2:2, 20). There are several passages in the NT that refer directly to the exercise of such discipline (e.g., 1 Cor. 5:2, 7, 13; 2 Cor. 2:5–7; 2 Thess. 3:14–15; 1 Tim. 1:20; Tit. 3:10). In the case of the church at CORINTH, the offense causing a public scandal was one of incest, and the church was rebuked by the apostle Paul for not having already taken action.

The purpose of church discipline is twofold: first, to safeguard the purity of the church, and second, to be the means of bringing the offending party to repentance. It seems that in the early church, EXCOMMUNICATION—the exclusion permanently or temporarily of a church member from fellowship with the church—was exercised on both moral and doctrinal grounds. While the issue at Corinth was a moral one, Paul in his first letter to Timothy refers to the fact that he had excommunicated Hymenaeus and Alexander because of their false teaching. The language of "handing over to Satan" is used on two occasions by the apostle (1 Cor. 5:5; 1 Tim. 1:20) and no doubt signifies "putting out of Christian fellowship into the province of Satan, that is, the pagan world."

The Lord himself made it clear that it is the responsibility of a Christian who offends another to acknowledge his fault (Matt. 5:23–24), and that it is incumbent on the one who has been offended to forgive his penitent brother (Lk. 17:4). If private admonition is not successful, then two or three more are to be called. Should they fail, the matter must be brought before the church. The NT places the responsibility for exercising discipline upon the whole church even though it may delegate its authority to its officers. The fact that such punishment as is given is reformative rather than retributive has to be constantly borne in mind. Furthermore, the offender even when under discipline is not to be regarded as an enemy but as an erring brother (2 Thess. 3:15).

IX. The mission and ultimate destiny of the church. The primary task given by the risen Christ to his disciples was that of evangelism (Mk. 16:15; Lk. 24:45–47; Acts 1:8). The purpose of God is that the elect community may be continually added to and ultimately made complete. In the prosecution of

this task the church is commissioned to "preach the gospel." Although in this first instance this commission was addressed to the Eleven, it was subsequently given to the larger company of disciples, and indeed the whole church is called upon to share in the God-given task of preaching the gospel to all people everywhere. The gospel is of God, but he has entrusted to his people both the ministry and the message of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:18–20). If the first duty of God's redeemed people is to worship, the second is to witness (1 Pet. 2:9). No church can evade its God-given responsibility as Christ's chosen instrument to bear his name and proclaim his message in the locality where it is found.

Christ pictured his disciples as exerting a salutary influence in the community. They were to have the antiseptic qualities of "salt." At the same time they were to be as "lights" in a dark world, and by reason of their calling they would inevitably find themselves as conspicuous as "a city on a hill" (Matt. 5:13–16). Moreover, the church in the present dispensation may rightly be described as militant, since she is engaged in a holy warfare against the powers of darkness (Eph. 6:10–17). On the other hand, the church in heaven may be described as triumphant, for her warfare is accomplished. In any one generation the church militant on earth represents only a small percentage of the redeemed people of God. The church will enjoy the complete consummation of its destiny only when Christ returns, the number of the elect is complete, and all believers are reunited. Then and then only will the church be entirely pure, for the bad will be separated from the good, the counterfeit from the real (Matt. 13:39–42, 47–50; 24:31). It will be then that God's people receive their glorified resurrection bodies and will share Christ's glory (1 Cor. 15:20–23,51–54).

X. Issues relating to the church

A. The church and the kingdom of God. Much discussion has taken place concerning the relationship of the KINGDOM OF GOD and the church. Obviously a close connection exists between them. Citizenship in the kingdom of God and membership in the church are alike determined by regeneration (Matt. 18:3; Jn. 3:3, 5). The kingdom may be said to be a broader concept than the church in so far as it represents the reign of God in every sphere of human endeavor. The church represents those in whose lives the kingdom has taken visible form, and who live by their King's commandments. The church is, in fact, the organ of the kingdom, the community of those who wait for the coming of the kingdom in power and great glory.

The kingdom is regarded as both present and future. It began with the person of the incarnate Christ, but its consummation is yet future. The church is God's agent whereby his reign is extended over the hearts and lives of men and women. Those who become members of Christ's church also become inheritors of his kingdom.

There has been a tendency on the part of some to see the kingdom as a new social condition realized by men and women and marked by Christian standards, while others have equated it with a restored theocratic kingdom on earth. The basic idea of the kingdom of God in Scripture is that of God's rule in men's hearts, a rule that will not reach its culmination until the return of Christ. Roman Catholic theologians have, generally speaking, identified the kingdom with the visible church, while the Reformers identified it with the invisible church.

B. The church as "extension of the incarnation." In the movement to "rediscover the church," some have gone beyond the bounds of Scripture and have described the church as the "extension of the INCARNATION." Those who speak thus make great play of the scriptural metaphor of the church as

"the body of Christ," but they overlook the fact that in the NT this figure is strictly limited in its application. Nowhere is the church equated with Christ. To press any such doctrine leads inevitably to claims of infallibility for the church, and to the erroneous notion of the church's participation with Christ in offering to the Father the sacrifice of Calvary through the Eucharist.

C. The church and the churches. Undoubtedly one of the most fundamental issues in current theological debate concerns the true nature of the church. It is necessary to stress that the NT never countenances the possibility of a believer living his Christian life apart from the context of the local church. A church in the NT existed as soon as a company of believers associated themselves together for regular worship, for instruction in the Word of God, fellowship, and the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper (Acts 2:41–42). The community of disciples was described as a church even before there was an established order for discipline and spiritual oversight (5:11). Church officers do not constitute the church even though they have an important God-given role to fill in it and on its behalf.

Greek Orthodox church of Lydia near Philippi.

The emphasis in the NT is on the church as a living organism rather than an organization. It is the presence of the living Lord that authenticates the local church, which in turn is an expression of the universal church. It is of note that in comparison with the meticulous detail given to Israel concerning tabernacle and priesthood, little is said in the NT concerning church order and administration, although the qualifications of those who hold office are clearly enunciated. The picture presented by the NT would seem to suggest that the true unity of the church is best expressed through a considerable variety of external forms. In the NT are found local Christians in fellowship with one another, but not linked organizationally with those in another locality.

F. J. A. Hort, referring to the teaching of the epistle to the Ephesians, writes: "Not a word in the Epistle exhibits the One Ecclesia as made up of many Ecclesiae. To each local Ecclesia St. Paul has ascribed a corresponding unity of its own; each is a body of Christ and a sanctuary of God: but there is no grouping of them into partial wholes or into one great whole. The members which make up the One Ecclesia are not communities but individual men. The One Ecclesia includes all members of all partial Ecclesiae; but its relations to them all are direct and not mediate" *(The Christian Ecclesia* [1897], 168).

The conclusion of Newton Flew is that "The Ecclesia of God is the People of God, with a continuous life which goes back through the history of Israel, through prophets and martyrs of old, to the call of God to Abraham; it is traced back further still to the purpose of God before the world began. The origin of the Ecclesia lies in the will of God" *(Jesus and His Church* [1943], 181). As far as the ministry of the church is concerned, many are in accord with the sentiments expressed by T. W. Manson: "There is only one essential ministry in the church, the perpetual ministry of the Risen and ever-present Lord himself. All other ministries are derivative, dependent and functional. All ministries are functions exercised by the Body of Christ through organs which are organs of the Body" *(The Church's Ministry* [1948], 100).

Just as the church is of God's creating, so is its unity. The believer's part is not to create it but to maintain and express it. The NT does not necessarily involve the forming of an elaborate interchurch organization. In the apostolic era no one church had superiority over any other, and no earthly center was regarded as the headquarters of the church on earth. As Alan M. Stibbs has pointed out, "When local congregations are referred to in the New Testament, they are not collectively called 'the church'; that is, they are not thought of as constituent parts of one organized earthly institution. Rather, they are explicitly and surprisingly called, in the plural, 'the churches'…cf. Rev. 2:7; 1 Cor. 11:16" *(God's Church* [1959], 66).

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see J. Bannerman, *The Church of Christ, 2* vols. [1868]; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Church*[1976]; D. Watson, *I Believe in the Church* [1979]; R. J. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting* [1980]; D. A. Carson, ed., *The Church in the Bible and the World: An International Study* [1987]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], chs. 44–47; E. P. Clowney, *The Church* [1995]; E. Ferguson, *The Church of Christ: A Biblical Ecclesiology for Today* [1996]; D. J. Harrington, *The Church according to the New Testament: What the Wisdom and Witness of Early Christianity Teach Us Today* [2001]; R. F. Collins, *The Many Faces of the Church: A Study in New Testament Ecclesiology* [2003].)

G. W. KIRBY

church government in the apostolic age. This article is restricted to the biblical teachings concerning the organization and government of the church during the apostolic period. The writings of

the church fathers, such as those of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, IGNATIUS of Antioch, and others, as well as the DIDACHE, reflect later traditions. Consequently, no reference is made to these sources. See also CHURCH VII.

1. Christ's teaching concerning the church and its government
2. The organization and government of the early church
    1. The Hebrew-Christian church
    2. The expanding church
3. Leadership of the early church
    1. The apostolate
    2. Leadership in the local churches
4. The churches and the church
    1. Church councils
    2. Cooperative endeavors

I. Christ's teaching concerning the church and its government. The first NT use of the word *church* in a generic sense was by Jesus Christ. His teaching concerning the church was both explicit and implicit. His comments regarding the future ministry of his disciples as a body and the propagation of the gospel through them were more abundant than his specific teachings about the church. (See Matt. 18:23–35; 22:1–14; 25:1–19; Lk. 13:24–30; 19:11–27; 24:36–53; et al.)

Christ's statement to PETER, "on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it" (Matt. 16:18), is perhaps his most specific teaching on the subject. Christ taught that his church (*ekklēsia G1711)* would be built and that the powers of evil would be unable to prevail against it. He also taught that human beings would share in the administration of the spiritual authority promised to the church (16:18–19). Later in his ministry, Christ referred to the church as the setting for the arbitration of spiritual problems that could not be settled otherwise (18:15–20). In the same passage he implied that his disciples, particularly the Twelve, would exercise authority in such disputes and in their subsequent settlement.

Some have stressed the fact that the term *ekklēsia* was used in several ways and can refer to any congregation or assembly of individuals, such as Christ's immediate followers, as well as the church in the NT sense of that word. It is clear that Peter understood these verses with respect to his fellowship with Christ's followers (Matt. 18:21–22). However, the principles taught in this passage apparently were followed in the settlement of disciplinary cases in the early church. Numerous less explicit statements, which some interpret as applying to the church, occur in the four Gospels. Christ's explicit teachings include the following: (1) his church would be built; (2) its spiritual power would be invincible; and (3) it would be marked by human leadership and jurisdiction. Peter's confession of Christ as the Son of the living God is one of the basic tenets of the church. It was not until after the Day of Pentecost that the church began to fulfill its ministry as predicated by Christ, although the exercise of apostolic authority and ministry was evident earlier.

II. The organization and government of the early church. Following the ASCENSION OF CHRIST into heaven, the church emerged as a spiritual fellowship under the immediate direction of the apostles and gradually developed into a flexible but reasonably structured organization. It seems that as long as the church was predominantly Jewish and located in Palestine, its organization was relatively simple. As the church began to grow in size and spread throughout the Roman empire, its organization

became more complex and more clearly defined. Nonetheless, even at the close of the apostolic period, the organization of the church remained relatively simple.

A. The Hebrew-Christian church. The first group meeting of the followers of Christ after the ascension was in an upper room in Jerusalem (Acts 1:13). In this small assembly, Peter served as spokesman for the group. At that time a decision was made concerning a replacement for the office in the apostolate vacated by JUDAS ISCARIOT. This decision was reached by means of casting LOTS (v. 26). This particular approach with respect to finding the will of God is not mentioned elsewhere in the NT. However, the act indicated a concern to

The early Jewish Christians gathered under the apostles' leadership at Solomon's Portico (colonnaded porch on the left). Reconstruction of 1st-cent. Jerusalem (looking SE).

find the will of God in matters relating to the staffing of the apostolic ranks. Following the descent of the Holy Spirit, church offices were filled by individuals who gave evidence of divine appointment by the possession of *charismata* or SPIRITUAL GIFTS and who possessed the qualities of life required for the offices involved. It should be mentioned that prerequisites for the filling of the vacancy created by Judas, such as being a witness to the resurrection, were not overlooked in the use of lots. After Pentecost the role of the HOLY SPIRIT in the bestowal of gifts was given preeminence, and the use of such procedures as the casting of lots diminished and evidently lost favor in the church (Acts 6:5–6; Eph. 3:7–8).

1. Organization. Administrative and governmental functions in the earliest phases of the church's history were predominantly in the hands of the apostles. These men served as preachers and administrators in the early church (Acts 1:15–26; 2:14–36, 41–47; 5:1–11). As the church grew in size, the apostles delegated certain administrative tasks to other men in the church (6:1–7). These men, seven in number, were chosen on the basis of their manner of life and were said to be "full of the Spirit." Several of these men, STEPHEN and PHILIP, for example, were active in the preaching of the gospel and in the baptism of converts (6:8—7:60 and 8:26–40). See DEACON. Evidently the ministration of the ordinance of BAPTISM in the early church was not restricted to either the apostles or to the deacons; for example, the disciple ANANIAS, not specifically mentioned either as an apostle or

as a deacon, baptized Paul (9:10–19). The laying on of hands, a Jewish custom, was evident in the practices of the early church. See HANDS, LAYING ON OF. This custom was practiced on several occasions, such as at baptisms and in the setting apart of the leaders of the church for special tasks (6:6; 8:17–19; et al.).

In addition to the apostles and deacons who served in various capacities as preachers, teachers, and evangelists, mention is made of prophets (Acts 11:27–28) and elders (11:30) in the early period of the church's history. PROPHETS evidently possessed the gift of prophecy and were recognized accordingly by the church. Such individuals seemed to function as spokesmen for God to the churches and to individuals. Although no mention is made of the precise role of elders in the earliest phase of the church's history, this office was recognized in the Jerusalem church. See ELDER (NT). Apparently these elders were in charge of the distribution and oversight of the physical properties of the church and were involved in certain additional administrative duties in the Jerusalem congregation. The precise relationship between "deacons" and "elders" at this stage in the development of the church is not clear.

2. Government. The government of the Palestinian church seemed to be defined less clearly than that of the church at later stages. The apostles apparently exercised authoritative roles (Acts 4:32—5:11; 2:41–47). Their authority was not questioned and was apparently well accepted by the early believers. As the church grew, the apostles delegated some of their administrative authority, but remained the final authorities under God in spiritual matters (6:1–7; 8:14–25; 9:26–31). One of the first instances recorded in the NT where apostolic authority was questioned was in regard to whether or not Peter should minister the gospel to the Gentiles. It appears that factions existed at this early date and that the "brothers," along with the apostles, were beginning to exercise a greater voice in the government of the church (11:1–18). Apparently by the time that the gospel began to spread to the Gentiles, the decision-making procedures followed by the early church included the interaction of the apostles and brothers, with the apostles retaining their traditional authority in spiritual matters. It seems that in all decision-making and administrative procedures, the apostolic and/ or congregational authority was heavily dependent upon the revealed will of God.

B. The expanding church. As the church expanded into the various parts of the Roman empire, its organizational structure retained its early form and adjusted to the demands of its changing environment.

1. Organization. As Christianity spread throughout the empire, the offices and many of the customs of the Palestinian church were retained and to some

Mosaic of Jesus on the throne with a Byzantine emperor paying homage, representing the Christianized Roman government of the 4th cent. and later in the eastern empire. From the Church of St. Sophia in Istanbul (Constantinople, earlier Byzantium).

extent more clearly defined. By the time Paul wrote to the church at Ephesus, he described specific functions in the church "to prepare God's people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may be built up" (Eph. 4:12). He stated that apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors and teachers were the gifts of Christ to the church for the fulfilling of this purpose. Paul taught that the ability to perform such tasks in the church was "according to the measure of Christ's gift" (4:7 NRSV), and that individuals were given spiritual gifts that enabled them to serve Christ and direct the affairs of the church.

Paul taught that those spiritual gifts which were related most closely to the building up or edifying of the church as a body were to be desired highly (1 Cor. 12:28–31; 14:1–5, 12). The recognition of the possession of spiritual gifts and the prerequisite qualities of life for a given task in the church were considered as credentials for ordination by the church (1 Tim. 3:1–13; 4:14). The practice of ordination or setting apart of leaders for specific tasks by the laying on of hands was carried over from the Palestinian church to the Gentile church (Acts 13:3; 19:6; 1 Tim. 4:14; 5:22; 2 Tim. 1:6–14).

2. Government. The early church continued to recognize the final authority of the apostles even as it spread beyond the region of Palestine (1 Thess. 1:6; 2:13–16; et al.). However, the apostles delegated the government of local churches to the individual congregations and to those gifted individuals in their midst who possessed gifts of leadership (1 Cor. 12; 14; Phil. 1:1; Col. 1:7; et al.). Many of the epistles of the NT reflect an interaction between the apostles and the churches. Frequently the apostles would write the churches expressing their views on matters of discipline and church polity. (See, for example, the Galatian and Corinthian correspondence.) The government of

local churches, including the execution of discipline, was largely a function of the local congregations of believers.

These local congregations exercised authority with respect to the following matters: (1) admission to membership; (2) the exercise of church discipline; (3) the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper; and (4) related minor matters that did not require decisions of a higher nature, which were generally the function of the apostles. The precise nature of the interaction between the leaders of the local churches, the apostles, and the "brothers" or members of the churches is not absolutely clear. Various groups within the Christian church have stressed either the role of the congregation or the role of the elders and other local church leaders with regard to decision-making in the local churches.

It seems that the corporate life of the early church was marked by an interaction of all of the above mentioned groups. However, final authority in spiritual matters was predominantly in the hands of the apostles during the period covered in the NT. The widespread effusion of the Holy Spirit following the Day of Pentecost resulted in an increased activity among the "brothers" or members of local churches with respect to the exercise of prophetic gifts and other revelatory gifts or gifts of exhortation (see 1 Cor. 12). The increasing participation of the members of local churches in the congregational life of the church at times led to disputation. However, the local churches were in the habit of appealing to the apostles, or to their written directions in what is now the NT, as the final authority in such matters.

III. Leadership in the Early church. The NT mentions several distinct offices. These offices were functional in nature in that they were designed for a practical purpose, the building up of the body of Christ or church. See MINISTRY.

A. The apostolate. Paul places the office of an APOSTLE first in each of his lists or enumerations of NT ministries. The essential qualification required of an apostle was that he should have seen Christ after his resurrection (Acts 1:22; 1 Cor. 9:1). Following the suicide of Judas Iscariot, two individuals, Justus and Matthias, who possessed this qualification, were available among the one hundred twenty believers in Jerusalem. Matthias was selected to fill the vacancy. The twelve apostles were ordained by Christ to preach the gospel and to teach disciples (Matt. 28:19–20).

Apostolic authority was widely recognized in the early church, and the ministry of an apostle was referred to as a spiritual gift (Eph. 1:1; 3:7). The Greek word for "apostle" signified one who served as a messenger or envoy for another. In the NT sense the apostles were special messengers or envoys of Christ. The apostles performed such tasks as preaching the gospel, healing, evangelizing new fields, and organizing churches (Acts 1:8; 2 Cor. 11:28). In this latter sense, Paul referred to himself especially when he wrote to the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 9:1–2). That is, he considered that his right to be an apostle was based upon his having seen the risen Christ and also upon his planting of the Corinthian congregation as a result of his preaching ministry. He consequently referred to the Corinthians as the seal of his apostleship.

In the NT the term *apostle* is used in two different senses. First, the term is used to refer to the twelve apostles who were appointed by Christ during his earthly ministry. Paul seemed to consider himself on a plane equal to the Twelve, although he referred to himself as the least worthy of all the apostles for this high calling (1 Cor. 15:9). The Twelve were recognized as leaders of the early church, and Christ included them in several special promised blessings (Matt. 19:27–30; Lk. 22:28–30). The Twelve also are referred to as being related vitally to the founding of the church and are

promised blessings in accordance with their roles (Eph. 2:20; Rev. 21:14). Their views were held in high esteem by the churches, and they were instrumental in the writing of major portions of the NT. Paul writes that these apostles and certain other church leaders evidently were entitled to receive material support for their service in the churches. However, Paul and Barnabas, who also were considered apostles, engaged in secular work of their own free will. Apparently no restrictions were placed upon the apostles as to such activities (1 Cor. 9:6–18).

Second, the term was used in the NT (and also in the *Didache)* to refer to certain individuals who were not among the original Twelve: BARNABAS (1 Cor. 9:5–6), JAMES the brother of Christ (Gal. 1:19, though the meaning of this verse is disputed), and ANDRONICUS and JUNIAS (Rom. 16:7). Some believe that these "apostles" were individuals who were called to perform foundational work in the early church period. Paul referred to Barnabas in this light. It may be possible that the term *apostle* used in this general sense denotes the particular role that special messengers performed in the forming of the early church congregations (1 Cor. 9:1–18). Apostles, possibly in this second sense of the term, were tested by the local churches in order to ascertain the validity of their credentials (Rev. 2:2). However, no mention is made in the NT of a specific testing of the Twelve. Also, no mention is made of such apostles enjoying the same honors afforded to the Twelve and Paul. (See previous references in this article to the book of Acts and Rev. 21:14.) Once accepted by local churches, these apostles exercised spiritual leadership along with other duly appointed local church leaders. It seems that their ministries were frequently itinerant in nature (Acts 11:22–30).

B. Leadership in the local churches. The NT epistles make reference to certain individuals who assumed positions of leadership in the local churches. Such leaders were expected to meet various conditions regarding their personal lives and to possess the spiritual gifts prerequisite to their ministries (1 Tim. 3:1–13; 4:14–16; 5:17–22).

1. Elders. The Greek word for elder *(presbyteros G4565)* is used in the NT to define specific individuals who were in positions of leadership in the local churches. Such individuals were expected to maintain high personal standards and to be possessors of the spiritual gifts required for the task (1 Tim. 3:1–7; Tit. 1:5–9). The term *elder* is used in the Scriptures to refer to members of the Jewish SANHEDRIN, who were selected from respected members of the Jewish community, and to refer to a sort of heavenly sanhedrin or council, as well as early leaders in the church. (See Matt. 16:21; Mk. 8:31; Rev. 4:4, 10; 5:5–8, 11, 14; 7:11, 13; 19:4.) There is no mention of age as a prerequisite for service as an elder in the early church.

Many believe that the terms BISHOP *(episkopos G2176)* and elder (or presbyter) are used interchangeably in the NT. (Cf. 1 Tim. 3:1–9; 4:14; 5:17–22; Tit. 1:5–9. Note especially the interchangeable use of the terms in Tit. 1:5, 7.) Some who hold this view contend that the first term is functional, referring to the activities of those who serve as elders, while the term *elder* itself refers to the office. The terms *bishop* and *pastor* are cited as being synonymous also (cf. Acts 20:28). Pastors are referred to among the ministry gifts of Christ to the church (Eph. 4:11), but no mention is made of pastors in the description by Paul (1 Cor. 12). However, in this latter passage mention is made of gifts of government and teaching. Elders and bishops are not mentioned specifically in either list; yet pastors are included in the list in Ephesians.

The functions of elders included such matters as overseeing the disbursement of material gifts (Acts 11:30); governing or administering the affairs of the churches (1 Tim. 5:17); teaching (3:2); preaching the Word (2 Tim. 4:1–2); and generally caring for the church of God (Acts 20:17–35; 1

Tim. 3:5). Elders who performed their jobs well were to be honored accordingly and were apparently entitled to remuneration in accordance with their tasks (1 Tim. 5:17–18). Elders were subject to the discipline of the local church if necessary (5:19–20) and were to be chosen with great care (5:22; Tit. 1:5–9). In certain instances several elders were present in local churches (Acts 20:17). It is widely held today that pastors or bishops in the early church were synonymous with, and included in, the group referred to as elders. No evidence exists in the early church for the function of individuals in an official capacity as bishops with jurisdiction over a group of particular churches. JOHN THE APOSTLE, however, seemed to possess a close ministerial and almost fatherly relationship with the churches mentioned in the Apocalypse (Rev. 1:4). Likewise, PAUL seemed to enjoy a close relationship with the churches he established (see esp. 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians).

2. Deacons. The Greek term for DEACON (*diakonos G1356)* describes an individual who ministers or who acts as a servant. The first mention of the appointment of individuals to serve as assistants in the ministration of community properties is recorded in Acts 6. No mention is made at this time of the term *deacon,* although the ministry of these seven men is generally cited as the first function of deacons in the NT. By the time Paul wrote his first epistle to Timothy, the ministry of deacons was recognized in the church, and the qualifications for service in this capacity were fairly well defined (1 Tim. 3:8–13). When Paul addressed the church at Philippi, he greeted the overseers and deacons (Phil. 1:1).

Deacons were proved or tested prior to official recognition by the churches. They were expected to be upright in character, faithful, monogamists (or husbands of one wife), and men who directed the affairs of their own homes with discretion. Their wives were expected to be sober-minded and faithful. The precise relationship between elders and deacons is not clear, but bishops or pastoral overseers are considered as distinct from deacons toward the close of the apostolic period.

3. Teachers. The office and gift of TEACHER is mentioned in both of Paul's lists of ministerial gifts to the church (1 Cor. 12:28, where it ranks third; Eph. 4:11). Not all believers were considered to be gifted in this capacity (1 Cor. 12:29). Barnabas was mentioned, along with others, as serving in the capacity of teacher prior to his being set aside for his missionary or apostolic ministry with Paul (Acts 13:1–3). The gift of teaching was to be received soberly and patiently (Rom. 12:7); and apparently false teachers crept into the early churches (2 Pet. 2:1; Tit. 1:11). Such individuals apparently were in a position to damage the total ministry of the early church and were to be avoided (Tit. 3:9–11). The overseers or bishops of the early church were expected to be "able to teach" (1 Tim. 3:2). Some believe that the office or ministry of teacher is similar to the catechists of the synagogue, such as those who heard and questioned Christ (Lk. 2:41–50). The precise nature of this ministry gift in the NT is not clear.

4. Other leaders. In addition to the ministries cited above, a number of additional offices existed in the early church. Several of these functions were assumed by the leaders cited earlier, that is, the apostles, elders, and deacons. Prophets were evident in the early church and seemed either to reside in certain localities or to minister in an itinerant fashion as the need arose (Acts 11:27; 13:1; 15:32; 1 Tim. 1:18; 4:14). These prophets were respected by the churches and were active in the setting aside of individuals for specific ministries. They seemed to serve as the spokesmen for God. Yet, their utterances were not considered infallible and were subject to human error (1 Cor. 14:29–33). Prophets were considered to rank second in the Pauline hierarchy of ministerial gifts (12:28; Eph.

4:11). Not all believers were considered prophets, even though the gift of prophecy was abundantly present in the early church.

As mentioned, deacons, apostles, and pastors or elders seemed to possess various spiritual gifts and served often as prophets, evangelists (or proclaimers of the good news), and teachers. While all believers were in possession of one or more spiritual gifts, not all apparently possessed gifts that would enable them to minister the gospel as preachers or evangelists or apostles; nor did all believers possess spiritual gifts that would enable them to lead or administer the affairs of the church. Certain spiritual gifts of a lesser rank are referred to by Paul, such as the gift of helps and the ability to govern. It is possible that such gifts were closely related to ministries of elders, deacons, and other church leaders. In the NT church emphasis was placed upon the possession of SPIRITUAL GIFTS as a necessary condition for ministerial leadership.

IV. The churches and the church. From the outset of the church period, it was evident that an interrelation was present between the churches. The earliest center of church authority was Jerusalem. No particular authority was vested in the church at Jerusalem, but rather in the apostles who resided there. As the church expanded, greater attention was given to the authority of the apostles or their written correspondence than to any particular geographical center.

A. Church councils. The earliest church councils were held in Jerusalem. Mention is made of a group meeting in Jerusalem to decide the issue of Gentile admission to the church (Acts 15; cf. also Gal. 2:1–10, which may refer to the same meeting or to the earlier "famine visit," Acts 11:29–30). See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM. NO other mention is made of special church councils that included delegates from the existing churches throughout the empire. It was evidently the practice of the churches to communicate with one another and with the apostles whenever doctrinal and practical decisions necessitated the same. No explicit mention is made in the NT of communication between the local churches and some central or mother church such as the Jerusalem church.

Gradually recourse to apostolic convocations such as those in Jerusalem seemed to be replaced by recourse to their inscripturated teachings recorded in the Epistles and the four Gospels. No mention is made of the convening of church councils after Acts 15, although Christians did turn to such practices following the close of the apostolic period. No directions are provided in the NT instructing the churches to turn to some central authority for direction; rather, churches are exhorted to rely upon the Word of God as their source of final authority (2 Tim. 3:14–17; 4:1–4; Tit. 1:7–9). It seems evident that such references to the Word of God are synonymous with the Scriptures.

B. Cooperative endeavors. The NT mentions several cooperative ventures among the churches (Rom. 15:1, 26–27; 2 Cor. 8:19; Gal. 2:10). The churches were in the habit of contributing together to special funds for various benevolent purposes (Acts 11:27–30), and frequently exchanged friendly greetings and prayerful concerns (Rom. 16:3–4, 5, 16; 1 Cor. 16:19; 2 Jn. 13). A certain mutuality of purpose was recognized by the churches in such important tasks as the sending forth of missionaries (Acts 11:22–26; 13:1). (Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age Reprinted from Editions of St. Paul's Epistles* [1892], 137–246; F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia* [1914], 76–91, 189–217; M. Goguel, *The Primitive Church* [1964], 95–254. See also bibliography under CHURCH.)

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church worship. See WORSHIP.

churches, seven. See REVELATION, BOOK OF THE, VI.

Chushan-rishathaim koo'shan-rish'uh-thay'im. KJV form of CUSHAN RISHATHAIM.

Chusi ky*oo*'s*i* (Χους; Codex A, Χουσει). A place "beside the Wadi Mochmur" near which part of the army of HOLOFERNES encamped when besieging the Israelites at BETHULIA (Jdt. 7:18). It is probably to be identified with the modern town of Kuzi, on Wadi Mochmur, a tributary of the Jarkon River (see Y. Aharoni et al., *The Carta Bible Atlas* [2002], 157 and map 212).

Chuza ky*oo*'zuh. See CUZA.

ciel. This English word (now spelled "ceil") is used by the KJV to render several Hebrew verbs meaning "to cover, to panel" (2 Chr. 3:5; Jer. 22:14; Hag. 1:4; Ezek. 41:16). See PANEL.

Cilicia suh-lish'ee-uh (Κιλικία *G3070)*. A region of varied character in the SE of ASIA MINOR. The derivation of the name is irrecoverable, but it must be native and ancient, for the area was known as Kizuwatna by the Hittites, and Khilakku by the Assyrians. As is not unusual with geographical terminology in the great peninsula, the name Cilicia could be used in several ways. It is sometimes applied to the whole of the mountain region of southern Asia Minor, but in historical times commonly signified a region of two sharply different characters, Cilicia Tracheia (Aspera) or Rough Cilicia, and Cilicia Pedias (Campestris) or Level Cilicia. The former was the rugged limestone highland of the central Taurus range, the latter the fertile plain between the Taurus and Amanus mountain groups and the sea.

Cilicia Tracheia was a wild, uncivilized region, the ancient haunt of the notorious Cilician pirates, but seems also to have been used by the Egyptians as a source of ship timber. Cilicia Pedias was of agricultural importance. It was also a borderland between E and W, one of those areas where the movements of two worlds were felt. Travelers who crossed by the great highway traversing the Cilician Gates, the majestic pass through the Taurus mountains, and the corresponding Syrian Gates in the Amanus highlands, passed from Asia Minor into SYRIA with the sense that on the journey they had traversed a borderland of both regions, a place of mingling cultures. This feature was not without significance in the cultural and spiritual training of PAUL of Tarsus.

The HELLENISM of which Paul was a symbol began with an infusion of Greek immigrants into the coastal regions of Cilicia in prehistoric times. Greeks settled and founded their cities as late as the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. The chief settlements were Soli, Mallus, and Alexander-ad-Issum. TARSUS was not primarily a Greek foundation, but rather Cilician, yet it became a key center of Hellenism and a confluence of E and W. The cities generally clung to the fertile, alluvial plain with its gently undulating contours, seldom more than a few feet above sea level, where the moist heat was not conducive to a vigorous municipal life. Tarsus was the exception. It was closer to the first lift of the Taurus foothills. The city itself was some 10 mi.

This mountainous region of Cilicia connects Tarsus to the region of Cappadocia. (View to the N.)

from the coast, at about 80 ft. above sea level, but immediately behind it the land rose in swelling hills to the Taurus highlands, affording an opportunity for escape from the coastal heat, which no doubt played a part in the city's history.

It was a feature of the great cultural phenomenon of Hellenism, and the associated penetration of the eastern Mediterranean by Greek migrants, that its progress and influence continued amid the political ebb and flow of imperial powers. Cilicia Pedias had a period of vassalage, from 850 B.C., under the Assyrians, after the first Greeks had settled on the coast. Persian rule followed, but the Persian administration, which was notably loose in its provincial structure, allowed the local Cilician princes to function in its name. Thus Xenophon tells in his *Anabasis* how the army of Cyrus the Younger, satrap of Sardis, in which the Ten Thousand were mercenaries, crossed Cilicia and found it ruled by a king named Syennesis. His capital appears to have been Tarsus.

It is recorded that Cilicia provided the Persian armada against Greece with 100 ships. The whole area was one in which any power based to the E had necessarily to control the interests of its own frontier security. As a result of the strong hold of the Seleucids of Antioch, and the attempt of the Ptolemies of Alexandria to intrude, they sought to penetrate Asia Minor and to turn the rival Syrian flank (see PTOLEMY; SELEUCUS). There is evidence that the Ptolemies were actually in control of Cilicia for the half century from 246 to 197 B.C. It was during the Hellenistic period that the large Jewish DIASPORA found lodgement in the Cilician towns, notably Tarsus.

The Romans, whose search for security and stability in the eastern Mediterranean had brought them into Asia Minor in the 2nd cent. B.C., established provincial rule in Cilicia in 102 B.C., but this constituted little more than a chain of bases along the coast. Cilicia was, in fact, a PROVINCE in the political and nongeographical sense of that Roman term. It was a "sphere of duty," and the governor in charge was the custodian of Roman interests in the S and E of Asia Minor generally, and on the adjacent coasts. It was a roving command, and the republic's preoccupations over fully thirty-five years precluded any great show of power in the area. The famous campaign of POMPEY in 67 B.C. against the Cilician pirates reveals how tenuous Roman control was until this drastic clearance of the area was forced upon the republic by the lawlessness and audacity of the sea robbers. It was at this time that the inland boundaries of the province were fixed. The frontier was high on the Taurus, "the natural geographical boundary between the Cilician land, steamy with the moist heat of its well-watered soil, and the broad lofty and inclement mountain region of Taurus, backed by the high central

plateau of Anatolia" (W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of Saint Paul* [1908], 93).

Among the Roman governors of Cilicia was the statesman and orator Cicero, who, most unwillingly, undertook the task in 51 B.C. Cicero wrote much in his voluminous correspondence about his governorship, and the record is illuminating. A. L. Irvine (*Cicero's Correspondence: A Selection* [1933], 170) comments on the letters of the period: "No phase of Cicero's career gives him a better title to our respect.…He had a vast province to administer, covering…some 40,000 square miles, while the client kingdom of Cappadocia added to his responsibilities. He succeeded a governor of the worst type in Appius Claudius, and suffered grave embarrassments from the pressure put on him by influential people at home to recover debts or exorbitant interest on them. Nothing could show more clearly how impossible it was for an honest governor to do much permanent good under the system of one-year commands, so long as there was only a corrupt clique to whom the rulers of provinces were responsible. We can understand why such posts were coveted by the unscrupulous, when a man who took not a penny beyond his allowances and often less, could, after a year in office, leave a small fortune in a bank at Ephesus. The eastern frontier was none too safe, and Cicero's troops were inadequate to meet serious trouble. But Cassius defeated a Parthian raid on Syria in 51, and next year domestic complications kept the enemy quiet. Still, Cicero's time did not pass without military experience. In the autumn of 51 he had cause to chastise certain hill tribes within his eastern border, and with his brother's aid the campaign was well conducted. He clearly enjoyed his success, was saluted Imperator by his men, and conceived a hope, afterwards somewhat embarrassing to him, of obtaining one of the cheap triumphs so easily awarded in those days."

With the empire came the end of unbridled corruption and began the era of sound organization that won the empire the regard of the war-weary world. AUGUSTUS, with his practical good sense, reorganized the eastern Mediterranean and broke up Cilicia into its distinct geographical parts. Tracheia was attached to Galatia and Pedias to Syria, an arrangement that survived for the best part of a century. VESPASIAN reunited the areas in the reconstituted province of Cilicia.

The Roman citizenship of a section of Tarsian Jews possibly dates from the settlement of the eastern regions by Pompey in 65/64 B.C. It was because of this that PAUL was born into the coveted privilege. Jews of Cilicia were found disputing with STEPHEN in Jerusalem (Acts 6:9), but it is not known who carried the Christian gospel to the province. It could have been Paul himself, who was proud of his native city (Acts 21:39), and would undoubtedly rank it high among his priorities of evangelism (Acts 15:23; Gal. 1:21). It is interesting to mark in both of these NT contexts how closely Paul associated Cilicia with Syria. Cilicia still looked E, but the western world was on the Taurus. The area was still a bridge. Evidence seems to point to a strong Christian element by the end of the 1st cent. Fourteen major centers of Christian activity were identifiable by the end of the 3rd cent. (See also Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.2 [533–51]; 14.5 [667–76]; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 8; J. Tobin, *Black Cilicia: A Study of the Plain of Issus during the Roman and Late Roman Periods* [2004].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Cimmerians si-mihr'ee-uhnz (Κιμμέριοι [Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.6 et al.]). The Greek name of a people possibly referred to in the OT under the name GOMER. An individual named Gomer was the oldest son of JAPHETH and father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. 10:2–3; the name was also borne by Hosea's wife, Hos. 1:3). The people called Gomer are allied with the people of Togarmah in the army of GOG (Ezek. 38:6). They may have been the same as the group bearing the name Gimirrai in Assyrian inscriptions of the 8th cent. B.C. and following. Their homeland was in the

Ukraine, from where they migrated southward into ancient Urartu (modern E Turkey; see ARARAT) and became foes of the Assyrians. (Cf. E. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes* [1982], ch. 3; A. K. G. Kristensen, *Who Were the Cimmerians, and Where Did They Come From? Sargon II, the Cimmerians, and Rusa I* [1988]; A. Ivantchik [Ivanchick], *Les Cimmeriéns au Proche-Orient* [1993]). See also NATIONS II.A.

H. A. HOFFNER, JR.

cinnamon. An aromatic spice made from the dried inner bark of cinnamon trees in Asia. It is mentioned both in the OT (*qinnāmôn H7872*, Exod. 30:23; Prov. 7:17; Cant. 4:14) and in the NT *(kinnamōmon G3077,* Rev. 18:13). There is no doubt as to the name of the tree: it is *Cinnamomum zeylanicum.* It grows about 30 ft. high, and bears small, white flowers on spreading branches. The best cinnamon comes from three-year-old branches. The oil is distilled from the bark after it has been softened by soaking in sea water. This bark is graysmooth and often speckled with orange and greenish spots. Though today cinnamon is not liked as a perfume, the Hebrews in the olden days thought of it as a glorious scent. (See *FFB,* 108–9.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Cinneroth sin'uh-roth. KJV form of KINNERETH (only 1 Ki. 15:20).

Cirama suh-ray'muh. KJV Apoc. form of RAMAH #3 (1 Esd. 5:20).

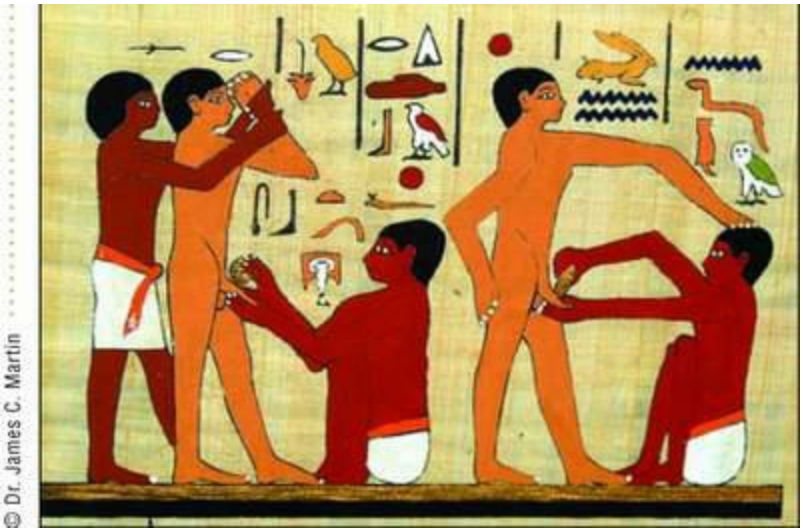
circle of the earth. The prophet Isaiah says that God "sits enthroned above the circle of the earth" (Isa. 40:22). The Hebrew word for "circle" here is *ḥûg H2553,* which occurs in two other passages (Job 22:14, referring to the "vault" or "dome" of heaven, and Prov. 8:27, which says that God traced the "horizon" of the ocean). The precise determination of the OT notion of COSMOGONY is difficult to pursue, as the Bible gives only the faintest clues, and it is unwise to extend those literary phrases by what is known from other Semitic peoples. The text neither assumes nor excludes the notion of a spherical earth. All the usage of the term indicates is that the horizon where the sea meets the sky was known by observation to be curved, that it was upon this arc that Yahweh set the limits of the seas, and that his power and sovereignty are shown by the fact that he is enthroned above it.

W. WHITE, JR.

circumcision. The surgical removal of the foreskin or prepuce, a covering of skin on the head of the penis of the male. Today many male babies born in the western world undergo this simple operation in infancy because of hygienic or cultural considerations. In the Bible, however, it refers specifically to a religious ceremony in which someone is circumcised. The noun *circumcision* (derived from Latin) translates Greek *peritomē G4364;* the cognate verb, *peritemnō G4362,* means "to cut around." In Hebrew the verb *mûl H4576* always refers specifically to circumcision (the noun *mûlâ H4581* occurs only once, Exod. 4:26).

In biblical times circumcision was practiced widely among the W Semites, including the Hebrews (it is also attested in numerous societies throughout the world). Numerous references suggest that circumcision became a mark of racial and cultural pride. The PHILISTINES and later the Greeks were derisively referred to as the "uncircumcised" *(ʿārēl H6888,* Jdg. 14:3 et al.; *aperitmētos G598,* Acts 15:1 et al.; cf. *akrobystia G213* [lit., "foreskin"], Rom. 3:30 et al.). The Hebrews seem to have realized that circumcision promotes cleanliness. In time this was spiritualized, suggesting that

the circumcised were holy while the uncircumcised were spiritually corrupt. It thus functioned as a sign or SYMBOL of purification and commitment to the covenantal relationship with God (cf. Christian BAPTISM). For some Jewish thinkers it became



Circumcision motif found on the tomb paintings at the Saqqara pyramids. Modern replica painted on papyrus.

more than a symbol; it became a necessity. One had to be circumcised to become a member of the covenant community. A cause-and-effect relationship was visualized. This belief was carried over into the early church and became a major point of contention in its first decades. PAUL was plagued by this issue throughout his ministry (Acts 15:1–31; 16:1; 21:17–32; Gal. 2:1–10; 5:1–12).

I. Theories of origin. Yahweh is credited with introducing circumcision as a sign of the COVENANT (Gen. 17:10–14). The shedding of blood through cutting is universally associated with covenant making, both in the OT and in the ancient world more generally. Given within the setting of ABRAHAM's failure to have children by SARAH, circumcision may have meant symbolically: "I am yielding my powers of procreation, my stake in the future to Yahweh; I am becoming totally dependent upon him, so if I have descendants enough to be a great nation, it will be Yahweh's doing, not my own." One can well imagine that this was the supreme sacrifice for the ancient patriarch. This theory of origin is called *sacramental operation.* Some scholars, however, doubt the authenticity of the Genesis account, and studies of circumcision practices by anthropologists have issued in several naturalistic theories of the origin of this practice. Egyptian tomb art, moreover, depicts the practice of circumcision prior to Abraham's sojourn there. Abraham would have been familiar with the practice before the events described in Genesis. Consequently, thoroughness and honesty demand consideration of these other theories.

Hygienic operation. In antiquity HERODOTUS suggested that the explanation for the Egyptian practice was personal hygiene. Certainly, the foreskin can be an incubator and carrier of filth and social disease. However, this explanation does not take account of the universal identification of circumcision with religious sacrifice.

Tribal mark. Many peoples tattoo or scarify themselves so that they will be easily identifiable to other members of their tribe. With the sharp distinction made by the Hebrews between those who were circumcised and those who were not, surely circumcision partook of this function in Hebrew life. However, since the mark of circumcision could not normally be readily apprehended, this cannot be the primary explanation of the origin of the practice.

Rite of passage. Many tribes around the world have practiced circumcision as a part of the ceremony marking the passing of males from the status of children to that of adults. Usually this occurs about the time of puberty. Some scholars have suggested this was the origin of the practice among the Hebrews, with it subsequently being moved to infancy because of the pain involved. There is no real textual basis for this reconstruction. The Hebrews set the eighth day (Gen. 17:11–12; Lk. 1:59) as the time to circumcise. For converts to JUDAISM, however, circumcision was something of a rite of passage. It marked their commitment to and entrance into the covenant relationship with Yahweh. Unfortunately, as noted in the OT (e.g., Deut. 10:16; 30:6; Jer. 4:4), many of the natural Jews were circumcised physically, but failed to realize the symbolic and spiritual significance of the act.

Vicarious human sacrifice. With the passing of the practice of human sacrifice, an expendable portion of every male was sacrificed as a substitutionary offering. However, there is no evidence that the Hebrews practiced human sacrifice, except perhaps for apostate groups under the influence of pagan religions (Lev. 18:21; Ezek. 16:20).

It is the writer's opinion that although some of these theories may be related to supporting causes for the practice of circumcision, there is no compelling reason to reject the account of origin as it appears in Gen. 17:10–14. This was a sacramental operation. Bonds are bound by BLOOD among the ancients. Covenants are sealed by shed blood. Circumcision, the cutting of one's genital organ, symbolized one's utter dependence upon and commitment to the will of Yahweh. Rightly understood, circumcision is a most meaningful rite.

II. The Jewish practice. The rite of circumcision was a sign that one was a member of the covenant community. There is no reason to doubt that circumcision dates to the origin of the Hebrew nation. Several early accounts concerning circumcision are of interest here, although they appear in difficult passages. (1) There is the account in Gen. 34 of the Shechemites submitting to circumcision and subsequently being slain; this record substantiates the contention that circumcision was adopted early. (2) The account of the circumcision of MOSES and/or his sons is a most difficult passage (Exod. 4:24–26); coming as it does immediately after a prophecy of the events of the initial PASSOVER, it would seem to have been a lesson for Moses concerning the power of God and the seriousness of the task presented to him. (3) JOSHUA circumcised all the Hebrew males as he entered the land and prepared for the conquest (Josh. 5:2–7); as the ancient writer explains, this was a season of forging the diverse groups who had comprised the train of the exodus into a united band so here circumcision partakes of "tribal mark." (4) DAVID's "bride price" for SAUL's daughter MICHAL was 200 Philistine foreskins, twice what Saul had asked (1 Sam. 18:20–29); this was a feat of valor and disdain for the enemy.

Circumcision is commanded in the law codes only in passing as part of a reference to the Passover (Exod. 12:48) and in the rites of purification following childbirth (Lev. 12:3). This infrequency of command would seem to indicate that circumcision was a widely accepted practice, not requiring lengthy prescriptions.

By the time of Jesus, circumcision was performed at the temple or synagogue by a priest; the naming of a child was a part of the ceremony (Lk. 1:59; 2:21). Earlier it was a family activity performed in the home. Interestingly, the Hebrew term for "father-in-law" (*ḥōtēn H3162)* may have originally meant "circumciser" (cf. the cognate Arabic term). Perhaps the father-in-law customarily performed this act on the sons of his daughters. It is usually thought, however, that the term alludes to the rite of circumcising young men just before marriage, a practice found outside Hebrew culture.

Among the Jews circumcision was a mark of distinction. The uncircumcised were viewed with

contempt. This ethnocentric attitude lay behind the controversy about circumcision in the early church. This ethnocentrism also blinded many to the real meaning of the rite. It became a form of external religious practice lacking spiritual content. As such it was condemned by the prophets. Jeremiah attempted to get at its real meaning by the concept of a circumcised heart (Jer. 4:4, alluding to Deut. 10:16; 30:6). Jeremiah's contemporaries believed that God was on their side. Not so, cried Jeremiah. Religion must be internalized. Symbols must not be emptied of their meaning and allowed to stand alone. Circumcision was meant to symbolize a commitment of oneself to God's will forever. It is an outward sign of a heart, the inner core of one's personality, dedicated to doing the will of God. Paul picks up this train of thought in Rom. 4:9–13, where he contends that circumcision is not the cause of God's promise to Abraham, rather it is an act of FAITH symbolizing Abraham's confidence in God's ability to do what he has promised.

The history of circumcision illustrated one of the basic paradoxes that plague religion. Man needs symbols as a means of expressing religious faith. Repeatedly, however, the symbols have become ends in themselves. They have lost their original purpose and power. Periodically symbols must be renewed or discarded.

III. Early church controversy. The first generation of Christians were Jews. In general, they continued to frequent the synagogues and temple (Acts 5:42; 6:7). They saw themselves as a reform movement within Judaism, not a new religion. The central issue in the early chapters of Acts is whether or not Jesus was the MESSIAH. Even during the persecution led by Saul (Paul), the Christians remained within Judaism (9:1–2). The essential mark of distinction was their experience of the power and activity of the HOLY SPIRIT in their lives.

However, as converts among the Gentiles began to multiply, a great controversy arose. Essentially the issue was this: since circumcision is the mark of the people of the covenant, and since Christ brought and is bringing the fulfillment of the covenant promises, is it not necessary for one to be circumcised (be a proselyte Jew) to participate in these promises? Or phrased another way: Does one need to become a Jew before he can be a follower of Christ? At Jerusalem a "circumcision party" was formed. Countering this group were Paul and his followers.

This controversy led to the first church council, an account of which is given in Acts 15. Although there are some problems of harmonization, Gal. 2:1 –10 is generally thought to be Paul's account of this council. (Many scholars, however, believe this passage refers to the earlier visit by Paul to Jerusalem mentioned in Acts 11:27–30.) Here Paul won the support of the church leaders. Circumcision was dropped as a prerequisite for being recognized as a member of the Christian fellowship. The only requirements were a turning from pagan worship and refraining from immorality (Acts 15:19–21). See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.

Although Paul won a victory at the council, the issue continued to plague him (GALATIANS and much of ROMANS address this issue). The JUDAIZERS followed him from city to city and finally at Jerusalem succeeded in getting him imprisoned by charging him with polluting the temple by bringing a nonproselyte Greek there (Acts 21). Likely the circumcision controversy caused Paul to rethink the whole of Jewish legalism and come to a clearer position concerning the primacy of faith (Gal. 2:15–21) and the sacrificial death of Christ. In this sense the circumcision controversy was not only the first but also the most important controversy in church history.

Paul taught that the symbol must not be confused with its meaning. Faith, not circumcision, was the basis of God's covenant with Abraham (Rom. 4:9–12). Circumcision of the heart—purity and commitment to doing the will of God—is what God desires (Rom. 2:29).

IV. Relevance of circumcision for today. Paul declared circumcision was not to be the key symbol of the new covenant. What has replaced it? BAPTISM (Col. 2:8–15) may be interpreted as such. Yet it suffers the same danger of becoming confused with that which it was meant to signify. Both Paul and the writer of Hebrews avoid this rather obvious identification. The more likely sacrament is that of the LORD's SUPPER, and Paul so labels the cup (1 Cor. 11:25). The advantage of this symbol is that it is to be repeated regularly during adulthood. Consequently, the believer is repeatedly confronted by the meaning of this symbol.

G. E. FARLEY

Cis sis. KJV NT form of KISH (Acts 13:21).

Cisai s*i*'s*i*. KJV Apoc. form of KISH (Add. Esth. 11:2).

Cisjordan. The area W of the Jordan river (see TRANSJORDAN).

cistern. Covered receptacles for the storage of WATER, used in the ANE from earliest times. They were cut into impervious CLAY or ROCK, and filled with rain water through drains or by other methods. In form, the cistern was frequently "pear-shaped," which made a small opening and cover possible, though a great variety of other shapes was used. The bottle shape in large-sized cisterns also made them useful for dungeons (Heb. *bôr H1014,* Jer. 38:6–13; cf. Gen. 37:22, 28; Zech. 9:11). It used to be thought by some that the plastered cistern was invented by the Israelites and that it enabled much wider settlement than was previously possible. The evidence now indicates, however, that cisterns existed as early as the first half of the 2nd millennium and that Israelite settlements depended primarily on springs for their water supply (see A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000–686* B.C.*E* [1992], 345).

Existing cisterns were to be taken over by the Hebrews in the conquest (Deut. 6:11). They came to be regarded as a measure of security, enabling cities to withstand military siege, and a symbol of peaceful family life (2 Ki. 18:31; Isa. 36:16). The progressive government of UZZIAH constructed many cisterns as public works (2 Chr. 26:10). Those cisterns no longer useful for water storage might be adapted for the storage of grain, or for tombs, and sometimes figured in accounts of personal experience and of crime (e.g., 2 Sam. 17:17–20; Jer. 41:4–9). Occasional skeletal remains are recovered by excavators (e.g., Macalister at Tell Gezer; Badè at Tell en-Naṣbeh; Callaway at Ai). Broken cisterns were used to describe the deities upon whom backslidden Israel was placing reliance (Jer. 2:13).

Examples of complex cistern construction from biblical times occur at Jerusalem, Samaria, Mareshah, Masada, and other sites. The cistern or well was a domestic gathering place and center of life in the ANE, and sometimes the object of strife. Many of those from ancient times are still in daily use. (See further N. Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* [1959], 94–97; R. de *Vaux, Ancient Israel* [1961], 238–40; Y. Yadin, *Masada* [1966], 26–29.)

M. H. HEICKSEN

citadel. This English term is used in the NIV primarily as a rendering of Hebrew *)armôn H810* (e.g., 1 Ki. 16:18) and *bîrâ H1072* (e.g., Neh. 1:1). It is probable that the word *citadel* should be applied only to the inner or final defense unit of the city. This might include the palace, with accessory

buildings, and sometimes the temple. It would be built on the highest part of the site for additional security. Citizens settled around the citadel, protected by a second or outer line of walls. The citadel was a miniature of the larger fortified city, with main wall, gate, and sometimes a moat. Small in area it was usually the scene of the city's last stand. Some recently excavated small citadel towers indicate that even the doors were eliminated, the final defenders entering by ladders. See also CASTLE; FORT; TOWER.

M. H. HEICKSEN

cithern. This English term is used by the KJV in the APOCRYPHA to render Greek *kithara G3067,* "harp" (1 Macc. 4:54). See MUSIC III.D.

cities, Levitical. See LEVITICAL CITIES.

cities of refuge. Among many ANE people there was long a custom of recognizing that specified shrines were places where criminals could seek safety and could not be apprehended for their crimes. In Israel six Levitical towns were set aside as cities of refuge, but only for those who killed another person accidentally (Num. 35:5–34; Deut. 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Josh. 20:1–9; passing references to these cities are found in Josh. 21:13, 21, 27, 32, 38; 1 Chr.

Aerial photo of modern Nablus (looking SW). At the bottom right of the photo is the excavated site of ancient Shechem, one of the cities of refuge.

6:57, 67). Criminals were not protected in these locations. The cities of refuge served to modify the harshness of an impersonal application of the law of retribution, which demanded punishment equal to the crime committed (e.g., Gen. 9:6; Exod. 21:12–14; Lev. 24:17; Ezek. 18:20). An adjunct of this law was the duty of a relative of the dead man to kill the murderer. No consideration was given to the nature of the act, whether deliberate or accidental.

The six cities of refuge are named in Josh 20:7–8: (1) KEDESH, located about 15 mi. N of the Sea of Galilee in the mountains that border the W side of the Hula Valley, in the territory assigned

Cities of refuge.

to the tribe of Naphtali; (2) SHECHEM, at the E end of the V-shaped valley that runs on a W-E line between Mounts EBAL and GERIZIM, in the range called the hills of Ephraim and within the territory given to the tribe of Ephraim; (3) HEBRON, also known as Kiriath Arba, located in Judah about 20 mi. S of Jerusalem; (4) BEZER, in the highland E of the Jordan River's entrance into the Dead Sea, which was in the territory of the tribe of Reuben; (5) RAMOTH, about 50 mi. farther N in the highlands of GILEAD, which had been assigned to the tribe of Gad; (6) GOLAN, 18 mi. E of the Sea of Galilee in BASHAN, within the tribe of Manasseh.

According to Exod. 21:14 a murderer could not find sanctuary at the altar. The implication is that the person who killed another accidentally could find temporary ASYLUM at the altar (in v. 13 there is a vague promise that a place would be provided for a more adequate asylum). The promise for asylum in a "place" is presented with some detail in Num. 35:9–34. There were to be three cities on the E side of the Jordan River and three on the W side that would serve as cities of refuge. This arrangement would remove the responsibility for avenging the accidental death of a man from his family to the larger context of the congregation. With some detail, this passage makes a sharp distinction between willful murder and accidental death. In the latter instance, the congregation—

presumably the people who lived in the home town of the man who killed accidentally and did not belong to the dead man's family—intervened, made an investigation and judgment on the matter, and delivered the unfortunate man to the nearest city of refuge.

The city of refuge was to serve as an asylum from the wrath of the AVENGER OF BLOOD. It was also to be a modified form of expiation from BLOODGUILT. Since the Israelite religious law did not provide for any sacrificial or ritualistic removal of guilt for the manslayer, the guilt of the man who killed accidentally was removed by the natural death of the high priest. Whether this man was the national high priest, the chief priest of the man's home town, or the chief priest of the city of refuge is not clarified in the text. After the death of the priest the man was free to leave his "prison" without the burden of the accident resting on him. Paying a fine or ransom could not free him sooner.

The short passage in Deut. 4:41–43 is concerned only with the designation of the three cities of refuge on the E side of the Jordan. On the other hand, Deut. 19:1–13 points to the three cities to be set up W of the Jordan, with the possibility that three more might be added later. Mention is made that roads leading to the cities must be kept in good repair. Qualifications for obtaining refuge are given in some detail; the elders of the congregation were designated to take charge of the investigation and to decide concerning the worth of each case.

It was only during the United Kingdom period that all six of the cities of refuge were actually under the control of the Hebrews so that they could function. During the remainder of independent Hebrew history, only Shechem and Hebron had continuous Hebrew control until they were destroyed in 722 and 587 B.C. respectively. Curiously, there are no stories in the OT that illustrate the functioning of these cities as places of refuge.

G. H. LIVINGSTON

cities of the plain. This phrase occurs twice in the OT (Gen. 13:12; 19:29; RSV, "cities of the valley"). The word "plain" translates Hebrew *kikkār H3971,* which most commonly designates a unit of money, the "talent," a disk of either gold or silver. Much less frequently it refers to the form in which bread is made, a "loaf," which also was more or less round and flat. When the word has reference to an area of land, the translators of the KJV evidently understood the word to suggest flatness and chose the word "plain." Since in some references the word is tied to the Jordan, giving the KJV reading, "the plain of the Jordan" (Gen. 13:10–11; Deut. 34:3; 1 Ki. 7:46; 2 Chr. 4:17), it is apparent that the valley floor of the JORDAN was intended. This assumption seems to have moved the translators of the RSV to prefer the word "valley." In contrast, J. Skinner (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis,* ICC, 2nd ed. [1930], 252) preferred the word "oval," and understood it to comprise the area from the S edge of the Sea of Galilee (see GALILEE, SEA OF) to the N end of the DEAD SEA. Others have understood that the area involved extended from just above JERICHO (1 Ki. 7:46; 2 Chr. 4:17) to the S end of the Dead Sea (Deut. 34:3).

SODOM and GOMORRAH are identified in Gen. 13:10 as the cities in the "plain," but the account of the invasion of the land by the four kings recorded in ch. 14 (cf. also 10:19) adds the names of ADMAH, ZEBOIIM, and Bela (see ZOAR). Genesis 14:3 seems to join with 19:17, 25, and 28–29 in identifying the "plain" with the Valley of SIDDIM at the S end of the Dead Sea. It was near MAMRE (Hebron) that ABRAHAM looked eastward "toward all the land of the plain" (19:28) and gazed upon the smoke that was ascending from the catastrophe in the valley below. This too would indicate that these cities were at the S end of the Dead Sea.

Genesis 13:10 records that prior to the destruction of these cities the area where they were located was of unusual fertility, meriting comparison with the Garden of EDEN and the delta of the

NILE River in Egypt. Some have held that this could be true only of the irrigated land about Jericho, but more recent exploration around the S end of the Dead Sea has convinced many that, in ancient times, verdant crops could have been produced along the SE side of the Dead Sea. To a limited extent, this is true today, but there is evidence that the shallow embayment S of the Lisan, a tongue-like peninsula that projects from the E shore, was not an ancient feature of the Dead Sea. Water pours into this southern area from four streams: the Seil ⁽Esal, the Seil en-Numeirah, the Seil el-Qurahi, and the Seil el-Feifeh. Assuming that at one time these streams flowed across the area now covered by salt water, each would adequately supply enough fresh water to support a settlement by means of irrigation.

Genesis 19 tells of the sudden destruction of four of the five cities. Zoar, to which LOT and his daughters temporarily fled, was spared because, presumably, it was located in the Wadi es-Safi and thus somewhat protected from the holocaust. All the natural ingredients that, according to this passage, were involved in the cataclysm are present in the S part of the Dead Sea. BITUMEN still oozes from the floor of the sea and floats on its surface. In 1953 Israel began pumping both oil and gas from wells drilled nearby. Earthquakes, which could release and ignite volumes of gas in this greatest of earth's faults, are common. There is still a small mountain of salt, called Jebel Usdum, at the SW corner of the Dead Sea. Earthquakes could also lower the valley floor enough to allow water from the upper part of the Dead Sea to overflow into the area where the cities were situated, so that presently their ruins would be under water.

A nearby site, Bab edh-Dhra⁽, has yielded pottery dating from 2300 to 1900 B.C. Apparently it was the religious high place of the cities of the valley. The fact that it fell into disuse early in the 19th cent. also points to the time when these cities ceased to have a population.

G. H. LIVINGSTON

Citims sit'ims. KJV Apoc. form of KITTIM (1 Macc. 8:5).

citizenship. In the NT, when the Greek noun *politeia* ***G4486*** and its cognates are used in a political sense, they refer only to the coveted *civitas* of ROME. Such contexts as "a citizen [*politēs* ***G4489]*** of that country" (Lk. 15:15) involve colloquial usage and mean no more than "inhabitant." Roman citizenship, like that of any modern state, depended primarily upon birth, but could also be conferred in the days of the republic by a special legislative act, and in the days of the empire by an administrative act. Rome was extraordinarily liberal in the bestowal of her citizenship, a policy unparalleled in the life of any other ancient city-state. Rome's liberality, as A. H. J. Greenidge remarks, "which spread the name of Roman citizen first over Italy and then over the greater part of the civilised globe—was not the outcome of any suddenly adopted policy, but persisted from the birth of the city to the world-embracing edict of Caracalla in A.D. 212" *(Roman Public Life* [1896], 133).

Bronze certificate (A.D. 79) granting Roman citizenship to a certain Marcus Papirius and his family after he had served 25 years in the Roman navy.

This is not to imply a consistently applied and universal policy of extension. Julius CAESAR, for example, was ahead of his contemporaries in his desire to extend the civic status. The commander of the Jerusalem garrison was openly envious of Paul, who was "born free" by virtue of the grant of *civitas* (possibly by POMPEY, but perhaps even earlier) to certain Jews of TARSUS. Colonies, too, like PHILIPPI, with their citizen élite, held a distinct and coveted position in the early empire in contrast to other cities and provincial proletariats. Nevertheless, the main movement is clear, and the consistent extension of the citizenship is obvious from surviving figures, and formed a bond of empire. Greenidge quotes some figures: "The male citizens who appeared on the census rolls were, at the close of the first Punic war (240 B.C.), 260,000; in 124 they had risen to 390,736; in 85, after the incorporation of the greater part of Italy, to 963,000. Under Augustus (28 and 8 B.C. and A.D. 14) the figures were 4,063,000, 4,233,000, and 4,937,000; and the census of Claudius (A.D. 47) gave a return of 5,984,072 *civium capita."*

The citizen had certain rights *(iura),* privileges (*honores),* and duties (*munera),* and these constituted its early political importance, an importance that eroded with the years and the coming of the principate. The *ius provocationis* (the *appellatio,* or APPEAL to Caesar) remained and was exploited by Paul. Among the duties was originally *munus militare,* or the obligation to serve in the army, but this disappeared. The vote or franchise (*ius suffragii)* became illusory under the principate. Senatorial *honores* could be expected only by the most eminent of provincial citizens. Certain civil rights of no mean value remained. The MAGISTRATES of Philippi were clearly alarmed to discover that they had imprisoned Roman citizens without proper trial (Acts 16:37–39), and the centurion's warning to his commander CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (22:25–29) revealed the serious concern in which the inviolability of a citizen was held. The same stories reveal the emerging importance of Roman citizenship. In the references involved, the word *Roman* is used for "Roman citizen," and it is clear that the status was beginning to take shape as a symbol of imperial unity.

The abstract term *politeia* occurs twice (Acts 22:28; Eph. 2:12), but Paul uses also the term *politeuma G4487* for the church's spiritual citizenship or "commonwealth" (Phil. 3:20), significantly mentioned in a letter sent to Philippi, a Roman colony, with its provincial élite of citizenry. He exhorted the same people to "live as citizens [from the cognate verb *politeuomai G4488]* worthy of

the gospel" (1:27, lit. translation). (See also A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship,* 2nd ed. [1973]; P. B. Manville, *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens* [1990]; R. S. Howarth, *The Origins of Roman Citizenship*[2006]; *OCD,* 333–35.)

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citron. This term (not to be confused with *citrus)* is properly used by the NIV to render Greek *thyinos G2591* (Rev. 18:12; KJV transliterates "thyine"; NRSV, "scented"). The fragrant citron wood was highly prized and much used in biblical days for cabinet making. It is alleged that Cicero paid the fabulous sum of one half million sesterces for a table made of this wood (PLINY the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 13.29 §§91–92). The citron tree is the *Tetraclinis articulata,* or the sandarac tree—a conifer of the CYPRESS family found in N Africa and on the Barbary Coast. (See *FFB,* 109–10.)

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city. Several words are used in the OT to refer to a city or TOWN. The most common is *ʿîr H6551,* which occurs more than one thousand times. Other terms include *qiryâ H7953* (found mostly in poetic passages, esp. in Isaiah) and its cognate *qeret H7984* (only in Job 29:7; Prov. 8:3; 9:3, 11; 11:14). The noun *šaʿar H9133,* "gate," is used to describe a function of the city as center of justice, notably in the book of Deuteronomy. It was not size or fortification that differentiated a city from a VILLAGE (e.g., *ḥāṣēr H2958,* "settlement"), but rather some kind of enclosure and especially the socioeconomic and judicial functions of the urban settlement. In the NT, "city" translates the common Greek term *polis G4484.*

I. Origins of urban life in SW Asia. The rise of cities has been termed the second great "revolution" of civilization. Unlike the earliest revolution—the domestication of plant and animals in Neolithic agriculture—the origins of urban life were more expressive of changes in the interaction of human beings with one another than in the interaction with their physical environment. Of course, the concept of surplus food, its production, and accumulation had first to be invented and valued, to make urban life possible. But the essential element that distinguished town from village life was the invention, development, and diffusion of a whole series of new institutions in greater size and more complex social character.

Too much reliance has in the past been placed by archaeologists upon the material evidence of monuments, fortifications, settlement layout, and so on, to describe and explain the origin of cities in the ANE. Now we are beginning to realize that the origin of urban life lies in the more intangible realities of social stratification and administration. Size too is an inadequate criterion of urban life. What is significant rather is the expansion of full-time specialists in nonagricultural activities. By such criteria, it appears likely that the first towns originated in MESOPOTAMIA in the middle of the 4th millennium B.C. (For an anthropological approach to origins of urban life in the ANE, see R. McC. Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society* [1966].)

K. M. Kenyon has argued that JERICHO appears with fortified walls and well-developed mud houses as early as 8000 B.C.; she classifies it as "urban." Little is known of the social organizations of this early settlement, and writing is absent. Under criticism from R. J. Braidwood, she concedes it might be "urban," c. 5000 B.C. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, commenting on Kenyon's material, accepts a date earlier than 6000 B.C. for Jericho as a "town." Professor V. Gordon Childe objects to such loose terminology as "urbanization" and contends that in addition to size, heterogeneity of occupation, public works, etc., writing is essential to the categorization of the "city," implying the existence of a

highly specialized nonagricultural group that has the necessary leisure to develop this complex skill. (See K. M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho* [1957], and *Archaeology in the Holy Land* [1965]; R.J. Braidwood and G. R. Willey, eds., *Courses towards Urban Life* [1962]; V. G. Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East,* 4th ed. [1952]; G. Parker, *Sovereign City: The City-State through History* [2005].)

If the presence of a literati class, associated with some method of formal education for the propagation of WRITING, is assumed to be the criterion for urbanism, then the earliest evidence of cities in Mesopotamia is soon after 3500 B.C. The earliest known cities (e.g., ERECH, ERIDU, UR) were in SUMER, the southernmost portion of the Tigris-Euphrates valley area. Kish and Jemdet Nasr, just to the N in AKKAD, are also very early towns. The steps in the transformation of the older village settlements into cities, a process that took many centuries, may be traceable in a number of these sites. Typically, these towns grew up around a walled precinct containing a temple area that was devoted to the main city-god and other deities.

At Erech, one temple was set on an artificial mound that was 40 ft. high and covered an area of c. 42,000 sq. ft. Streets were narrow, unpaved, and lacking adequate drainage. At Ur, excavations have shown a continued rise of street level with the accumulation of refuse. Houses were jumbled together, without planning, apart from the open spaces designed around the temples and government buildings. Special sections of the town later began to be lined with merchants, booths, and travelers' inns. Near the city's periphery resided the poorest people, and large numbers of agriculturists were found within the periphery of the Mesopotamian cities. Excluding the full-time farmers, it is likely that the largest cities housed 5 –10,000 inhabitants, though even in the 3rd millennium B.C. some were of imposing size: Ur had perhaps 24,000; Lagash 10,000; Umma 16,000; Khafaji 12,000. At the beginning of the first millennium, Ur had 34,000 within the walled city, and Greater Ur had at least 250,000 (C. L. Woolley, *Ur 'of the Chaldees',* rev. P. R. S. Moorey [1982], 213).

In the lower NILE and delta areas, some large walled communities began to be grouped into a number of independent, political units soon after 3500 B.C. Each contained large, cooperative irrigation projects to utilize the annual floods of the Nile. Writing is evidenced about 3100 B.C., and the written records begin to list the cities of MEMPHIS, THEBES, HELIOPOLIS, Nekkeb (El Kab), Abydos, etc. Built of more perishable materials, such as mud and wattle, and buried by the Nile alluvium, their material evidence is much more scanty than that of Mesopotamia. Furthermore, few large cities developed, as it became customary for each new pharaoh to change the site of his capital.

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Processional avenue at Thebes leading N to the Karnak temples.

Large cities, such as Thebes, with multistoried houses and a processional avenue, became significant only in late dynasties. The Egyptian evidence of the functions of social, political, and economic institutions is meager in contrast with the rich data available in the CUNEIFORM texts of Mesopotamia. We therefore know much less about the evolution of Egyptian town life. In addition to the royal cities, we have glimpses of pharaonic STORE CITIES such as PITHOM and RAMESES (Exod. 1:11). Egyptian architecture is devoted to the temples and tombs, that is, to the gods and the dead rather than to the transient dwellers of the earth. BRICK buildings were first imitated from Mesopotamia about 3000 B.C., and mud-brick houses later became the rule.

II. Cities in the OT. The earliest Palestinian town to be discovered thus far is JERICHO. Carbon 14 tests suggest possibly that a town of some nine acres in extent existed between the 6th and 5th millennium B.C. In the absence of other urban sites for another 3000 years or more in Palestine, it is premature to speculate whether Jericho is a unique phenomenon or not. Nor is there clear evidence that the Chalcolithic settlements evolved directly into the towns of the Early Bronze Age during the 3rd millennium B.C. This is the first great period of town formation, with evidence of towns encompassed by strong fortifications. At MEGIDDO and Khirbet Kerak the walls reached thicknesses of some 30 ft.

The great population centers were in the valleys during the Early Bronze Age, especially along the important coastal route. The towns were 5–10 acres in size, but at Khirbet Kerak, located beside the Sea of Galilee, the town covered fifty acres. The excavated sites reveal a destruction layer, followed by the AMORITE culture. The northern migrants represent one of the greatest and most decisive phases of the settlement of Palestine, which occurred at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. One ancient list enumerates some twenty towns and their districts in one group, and some sixty-four place names—mostly of well-known towns—are included in a later list. By now two inland towns, SHECHEM and JERUSALEM, had become major centers as key points on the KING'S HIGHWAY.

Following the HYKSOS invasion in the 18th cent. B.C., large towns with strong fortifications were added to or founded. The capital was HAZOR, occupying an immense rectangular area of over 175 acres, surrounded by a huge ramp; it was the largest Palestinian town ever built in the biblical period. It is still difficult to determine without further excavation whether these large Hyksos centers were true towns or just great military camps with perhaps concentration of chariot forces. The TELL EL-AMARNA letters of the royal Egyptian archives of c. 1402–1347 B.C. make it possible to distinguish in the period between Egyptian garrisons, district capitals, and royal cities. Generally, the high density of towns in the coastal plain was such that each town ruled a small hinterland, whereas the more isolated towns in the interior hill lands tended to have a different political control of larger territories, often with a capital such as Shechem or Jerusalem controlling lesser towns and villages as well within its sphere of influence. Presumably, considerable areas of the interior hill lands were still forested and unoccupied.

Following the Israelite settlement in the land, possibly in the 13th cent. B.C., the tribes of Israel changed their way of life from dwellings in booths and tents, following the herds and flocks, to settled agriculture and town life. Sometimes, as at BETHEL, an Israelite settlement was built upon the ruins of the Canaanite city soon after its destruction. At AI, MIZPAH, and SHILOH, reoccupation of the ruined

sites was delayed. Elsewhere the evidence suggests Israelite foundation of new settlements (e.g., GIBEAH, RAMAH, and GEBA). There is also evidence of small permanent settlements created in mountainous terrain, formerly forested, in upper GALILEE, EDOM, MOAB, and AMMON, in suitable clearings.

Y. Aharoni, who has made a detailed study of the Israelite settlement of the land (*The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979]), shows the importance of the preexisting network of Canaanite cities in influencing the invasion routes, stages of conquest, and subsequent phases of colonization made by the Israelites. By the use of the water cistern and the deforestation of the interior hills with iron tools, the Israelites created a new pattern of settlement. Now the interior hills became a new focus of urban life, and Jerusalem eventually came into its own. The contrast between the strongly fortified Canaanite cities of the coast and the small, poorly defended Israelite settlements at the beginning of the conquest of the land, was later reinforced by the invasion of the PHILISTINES from the sea in the 12th cent. B.C. Three of the Philistinian cities were on the VIA MARIS: GAZA, ASHKELON, and ASHDOD; two were in the SHEPHELAH: GATH and EKRON. Their threat led to concerted action from the Israelite tribes to the founding of the monarchy and the establishment of Jerusalem as a national capital in the eighth year of David's reign.

The significance of JERUSALEM as a royal capital was its federal significance. Originally a Jebusite fortress (see JEBUS), DAVID had captured it, and so it was neutral territory in relation to all of the rival tribes, each of whom might have quarreled over the choice of the site of the national capital. HEBRON, David's first capital (2 Sam. 5:5), could never have provided the necessary cohesion. Later, it was shared with SAMARIA as capital of the northern kingdom (1 Ki. 4:7–19). Some of the administrative districts were named after towns (Josh. 13:25–27), others were named after tribes, and it may be that this difference presented an internal tension that was never resolved. The town districts were essentially in the Canaanite areas conquered by David, where the major cities flourished. The unfair taxation of Judah vis-à-vis the conquered territories led to the revolt that broke up the kingdom (cf. 1 Ki. 4:21 –24) in the reign of REHOBOAM. The list of fortresses referred to in 2 Chr. 11:5–12 describes the nature of the defense of his kingdom. The town list of Josh. 15:21–62 dividing JUDAH into twelve districts was an ancient and hallowed

The city of Jerusalem played a crucial role throughout the history of Israel. (View to the N.)

one that was eventually canceled in the reign of HEZEKIAH, who regrouped them into four Judean districts. Though depleted of territory and population, these remained the frame of civic administration during the EXILE and the Persian period.

Compared to the 1,800 acres of NINEVEH and even the 240 acres of CARCHEMISH, the cities of

the OT in Palestine were small. However, there is the archaeological problem of identifying the walls and actual sites of many of the ancient towns. For example, there is still little positive evidence for the course of the walls of Jerusalem until postbiblical times. If George Adam Smith *(Jerusalem, 2* vols. [1907], 1:134–44) is right in advocating that "David's burgh" was on the southeastern hill or OPHEL, then it was no more than 14–15 acres. I. W. J. Hopkins *(Jerusalem: A Study in Urban Geography* [1970], 98) suggests the City of David on this site may have had about 3,000 inhabitants. If the MILLO built by David and SOLOMON (2 Sam. 5:9; 1 Ki. 9:15) is the terraces that expanded on the SE hill, then this could have been the next expansion outside the town to be included with new walls. Many scholars have believed that the SW hill was included into Jerusalem some time after the reign of Solomon. Recent evidence makes clear that by the time of HEZEKIAH the city had expanded to cover at least 120 acres, with a population of over 20,000. (Regarding the dramatic discovery of Hezekiah's wall, see N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* [1983], 46–54.) See also JERUSALEM II.B.

The other cities of Palestine also had modest proportions in OT times. The area of LACHISH did not exceed 15 acres, while GEZER at its greatest expansion was no more than 23 acres, the circuit of its outer wall being some 1,500 yards. TAANACH and MEGIDDO each occupied 12–13 acres.

Four characteristics of the biblical cities have influenced their sites, locations, and morphology. First is the stronghold character of so many of the towns. In Lev. 25:31 the village is distinguished from the city by its having no walls. The walled fortifications of cities are often impressive, and the common term *ʿîr* often is used in the restricted sense of a fortress. Larger settlements had their "strong tower" inside the city, such as THEBEZ (Jdg. 9:51). There are frequent allusions to the high walls, towers, and gates of the city (Num. 13:28; Deut. 3:5; Josh. 2:5, 15; 6:5; Neh. 3:1–3, 11, 25). The gate was a massive structure, often with a room over the gateway (2 Sam. 18:33), and with guards on the roof of the towers and gateways (18:24; 2 Ki. 9:17). The city walls were very thick; a width of 20–30 ft. was not unusual.

At SHECHEM, "the uncrowned queen of the land of Israel" (A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften,* 3 vols. [1953–59], 3:246), excavations have revealed a sequence of walls that well illustrates the technology of fortification of cities. The pre-Hyksos walls are free standing brick walls on stone sockets, c. 2.5 to 2.85 meters thick (c. 1750–1725 B.C.). This was succeeded by great earthen embankments of the early Hyksos (c. 1725 –1700 B.C.), and then followed by the cyclopean walls with great stone boulders. In the course of these stages of fortification, the configuration of the natural contours of these typical hill-top towns was altered significantly, leveled flat on top for the town, the slopes deliberately steepened, and flanked with great artificial ramps. (See G. E. Wright, *Shechem: The Geography of a Biblical City* [1965].) This is typical of the chariot fortress towns of the Iron Age, notably seen in Megiddo, Taanach, Beth Hakkerem, Beth Shan, and Debir.

A second trait is that, in contrast to the impressive works of fortification, the houses of Palestinian towns were generally small, and the streets very narrow. The street layout was a maze of crooked causeways and blind alleys. The only broad places (Neh. 8:1, 3, 16; Jer. 5:1) were at the intersection of main roads and especially near the city gates. At these public places, notably at the city gate, public business was transacted, law cases adjudicated, and markets held (Gen. 23:10; Ruth 4:1–11; 2 Sam. 15:2; 1 Ki. 22:10; 2 Ki. 7:1; Neh. 8:1). Some streets were devoted to bazaars (1 Ki. 20:34; Jer. 37:21).

A third trait of Palestinian towns was the sanctity of sites, either as the origin of the settlement or because of a long association with the town. HIGH PLACES or sanctuaries were commonly associated in Canaanite times with the veneration of springs of water and mountain tops, both topographic features of significance for later urban populations. At Gezer, Taanach, and other excavated sites,

rock surfaces pitted with cup marks of a sacrificial function have been laid bare, flanked by pillars of unhewn stone (Deut. 12:3; Hos. 10:1). In biblical times we have reference to the continued importance of such sacred centers: BETHEL during the time of the Judges (Jdg. 20:18), SHILOH at a later period (1 Sam. 7:16; 10:3), and then Jerusalem. Some were sites of special fortress-temples, identifiable sometimes by the term *migdāl H4463,* "tower," used as a prefix to place names (Josh. 15:37; 19:38; cf. Jdg. 8:8–9,17).

Finally, as WATER supply in an arid or semiarid climate was so essential, one or more springs in the vicinity of these towns was vital (Gen. 24:11). MESHA king of MOAB narrates in the MOABITE STONE: "And there was no cistern inside the town at Qarhoh, so I said to all the people: 'Let each of you make a cistern in his house!'" *(ANET,* 320). Such private systems of cisterns are characteristic of places like QUMRAN, MASADA, and other excavated sites of eastern Judea. Conduits and water tunnels too are typical of the Iron Age fortresses such as those discovered at Megiddo, Shechem, and Jerusalem. These were built for impressive distances, linking springs outside the defense system into the city, and becoming a standard technique for chariot fortresses (2 Ki. 20:20).

III. Cities in the NT. During the Maccabean wars, many of the Palestinian towns lost their fortification walls and were in ruins. See MACCABEE. When the Romans took control of the country after 63 B.C., and especially after the great town builder and client King HEROD held office (37–34 B.C.), cities were transformed and several created. SAMARIA, renamed Sebaste (Augusta), was reconstructed with new walls and towers enclosing an irregular oval nearly five-eighths of a mile in width. A huge temple over 225 ft. long was built, with the Forum on the E side of the temple. CAESAREA, on the coast between Mt. Carmel and Joppa, took twelve years to build (25 –13 B.C.). For most of the period A.D. 6–66, it was the seat of the Roman government in the country, where PAUL was tried before FESTUS and Herod Agrippa (Acts 25–26) and where the conversion of the Roman centurion (10:18, 22) led to the establishment of a Gentile church. According to JOSEPHUS, the harbor at Caesarea was the equal of ATHENS, if not larger; the area of its arena was slightly larger than even that of the Colosseum in Rome.

By the time of Christ, the central fort of the city of JERUSALEM was no longer on the lower hill of Ophel, S of the temple area, where it had been in OT times. A new wall had been built in the Hellenistic/Hasmonean period to enclose extramural growth to the N of the old city. The alignment is obscure, though excavations by J. B. Hennessy seem to show that the line was approximately that of the present N wall. A new wall was begun about A.D. 42 in the reign of Herod Agrippa to enclose the suburb to the N, which Josephus calls Bezetha. It was only completed, however, during the period of the first Jewish revolt in A.D. 66. The topography of Jerusalem also changed. For example, the Tyro-poeon Valley, which used to separate the eastern from the western sections of the city, was filled up partially with the refuse of centuries. The valley intervening between the temple and lower city was filled in when the fortress of ACRA was built.

Later, Herod the Great rebuilt a Maccabean fortress at the point where the second city wall approached the temple enclosure and named it ANTONIA, in honor of Mark Antony. The court of the Antonia is paved with huge limestone blocks that may be "the Stone Pavement" (Jn. 19:13). The Tower of Antonia was the place where Paul was imprisoned when he was rescued from the mob in the temple (Acts 21:30). Herod also rebuilt the temple and provided it with an enlarged courtyard, the southeastern part of which had to be supported by columns and immense vaults ("Solomon's Vaults"). A massive retaining wall was also built by Herod, of which the "Wailing Wall" on the W is typical (at least in its lower section). The temple itself was one of the most magnificent in the classical

world; and yet Jesus' prophecy of its destruction was literally fulfilled (Mk. 13:2) in A.D. 70 when the army of TITUS laid waste the whole city. Jerusalem was not rebuilt until after A.D. 132 when it was renamed Aelia; covering some 60–70 acres and possibly with 10–18,000 inhabitants, it was a poor substitute for the former splendors of the holy city.

Herod the Great built a number of other splendid fortresses and palaces in Palestine at Ascalon, Herodium (S of Bethlehem), Masada, Machaerus, Qarn Sartabeh (N of Jericho), and Jericho. They reveal in their mosaics, stone masonry, and other evidence, the opulence and prosperity of a wealthy period that collapsed after A.D. 70.

A distinct group of NT cities are the Hellenistic towns that came into existence in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. in TRANSJORDAN and at Scy-thopolis (BETH SHAN). With the coming of the Romans, these ten cities were banded together into the DECAPOLIS and placed under the political control of the Roman governor in SYRIA. The strategic importance of this eastern flank of the Roman frontier, and the preservation of Hellenistic vis-à-vis Semitic and Jewish interests, explain their identity (Matt. 4:25; Mk. 5:20; 7:31). Among the best known of these towns are Gerasa (Jerash) and Philadelphia (Amman), laid out as typical Hellenistic cities. GADARA, 5 mi. SE of Lake Tiberias, is however the only one connected with the ministry of our Lord, and even that reference is uncertain (Matt. 8:28). For though Greeks came seeking for him, his rural ministry was to "the lost sheep of Israel" (10:6).

Typical of the narrative of the Gospels is the rural atmosphere of JUDEA and of the tetrarchies administered under the house of Herod and the procurators. As A. H. M. Jones *(Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971]) has pointed out, the Ptolemaic system of villages, grouped into districts known as toparchies, prevailed in 1st-cent. Palestine. The village clerk administered the community as an official of the central government, and the commandant controlled the whole of the toparchy. A large village—possibly an *ʿîr* in origin—acted as the administrative center of the toparchy. (See also S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* [2005].)

These large villages often had the size of a city, with even 10–15,000 inhabitants, but with legal precision Mark, for example, calls BETHSAIDA a village (Mk. 8:22–27). Luke and Matthew do not concern themselves with the precision of Mark, using the two terms "village" and "city" indiscriminately. To them CAPERNAUM, GADARA, and Bethsaida are "cities" (Matt. 8:34; 9:1; 11:20–23; Lk. 4:31; 9:10), possibly because they were the head villages of toparchies. The parable of the talents (Lk. 19:17–20) is an allusion to this system of districts under the control of major villages.

The judge in the gospel narratives is also a feature of the Judean administration, doing what he likes in a very un-Roman and un-Greek way (Matt. 5:25; Lk. 12:58). Above him is the king, a petty tyrant, belonging to a world of satraps and other small rulers. That is to say, the Judean atmosphere of the Gospels is one of peasantry ruled by a succession of conquerors and their dependent princes. Towns were a matter of size rather than of a distinct form of government in the transitional period from the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. to the end of the 1st cent. A.D.

In the civic atmosphere of the Acts and the Epistles, a very different structure is felt. There is seen the classical Greek city development, where the people of the *polis* run their own municipal affairs, administered within their own territory. Their city councils are large, with 500–600 members in each major city. Citizens are enfranchised, and the sense of justice for the rights of the individual are reinforced in city life. However, whereas the Roman cities of the western Mediterranean were by NT times an extension of Rome itself, the cities in the E were more provincial, more Hellenistic in culture, with often only a minority of Romans in the cities, sometimes constituting a town within a town.

In the book of the Acts, ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, LYSTRA, and CORINTH have as many Hellenes and Jews as Romans in their streets (Acts 13:14; 16:2; 18:4). It is primarily within these hellenized cities that the spread of Christianity takes place in a strategic awareness of the privileges and opportunities for the dissemination of the faith in these self-contained communities. Apart from EDESSA beyond the EUPHRATES, the church of the 1st cent. A.D. was restricted to the Roman empire, and especially to its major cities. Possibly most of the early Christians were concentrated in ASIA MINOR, where Jewish urban communities had long been established in trading centers and had created around them a circle of half proselytized "God-fearing" Gentiles. It was in these latter circles that the Christian gospel took effect. (See W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* [1907].)

The cities of the NT are much more diverse in character. In place of a long Semitic continuity, the rigid bureaucracy of Roman military towns and colonial cities, the more open character of the Greek city states each with its own character, and the hybrid features of the oriental cities of Asia Minor and Syria, provide a growing complexity of detail in the city life of Christian missionary enterprise. Hints of diverse environmental detail are touched upon in the letters to the seven churches (Rev. 1–3). Cities too are much larger, many of them formally planned either in Hellenistic or Roman style.

J. M. HOUSTON

city, theology of. The first city noted in Scripture is mentioned in the context of the aftermath of CAIN having killed his brother ABEL (Gen. 4:1 –18). Cain was driven out from the presence of God to become a wanderer (vv. 14, 16). He was fearful that he would be killed by others, but instead of trusting in God's promise to avenge those who might harm him, he built a city in order to find security —naming it after his son ENOCH (v. 17). His selfish motivation in building this city and the seeking of human-based security sets the tone for much, but not all, of the "theology of the city" in the remainder of Scripture—namely, that cities are predominantly viewed as a concentrated (organized?) mass of humanity in rebellion against God.

After describing the spread and pervasiveness of SIN, and its punishment in the flood, the author of Genesis introduces the second major city—BABEL (later known as BABYLON; Gen. 11:1–9). The narrative describes how the people conspired to build "a city, with a tower that reached to heaven, that they might make a name for themselves, and not be scattered over the face of the whole earth" (v. 4). The sinfulness of humanity is focused in this narrative in the desire to transcend God-appointed limitations (the people want to reach to heaven), to pursue life apart from God (live autonomously), and to "make a name for themselves" (pride). The city and tower of Babel (Babylon) set the stage for the negative pattern that all cities, apart from Jerusalem, represent in Scripture.

Thus such cities as SODOM, GOMORRAH, TYRE, SIDON, and NINEVEH continue in the image of the city of Enoch and Babel/Babylon, exhibiting humankind's attempt to live life and to order social relationships apart from the presence and loving direction of God. This pattern of rebellion continues throughout Scripture until the Bible announces that Babylon—the city representing all cities in rebellion against God—has fallen (Rev. 14:8; 18:2).

In contrast to humanity's desire and attempts to live life apart from God, God's intention from the beginning was for men and women to live their lives in his blessed presence in worshipful obedience (cf. Gen. 2:15; see LAND, THEOLOGY OF). AS God began reconstituting a portion of humanity in order for them to fulfill the purpose for which they were created, ABRAHAM left his country in obedience to the divine command (12:1–4). Although it appears that he was seeking, and was promised, a country ("land," v. 7), we learn that in reality "he was looking forward to the city

with foundations, whose architect and builder is God" (Heb. 11:10), that is, the "city that God had prepared for him" (v. 16). Thus begins the pursuit of the true city where the true and living God dwells.

As Israel moved from slavery in Egypt to life in Canaan, the presence of God joined and led them on their journey (Exod. 40). Although those living in the land of Canaan/Israel could potentially enjoy the intended Edenic conditions (Gen. 2:15; Exod. 15:13, 17), provision was made for the focused presence of God to be in "the place" that God would choose to put his NAME (= his presence; Deut. 12).

The life of God's people in Canaan during the period of the judges exhibited a tendency towards sinful behavior and illicit worship, but when DAVID captured JERUSALEM (2 Sam. 5) and brought the ARK OF THE COVENANT into the city (2 Sam. 6), the fulfillment of Deut. 12 began (2 Sam. 7). Upon SOLOMON's completion of the TEMPLE, God's presence came to reside in the *city* of Jerusalem (1 Ki. 8:1—9:9). As many Psalms (e.g., Pss. 46; 48; 87; 132) and a variety of other Scriptures indicate, *this city* (= Jerusalem) was to be the image bearer of what cities really should be like, that is, a place where God and his worshipful obedient people live in blissful "rest." In that city, God would rule benevolently, protecting and providing for his people.

Unfortunately, even in the city of Jerusalem, the place where God's presence was manifest, God's people lived disobedient, sinful lives. Note the descriptions of their behavior recorded in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The prophets also reminded the city of Jerusalem of its sins (Isa. 1; Jer. 7; Ezek. 22–23; et al.) and warned that even God's city would not escape judgment—Jerusalem was even compared to the infamous cities of Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. 1:9–10).

The prophet EZEKIEL records how God removed his presence from Jerusalem (Ezek. 9–10) and then the city and temple were captured and burned by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.! After the city and temple were rebuilt during the days of ZERUBBABEL, EZRA, and NEHEMIAH, the residents were well aware that they and the city were not enjoying the prosperous conditions foretold by the prophets (see for example the idyllic conditions described in Isa. 2:1–5; 60; 65; et al.; cf. also the reality described in Neh. 9:36).

These "exilic-like" conditions still prevailed at the dawn of the NT era. But the OT notion of a literal Jerusalem as being the ideal city is developed in a new way in light of the coming of God in the flesh. Note for example that as Jesus approached Jerusalem from the east in the weeks prior to his crucifixion, we see God incarnate (Jn. 1:14) approaching the city from the east, as prophesied (Ezek. 43:1–7; 44:4), but upon seeing the sinfulness of Jerusalem of his day, he pronounced judgment upon it (Matt. 23:37—24:51). Indeed the Romans destroyed the city in A.D. 70.

The idea of God's people living in the presence of God (in his city) is now described in terms of the followers of Jesus living kingdom centered lives, for the ascended king (Jesus) now rules (as God was to rule in OT Jerusalem; Acts 2:22–36). In addition, it is to be remembered that the citizenship of God's people is ultimately in heaven and not in any earthly city *or polis,* as the Greeks and Romans believed (Phil. 3:20). As the writer of the book of Hebrews puts it, God's people "have come to Mount Zion, to the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God" (Heb. 12:22), and they are still "looking for the city that is to come" (12:14).

So ultimately God's intended purpose for humanity will be consummated in a *city* (not a garden) —the Heavenly City, the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:2)—where God and his people will live together in perfect harmony (Gen. 2:15; Rev. 22:3). (See further J. Timmer, "The Bible and the City," *Reformed Journal* 23/8 [Oct. 1973]:21–25; J. Ellul, *The Meaning of the City* [1993]; L. Ryken et al., eds., *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* [1998], 66–67, 150–54.)

city authorities, city officials. Although the NT can use general expressions referring to city officials (Acts 13:50; 25:23), the specific term *politarchēs* ***G4485*** is used in only one passage (Acts 17:6, 8; KJV, "rulers of the city"). Here it refers to the civic MAGISTRATES of THESSALONICA before whom JASON and some of the Christians were dragged by the mob following on the preaching of the gospel by PAUL and SILAS. The term does not occur in classical Greek literature and its use in this passage was once dismissed as a mistake, but it has since been found in many inscriptions dating as far back as the 2nd cent. B.C. In most cases the word is used for magistrates in Macedonian cities, and five times it refers to Thessalonica itself. The city had five politarchs under AUGUSTUS and six in the latter part of the 2nd cent.

Thessalonica was both a free city and the capital of MACEDONIA. After the Roman conquest of this kingdom in 168 B.C., Thessalonica was made capital of the second of the four districts. When all of Macedonia was reduced to a single province in 146 B.C., Thessalonica then served as its capital. It was made a free city, being almost entirely self-governed, though after A.D. 44 the head of the Roman administration in Macedonia had a seat in Thessalonica. Thus the politarchs in Thessalonica carried great responsibility and, though the city was technically free, this freedom did not include the right to recognize any but Caesar as king. Thus, the charge of treason brought against Paul (Acts 17:7) compelled action on the part of the politarchs, for otherwise they too would have been charged with treason. (See E. D. W. Burton in *AJT 2* [1898]: 598–632; C. Schuler in *Classical Philology* 55 [1960]: 90–100; B. Helly in *Ancient Macedonia,* ed. B. Laourdas and C. Makaronas, vol. 2 [1977], 531–44. For a list of documentary references, see G. H. R. Horsley, "Politarchs," in *ABD,* 5:384–89, esp. 386–88.)

H. G. ANDERSEN

city clerk. See CLERK, CITY.

City of David. See ZION.

City of Destruction. See DESTRUCTION, CITY OF; HELIOPOLIS; SUN, CITY OF THE.

city of Moab. This phrase, a literal rendering of *ʿîr môʿāb,* is used once by the KJV and other versions (Num. 22:36; NIV, "Moabite town"; NRSV, "Ir-moab"). It refers to the location near the river ARNON where BALAAM visited BALAK; it is often identified with the Moabite city of AR (cf. Num. 21:15, 28; Isa. 15:1).

City of Palms. Also "city of palm trees." An epithet for JERICHO (Deut. 34:3; Jdg. 1:16; 3:13; 2 Chr. 28:15).

City of Salt. See SALT, CITY OF.

City of the Sun. See SUN, CITY OF THE.

clamps. This English term is used once by the NRSV to render Hebrew *mĕḥabbĕrôt H4677,* referring

to an architectural object made of iron (1 Chr. 22:3; NIV, "fittings"). The same Hebrew word is used of an object made of wood (2 Chr. 34:11; NRSV, "binders"; NIV, "joists").

clan. This English term is used frequently by the NIV and other versions to render Hebrew *mišpāḥâ H5476,* a unit of kinship larger than a FAMILY but smaller than a TRIBE (e.g., Gen. 10:5; 24:38; Num. 1:2; Josh. 7:14; et al.); less often it renders *)elep H548* (Jdg. 6:15 et al.). Unfortunately, the technical term *clan* in modern anthropology refers, as a rule, to an extended family within which marriage is not allowed *(exogamous).* The Hebrew word, in contrast, designates a large group made up of many families among whom marriage was not only permitted *(endogamous)* but might even be required in certain situations.

Claromontanus. See CODEX CLAROMONTANUS.

clasps. Implements used to fasten the curtains of the tabernacle together (Heb. *qeres H7971,* Exod. 26:6, 11, 33; 35:11; 36:13, 18; 39:33). Those coupling the linen curtains were of gold (26:6), while those for the curtains made of goat hair were of bronze (26:11), fifty in either case. The "loops" *(lulā)ôt H4339,* 26:4 et al.) in the edges of the strips suggest that these clasps were more like the Roman *fibula,* a pin or large edition of the "common" pin. But possibly they may have been open circles.

H. G. STIGERS

Clauda klaw'duh. KJV form of CAUDA.

Claudia klaw'dee-uh (Κλαυδία *G3086,* apparently from Lat. *claudus,* "lame"). A Christian woman who, along with others (EUBULUS, LINUS, and PUDENS), was a friend of the apostle PAUL during his second Roman imprisonment and who sent greetings to TIMOTHY (2 Tim. 4:21). In the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (7.46) she is referred to as the mother or wife of Linus *(Linos ho Klaudias),* the first bishop of Rome. Some have speculated that Claudia was married to Pudens, and on that basis they have identified her with either the wife of Aulus Pudens (the friend of the poet Martial, mentioned in his *Epigrams*4.13) or the wife of Claudius Pudens (who erected an inscription to their infant son between Rome and Ostia; see *CIL,* 6.15.066).

A. RUPPRECHT

Claudius klaw'dee-uhs (Κλαύδιος *G3087,* apparently from Lat. *claudus,* "lame"). Roman emperor A.D. 41–54. Son of Drusus and Antonia, nephew of the Emperor TIBERIUS, and grandson of Livia the wife of AUGUSTUS, Claudius was born at Lugdunum (Lyons, France) in 10 B.C. His full name was Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus (Suet. *Claudius* 2; Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist.* 60.2.1). A young man of physical disabilities, he lived a secluded life under the Emperor Tiberius (Suet. *Claudius* 4). He was made consul in A.D. 37 by CALIGULA and held other important posts, largely as a source of amusement for the latter. When Caligula was killed, Claudius was named emperor by the praetorian guard in return for a considerable largess.

Despite his handicaps he ruled well during the early years of his reign. The boundaries of the empire were extended to include Mauretania and portions of Britain. JUDEA, which had been handed over to Herod Agrippa (see HEROD VII), became an imperial province in 44 as did Thrace in 46. His

policies toward provincials were liberal. A large number of colonies and municipalities were granted Roman citizenship during his reign.

Claudius enlarged the imperial civil service, which was now largely maintained by freedmen. Though legally his personal servants, they functioned as ministers of the state. They were soon hated by the nobility because of their efficiency and power, and sometimes for their arrogance and corruption. The emperor was often criticized also for his desire to hear legal cases in his own chambers rather than allowing them to be settled in the public courts.

The latter part of his reign was marked by intrigue and suspicion. The government was in

Marble bust (1st cent.) of the emperor Claudius.

the hands of his freedmen and the women around him. He had married Messalina, his third wife, who because of infidelity was put to death by his favorite freedman, Narcissus. At the prompting of another freedman, Pallas, he married his niece Agrippina. She prompted him to set aside his own son Brittanicus in favor of NERO, her son by a former marriage. In 54 the emperor decided that Brittanicus should succeed him, but before he could make public his wish, Agrippina fed him poisoned mushrooms which Nero said were "divine food, since by eating them Claudius became a god" (Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist.* 61.35).

Claudius is mentioned twice in the NT. In Acts 11:28 a prophecy was made by AGABUS that there would be a "severe famine…over the entire Roman world"; Luke adds, "This happened during the reign of Claudius." There were in fact various famines during Claudius's reign. The carelessness of his predecessors had caused him to take stringent measures to insure a steady supply of grain (Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist.* 59.17.2; Suet. *Claudius* 18.20). According to TACITUS *(Annals* 11.4), the emperor's life was in danger for the same reason, and the interpretation of a dream signifying famine

led to the ruin of two Roman equestrians.

In Acts 18:2 we are told that PAUL, while at Corinth, met PRISCILLA AND AQUILA, Jews who had come there "because Claudius had ordered all the Jews to leave Rome." This probably coincides with an incident SUETONIUS mentions: "Because the Jews at Rome caused continuous disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he [Claudius] expelled them from the city" *(Claudius* 25; Suetonius prob. understood the more common *Chrēstos* for *Christos).* Dio (60.6.6) perhaps more correctly says that the Jews, who could not be expelled because of their great numbers, were forbidden the right of free assembly, which would have the effect of forcing pious Jews to leave the city to observe their rites.

Claudius was favorable towards the Jews in the early years of his reign. Two edicts, one relating to ALEXANDRIA and the other to the empire, granted them religious toleration, exemption from military service, and partial self-government (J*os. Ant.*19.5.2). He was influenced in this attitude by one of his favorites, Agrippa, who had aided in his accession (19.4.5) and in return received all of Palestine for himself, as well as favors for his brother and his son. The edict of expulsion probably came during the later years of Claudius's reign, perhaps 50–52. (See V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* [1940]; A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire* A.D. *14–192* [1974]; B. Levick, *Claudius* [1990]; R. Graves's historical novel *I, Claudius* [1934] incorporates much accurate information.)

A. RUPPRECHT

Claudius Lysias klaw'dee-uhs lis'ee-uhs (Κλαύδιος Λυσίας *G3087 + G3385).* Commander of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem at the time of PAUL's arrest (Acts 21:31–39; 22:23–30; 23:10–35; the name occurs only in 23:26; 24:22). He was a military tribune *(chiliarchos G5941)* in command of a COHORT that was stationed at the fortress of ANTONIA near the temple area and connected to it by a staircase. He was not a free-born citizen, for he had obtained Roman CITIZENSHIP by a large sum, thus expressing his disbelief that one as poor as Paul and a native of TARSUS could be a Roman citizen (22:28). His cognomen, Lysias, suggests that he was of Greek origin.

Lysias delivered Paul by force from a mob that was threatening to kill him for bringing Gentiles into the temple at Jerusalem (Acts 21:31–36; 22:24). During this period Palestine had been troubled by a number of revolutionaries, particularly at festival times (5:36–37). Lysias mistook Paul for an Egyptian, perhaps a leader of the *sicarii* (see ASSASSINS), who had recently retired to the desert with 4,000 followers. When he learned who Paul was, he allowed him to address the Jewish mob from the steps of the castle. However, Paul's mention of his mission to the Gentiles renewed the uprising (21:27—22:24). He was prepared to examine Paul by torture until he learned that he was a Roman citizen and therefore exempt from such treatment by the *lex Porcia.* Paul was then turned over to the SANHEDRIN for examination. Dissension prevented Paul's conviction, but a group plotted to kill him. When informed of the plot by Paul's nephew, Lysias sent Paul by night to FELIX, the governor at CAESAREA (23:23–33). The situation must have been serious, for Paul was guarded by 200 foot soldiers, 70 horsemen, and 200 spearmen.

A letter from Lysias to FELIX concerning the essential facts in the matter is recorded in Acts 23:26–30. The original probably was written in Latin. Because Luke introduces the contents of the letter with the words *ton typon touton* (v. 25, NRSV "to this effect"; but see BDAG, 1020a, s.v. *typos* 5), some argue that this passage gives Luke's own composition, but that is unlikely in view of the contradiction between Lysias's claim in v. 27 and Luke's account in 22:24. Luke probably gives a condensation; he could easily have obtained a copy of the letter, which would have been read in open court before Felix because it contained the results of a preliminary inquiry. It is also probable that

Paul was given a copy of it at some time during the proceedings. (See H. J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* [1955], 66–68; C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* [1989], 347–48.)

A. RUPPRECHT

clay. The name given to a group of minerals and to rocks composed essentially of clay minerals with grain size <0.004 meter. All clay minerals are hydrous aluminum silicates with a sheet-like crystal structure. There are three main groups: (1) the kaolinite group, with sheets (7Å thick) that are electrically neutral and made up of two different layers—the main clays in ceramics, china, and pottery; (2) the montmorillonite group, with three layer sheets that are not electrically neutral and that have variable quantities of water molecules and exchangeable ions taken up in the interstices between the layers—the main clays used in pharmaceuticals and cosmetics; and (3) the illite group, which consists of clay minerals similar to the micas—the main constituent of many brick clays. References to different uses of clay, such as the potter's clay (Isa. 29:16), the anointing of the eyes of a blind man (Jn. 9:6), and making bricks (Gen. 11:3), possibly relate, respectively, at least in some degree, to these three groups.

If mixed with water, clays become plastic, after standing for a short time. There are three stages in the hydration of clay mineral powders: (1) water is bonded completely to the surfaces of clay minerals leading to coherence; (2) additional water between the particles acts as a lubricant enabling them to move somewhat relative to one another, imparting plasticity to the substance, which can be shaped (Isa. 64:8) and reworked (Jer. 18:4); (3) the addition of even more water results in loss of plasticity and production of a clay suspension with little or no strength—"miry clay" (Ps. 40:2 KJV). Optimum plasticity results by adding 9–60%, 83–250%, and 17–40% water (by weight) to kaolinite, montmorillonite, and illite, respectively.

Clay minerals heated to 150°C lose pore-water and absorbed water. Water bound up in the crystal lattice is driven off between 400° and 900° with the alteration or partial destruction of the crystal structure. Above 900° there is extensive destruction of the crystal lattice with the development of amorphous substances, then new crystalline phases. Pottery resulting from the heating of clay provides a major record of past civilizations and has played an important role in survival of early MSS. The brittle nature of these clay products would explain such references as Dan. 2:34.

Clay minerals are formed by the alteration of rocks, chiefly of igneous origin, most resulting from the processes of surface weathering. The weathered material either remains where it is formed, giving rise to residual clays, or is transported, mainly by water, and deposited as beds of clay, or mud, which when compacted are referred to as mudstone and shale. As clays represent extremely fine, brokendown crustal material, and as they make a large proportion of soil that provides the mechanical and chemical environment for almost all plant growth so essential for human existence, ideas of the human form being made from clay (Job 33:6 KJV) and being dust and returning to dust (Gen. 3:19) are not surprising. Scientific research suggests that primitive organic molecules, which were possibly forerunners of organic molecules known in living things, initially formed on the surface layers of clays due to their particular surface properties. (Cf. H. Wirsch, *Applied Mineralogy* [1968], 102–106, 119–126.) See also POTTERY.

D. R. BOWES

clay tablets. Clay tablets, the world's earliest known WRITING material, commonly were shaped something like a shredded wheat biscuit. Important historical matter often was inscribed on clay

prisms or cylinders. The letters used on the clay tablets were wedge-shaped (CUNEIFORM) and were imprinted in the wet clay with a stylus. The most important tablets were then baked; the others were simply allowed to dry slowly. Although the invention of the ALPHABET c. 1500 B.C. made available a much better writing technique on PAPYRUS and PARCHMENT, the use of clay tablets continued through the Assyrian and Babylonian world empires. (Cf. E. Chiera, *They Wrote on Clay* [1938].)

J. L. KELSO

clean. Various Hebrew and Greek terms are employed in the Bible to express the idea of cleanness. The Mosaic law puts a special emphasis upon ritual cleanness but the moral aspect is equally present. The terminology is less important than the context (e.g., *ṭāhēr H3197* in Lev. 12:7 is used in a cultic way, but in Ps. 51:7 it is essentially moral). It is therefore not the etymology but the context that is decisive. In the NT cleanness carries an inward and moral connotation, but even here the contrast between clean and unclean is more than a matter of ethics. In the Bible cleanness frequently implies HOLINESS, and in the NT it involves the holiness conferred upon believers in Jesus Christ.

I. The OT concept. In primitive societies generally the concept of *tabu* (or *taboo)* is a determinative factor. *Tabu* is a word of Polynesian origin and means "forbidden" or "excluded" *(tambu, tapu).* A related concept is *mana,* which, though supernatural, expresses the more friendly powers behind the universe. In order to cope with persons or objects under *tabu,* incantations and rites are performed. In this manner primitive human beings tried to cope with intruding spirits and neutralize their effect. J. G. Frazer *(The Golden Bough,* part 2 [1911], ch. 5) maintains that in primitive society the distinction between holy and common was yet unknown. The numinous forces were beyond good and evil. Therefore all unseen powers constituted a threat that could be dealt with only by the application of magic.

A. Levitical purity. The question has been raised by rationalist writers whether Levitical concepts of clean and unclean are only variations of the primitive notion of *tabu.* In this connection the following observations are pertinent: (1) Levitical purity is always related to Yahweh, who is never conceived as a merely numinous force; it aims at uncompromising and complete separation from idol worship (cf. Lev. 19:5; note that in Zech. 13:2 "the spirit of impurity" is in context a clear reference to IDOLATRY). (2) Cultic cleanness derives from a sense of God's holy presence (cf. Lev. 15:31). (3) The Levitical requirements are never far removed from the demand of moral rectitude (cf. Lev. 19:9–18), but the two elements are always involved with each other.

The Hebrew terms for "clean" and "unclean" are seldom related to mere questions of hygiene, but are mainly religious concepts. As such the principle of "cleanness" affects almost every aspect of life, for the dichotomy between spiritual and material is foreign to the Bible, especially to the OT. For this reason a distinction between Levitical cleanness and moral rectitude is scarcely to be found in the Mosaic law. The Bible moves in a totally religious culture that covers life in its entirety. Moreover, in the Code of Holiness (Lev. 17–26) and elsewhere, clean and unclean attaches to persons, animals, and inanimate objects alike.

1. Persons. Impurity is contracted mainly by physical contact. Everything Levitically unclean conveys impurity to that which touches it: a dead body (Lev. 21:1; cf. 5:2; Num. 9:6–10; 19:1–2, 13; 31:19); a "crawling thing" (Lev. 22:5); the carcass of an animal, particularly that of the pig (Lev. 11:28; cf. Deut. 14:8); a menstruous woman (Lev. 15:19); a woman in childbirth (12:4–5). Priests are

especially susceptible, for uncleanness would prevent them from acceptably performing their sacred functions (21:11; cf. Hag. 2:13).

Leprosy (see DISEASE) was regarded as a most serious cause of pollution not only because of the physical deadliness of the disease itself, but also because it was considered a mark of divine disfavor. For this reason the purificatory rites required additional sin and burnt offerings (Lev. 14:13). Levitical impurity could also be contracted from one's own person as in the case of nocturnal emission of semen (Lev. 15:16; cf. Deut. 23:10). Uncleanness in a more numinous sense was contracted by contact with hallowed things, such as the ashes of the red heifer, and therefore it required purificatory rites (Num. 19:7–8).

2. Animals. The distinction between clean and unclean animals is a very ancient one. Some writers maintain that originally the prohibition of certain animals for human consumption was connected with the practice of totemism. In the Mosaic code itself, it is quite clear that the prohibition was chiefly connected with the avoidance of idolatrous practices. It is known that some animals were regarded in pagan circles as sacred: fish, for example, was *tabu* in Egypt and Syria; pigs were considered holy animals in Crete and Babylon (see SWINE). This was especially the case in the Eleusinian mysteries and the worship of Demeter in ancient Greece (see MYSTERY RELIGIONS). TO the blood of pigs was ascribed purificatory potency (cf. G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* [1961], 249). Hence the Levitical code lays down the rule, "You must not live according to the customs of the nations I am going to drive out before you" (Lev. 20:23), and forbids conforming to any of these idolatrous practices.

The differentiation between clean and unclean animals—that is, between those allowed for consumption and those prohibited—was established in the Pentateuch on the following principles: (1) *Hygienic considerations.* All scavengers and birds of prey were prohibited, since they fed upon rotting carrion. (2) *Animals in pagan cults.* Animals used in pagan cults or associated with witchcraft were automatically excluded; these included swine, dogs, mice, serpents, hares, insects like beetles, etc. (3) *Animals that evoked repulsion.* These animals are sometimes described as "swarming" (Lev. 11:41; NIV, "that moves about on the ground"), and were doubtless prohibited for aesthetic reasons. (4) *Local or ethnic custom.* This was another factor: exotic or unknown animals were felt to be strange and therefore unclean.

The law lays down rules for distinguishing between allowed and disallowed animals: whatever has a split hoof and chews the cud may be eaten (Lev. 11:3; Deut. 14:3–8). All other animals are forbidden even though they may fulfill part of the requirements. In regard to fish, fins and scales were both necessary; any creature lacking either of these was an abomination (Lev. 11:9–10). The law prohibited eating winged creatures that were quadrupeds, but six-legged locusts, crickets, and grasshoppers were allowed (11:20–23).

In some way these prohibitions were connected to the command against the eating of BLOOD (cf. Lev. 3:17; 17:10–14; Deut. 12:16, 23–25; 15:23) and the pagan practice of tearing a limb from a living animal as a result of religious frenzy. Blood was regarded as the very essence of life and therefore God's exclusive property (cf. Jacob Milgrom in *Int* 17 [1963]: 289).

3. Objects. The qualities of cleanness and uncleanness applied to objects as well as to persons and animals. Objects might contract uncleanness by contact with an unclean source, whether man

Stone vessels such as these large wide-mouth jars were used because they did not transmit uncleanness.

or beast. In the case of leprosy, houses and walls seemed to be credited with the disease on their own accord (cf. Lev. 14:34–53; the NIV therefore translates "spreading mildew" rather than "leprosy").

Those who were ceremonially unclean transmitted their condition to everything they touched: seat, bed, saddle, garments, earthen vessels, etc. Anyone touching these objects acquired uncleanness to a secondary degree. First-degree uncleanness required purificatory rites lasting seven days (Lev. 15:13), whereas secondary uncleanness lasted only till the evening and was removed by washing (15:6–7). Cultic objects were also liable to uncleanness and required cleansing. ATONEMENT was to be made for the holy place (16:16, 20), for the altar (vv. 18–19), for the mercy seat (v. 15), and for the veil of the sanctuary (4:6). Purificatory rites were also required for those who handled the ashes of the heifer (Num. 19:10) and the water for impurity (v. 20).

B. Moral cleanness. The distinction between holy and profane, clean and unclean (Lev. 10:10), is never entirely separate from the moral injunctions of the law. BLOODGUILT is as much a pollution as it is a Levitical defilement (Num. 35:33–34). Because the shedding of innocent blood touches upon the life of the community, responsibility for justice falls upon it (cf. Deut. 19:10, 13; 21:8–9; 22:8). It is to be noted that the commandment to love the neighbor is embedded in the Levitical code (Lev. 19:18), and so is the commandment to treat the stranger on an equal footing with the native (19:33–34). Adultery too is regarded as defilement (18:20) and requires the penalty of death by stoning (Deut. 22:22; cf. Lev. 20:10–11). Unnatural sex acts are an ABOMINATION (NIV, "what is detestable") that only the death of the guilty can remove (20:13).

The OT equates purity with uprightness: "Even a child is known by his actions, / by whether his conduct is pure [*zak H2341*] and right *[yāšār H3838]"* (Prov. 20:11). The two Hebrew adjectives used here are also linked in Job 8:6, with the implication that what is pure is upright and what is upright is pure.

C. Purificatory rites. The priestly cultus evolved a complicated system of purificatory rites. The Law makes careful provision for every form of pollution both cultic and moral. It is based upon the principle that uncleanness is the cause of separation from God who is holy. To remove the offense and restore the relationship expiatory rites are prescribed. These rites take the form of cathartic ceremonies:

(1) *Lustrations*. Water is a natural means of cleansing and is widely used in religious cults. The

law refers to the water of expiation (Num. 8:7), the water of purification (19:9, 13, et al.), running water (lit., "living water," Num. 19:17). In all rites of cleansing, water plays an important part (cf. Lev. 6:28; 8:6; 14:8 – 9, 51 – 52, et al.; cf. Ezek. 36:25).

(2) *Sacrificial blood*. The purpose of the cult was to provide expiation. This required the shedding of sacrificial blood (cf. Heb. 9:22). The altar sacrifices served a cathartic purpose to restore by purification the broken relationship between the worshiper and God. Aaron and his sons were anointed to the priesthood with sacrificial blood (Lev. 8:23 – 24). Such blood was used also for the cleansing of leprosy (14:4 – 5); similarly the blood of the sin offering accomplished atonement (16:11 – 19).

(3) *Ashes*. To the ashes of the sacrificial victim were ascribed purging properties (Num. 19:17). This was especially so in the case of the red heifer, which was used exclusively for purificatory purposes (Num. 19:1 – 13).

(4) *Cedarwood*. Together with scarlet (possibly a scarlet thread used as an apotropaic remedy, cf. in the MISHNAH *m. Šabb*. 9:3; *m. Yoma* 4:2) and hyssop, cedarwood was prescribed as a means of purification (Lev. 14:4, 5, 51 – 52). Hyssop is a n herb that was credited with special cathartic potency as a means of sprinkling holy water (cf. Ps. 51:7).

(5) *Fire*. The most radical means of purification was fire. Metal vessels were purged in this way (Num. 31:22 – 23). To prevent pollution the remains of the paschal sacrifice were ordered to be burned (Exod. 12:10). Other sacrifices were treated in the same manner (Lev. 7:17). The sin offering was totally burned, and then the ashes had to be removed from the camp (Lev. 4:12). In extreme cases of moral lapse such as incest, punishment of persons was by burning (20:14; 21:9); yet this can hardly be regarded as remedial purification. Idols were to be destroyed by burning. This Moses did with the golden calf in the wilderness (Exod. 32:20; Deut. 9:21). A city that became idolatrous was to be razed and burnt by fire with everything in it (13:12 – 16). It was never to be rebuilt.

II. The NT concept. In the NT, the contrast between clean and unclean is freed from the cultic aspects. The emphasis is upon inward purity. But even here it is not a matter of ethical achievement. In the wider context of the NT, the pure in heart who see God (Matt. 5:8) are those who have received forgiveness and grace through faith in Jesus Christ.

The common Greek word for "purification" is *katharismos* ***G2752***. It occurs in the Levitical sense only in connection with the rules and practices of JUDAISM. As such it is a purely technical term. After the birth of Jesus, he was brought to the temple for the purificatory rites (Lk. 2:22; cf. Exod. 13:2, 13; Lev. 12:2 – 8). The disciples of JOHN THE BAPTIST and the Jews discuss matters concerning purification (Jn. 3:25). At the wedding at Cana there were jars "for the Jewish rites of purification" (2:6 NRSV). The healed lepers were sent to appear before the priests to offer the sacrifice for their cleansing as commanded by Moses (Mk. 1:44; Lk. 5:14; cf. Lev. 13:49; 14:2 – 32). Only in Heb. 1:3 and 2 Pet. 1:9 is *katharismos* used in a Christian sense. It is noteworthy that Paul avoids the term *katharismos*, perhaps because it carries Levitical overtones, and substitutes *hagiasmos* ***G40***, which connotes SANCTIFICATION through faith in Jesus Christ (cf. Rom. 6:19; 1 Cor. 1:30; 1 Thess. 4:3, 7). Another noun with similar meaning is *hagnismos* ***G50***. In the Levitical sense it occurs in connection with the NAZIRITE VOW (Acts 21:26; cf. Num. 6:5) and in relation to PASSOVER (Jn. 11:55); otherwise it carries moral and spiritual connotations.

The verb *katharizō* ***G2751*** (and derivatives) also occurs in a twofold context: sometimes it has a physical sense, "to make clea n, to heal from disease" (Matt. 8:2 – 3; 10:8; 11:5; Mk. 1:40 – 42; Lk. 4:27; 5:12 – 13; 7:22; 17:14, 17; et al.); at other times it describes a spiritual condition (Acts 15:9; 2

Cor. 7:1 [here both aspects are combined]; Tit. 2:14; Heb. 10:2; Jas. 4:8). In general, both *katharizō* and *hagiazō* ***G39*** are used to describe an inward condition of purity as a result of forgiveness and regeneration (1 Cor. 1:2; 6:11; Eph. 5:26; 1 Jn. 1:7, 9; cf. Jn. 17:17; 1 Thess. 5:23; Heb. 13:12). Another verb, *hagnizō* ***G49***, can be used both in the ceremonial (Jn. 11:55; Acts 21:24, 26) and in the moral sense (Jas. 4:8; 1 Pet. 1:22; 1 Jn. 3:3).

A. The teaching of Jesus. In the controversy between Jesus and the PHARISEES, the question of ceremonial cleanness is an important issue. The sixth division of the Mishnah is entitled *Ṭohoroth* (lit., "cleannesses," but it deals with every possible aspect of Levitical uncleanness; cf. H. Danby, *The Mishnah* [1933], 714 n. 3). It defines in great detail the circumstances causing ceremonial impurity. One tractate is devoted to matters concerning the washing of hands, another is concerned with vessels, etc. The material illuminates the underlying issues between Jesus and his opponents.

For example, a seller of pots has to leave his ware unattended in the market place. On the assumption that someone Levitically unclean touched his goods in his absence, the outside of all his pots are to be treated as unclean (*m. Ṭohor*. 7:1). Again, objects of wood, leather, bone, or glass do not contract uncleanness, provided these cannot be made into receptacles, but the smallest sherd, if large enough to stand by itself without support, contracts uncleanness (*m. Kelim* 2:1 – 2). Uncleanness can be contracted by victuals, liquids, vessels, and persons. Not only Gentiles, but also Jews who neglect strict Pharisaic rules, convey uncleanness (cf. *m. Ṭohor*. 4:5; 7:1 – 2, 4 – 5; 8:1 – 3). Uncleanness can be conveyed by chain reaction several times removed from the original source (*m. Ḥag*. 2:13; cf. Danby, *Mishnah*, 604 n. 2).

Such concern for the letter of the law could lead to the neglect of "the more important matters" (Matt. 23:23). Jesus accused the Pharisees of myopia: while concerned with the outside of cups and plates, they overlooked what was inside, namely extortion and rapacity (Matt. 23:25 – 26). He demanded that the cleansing process start from within (Lk. 11:41; on the difficulty of this text, see D. L. Bock, *Luke*, BECNT [1994 – 96], 2:1114 – 15). By the "inside" Jesus means the heart (cf. Mk. 7:14 – 23). The same issue recurs in the matter of the washing of hands (7:2 – 8).

The outward aspect of Levitical purity is changed by Jesus into an inward condition of the heart which comes about as a result of repentance (Mk. 1:4, 15, et al.). The cathartic process is not the result of psychological reorientation but of yielding to the challenge of the KINGDOM OF GOD. The process of cleansing is inseparable from the person of Jesus Christ (cf. Jn. 13:10; 15:3).

B. The teaching of the apostles. The emphasis on a change of direction from the outward to the inward, already found in the Gospels, dominates the rest of the NT.

1. The Levitical use of water. This element is retained in the rite of BAPTISM. But baptism signifies now not the removal of physical uncleanness but a good conscience before God through the RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST (1 Pet. 3:21). It stands for the washing of REGENERATION (Tit. 3:5) and serves as an outward sign of God's life-giving Word, which sanctifies the believer (Eph. 5:26; cf. Jn. 3:5).

2. Sacrificial blood. This blood is transferred from the altar to the cross; from the sacrificial animal to the Messiah (Heb. 10:4). It is the blood of Jesus that cleanses from all sin (1 Jn. 1:7, 9). The Messiah's sacrifice effects forgiveness of sins, the assurance of faith, the cleansing (*rhantizō* ***G4822***, "to sprinkle") of the heart from an evil conscience (Heb. 9:13 – 14; 10:12 – 22).

3. Purificatory functions. These functions as performed by the priests are now transferred to the Messiah: as the vine is cleansed by pruning (Jn. 15:1 – 2), so is the disciple cleansed for the bearing of fruit. But the disciple does not remain passive in the process: "let us purify ourselves from everything that contaminates body and spirit, perfecting holiness out of reverence for God" (2 Cor. 7:1). Similarly, the saints around God's throne "have washed [*plynō* ***G4459***] their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 7:14). Active participation presents a moral challenge: "Wash your hands, you sinners, and purify your hearts" (Jas. 4:8). By the obedience of faith man's soul is cleansed (1 Pet. 1:22). Those who are moved by the Christian hope "purify themselves," even as Christ is pure (*hagnos* ***G54***, 1 Jn. 3:3).

4. Sanctification. As in the OT, the concept of "clean" carries the meaning "holy, sanctified." In marriage, the believing partner sanctifies the unbelieving, therefore their children are not unclean (1 Cor. 7:14). This is not sanctification by proxy but the effect of faith and prayer. Similarly, food consecrated by God's Word and prayer is not common but holy (1 Tim. 4:3 – 4). What God has created is to be regarded clean (Acts 10:14). The believer's purity (*hagnotēs G55*) is a witness to God's grace (2 Cor. 6:6), and it is his duty to keep himself pure (1 Tim. 5:22; Tit. 2:5). In all these cases purity is an inward state and is both a gift and a demand. See also HOLINESS; PURITY; SANCTIFICATION; UNCLEANNESS.

J. JOCZ

Cleanthes klee-an'theez (Κλεάνθης). Son of Phanius of Assos and head of the STOIC school in ATHENS from 263 to 232 B.C. His *Hymn to Zeus*, a surviving poem, contains the words quoted by PAUL in his address before the AREOPAGUS Court (Acts 17:28). He made Stoicism more religious in its orientation by teaching that the universe was a living being, that God was its soul, and that the sun was its heart. He taught detachment from moral concerns. Doing good for gain was like feeding cattle for meat. He also maintained that evil thoughts were worse than evil deeds, just as a tumor that does not break open is more dangerous than one that does.

A. RUPPRECHT

cleave. The KJV uses the transitive verb *cleave* (with past tense *clave*) most often to render Hebrew *bāqaʿ* ***H1324***, "to split, break open" (e.g., Gen. 22:3). This English term is to be distinguished from its homonyn, an intransitive verb that has a different etymology and means "to cling, adhere, join"; this second verb often translates Hebrew *dābaq* ***H1815*** (e.g., Gen. 2:24) and Greek *kollaō* ***G3140*** or a derivative (e.g., Matt. 19:5; also *prosmenō* ***G4693*** in Acts 11:23).

cleft. This English noun, meaning "fissure, hollow," renders several Hebrew words, such as *ḥāgû* ***H2511*** (e.g., Jer. 49:16). The form can also be the past participle of CLEAVE (e.g., Deut. 14:6 NRSV).

Clement klem'uhnt (Κλήμης ***G3098***, from Lat. *clemens*, "gentle"). One of PAUL'S fellow workers at PHILIPPI, of whom the apostle says that their "names are in the book of life" (Phil. 4:3). He was apparently one of those who labored in the establishment of the church there. Paul seems to accord Clement a place of special esteem since he alone is named in the group. The context would suggest that Paul considered him as being a favorable person toward effecting a reconciliation between

EUODIA and SYNTYCHE, two women at Philippi who had worked with Paul and Clement (Phil. 4:2).

Several of the church fathers, especially Origen, identified this Clement with the third bishop of Rome. See CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF. There are, however, a number of reasons for rejecting this identification. There is no evidence that the Clement mentioned by Paul ever went to Rome; the bishop of Rome is associated only with that city, while this Clement is associated only with Philippi. The Clement who labored with Paul at Philippi was probably quite mature at the time Paul wrote Philippians. He is not addressed by Paul, but is referred to affectionately among those with whom Paul had previously worked in that city. At any rate, there is no evidence that this Clement lived until the end of the century, when Clement of Rome was active (the latter is said to have died in the third year of the Emperor TRAJAN, A.D. 100). The name was so common that there is no good reason for identifying the two. The common practice among the church fathers of supposing that persons who later became famous should be identified with persons named in the NT also makes this identification suspect. (See J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* [1868], 168 – 71.)

G. H. WATERMAN

Clement, Epistles of. Two letters of the early church, included among the APOSTOLIC FATHERS, are attributed to Clement of Rome, who is said to have been the third bishop of the Christian church in that city.

I. First Clement. The name of the author of this extremely important text appears nowhere in the document itself. There is no reason, however, to reject its attribution to Clement, an officer of the church at Rome. IRENAEUS lists him as the third bishop of Rome after the apostles, but the evidence of the letter itself indicates that no such succession of monarchical bishops of Rome was known at the time. The author did not speak as such. He was a man of some knowledge and ability, but was not a philosopher or theologian of any distinction. His acquaintance with the OT does not supply sufficient evidence that he was of Jewish origin. He may have been a slave or freedman of Titus Flavius Clemens, who was put to death in A.D. 95 by Domitian on a charge of *atheotēs* (impiety or atheism—opposition to the imperial cult). He lived in the generation immediately after the apostles and looked upon himself as carrying on their labors.

The letter should be dated later than the Emperor NERO. It appears, however, that officers appointed by the apostles were still in office in the churches (*1 Clem*. 44.3). It is far from certain, but quite possible, that the troubles referred to at the beginning of the epistle are those of the time of DOMITIAN (A.D. 81 – 96), which flared up toward the end of his reign. Probably, therefore, the date may be estimated at 95 or 96.

The letter is sent by "The church of God which sojourns in Rome to the church of God which sojourns at Corinth" (1.1). The first two chapters indicate the virtues of the Corinthian church, its steadfastness, humility, and hospitality. There is a brief account of discord that had arisen. The history of jealousy in the Scripture is reviewed, and then follows the story of the opportunities for repentance. The law of God brought peace, and the humility of Christ has made him the sin-bearer. Humility and peace are the great virtues. A future resurrection is foreshadowed, and the classical sign of the phoenix is introduced.

More direct exhortations to holiness, faith, and good works follow. Christians are like an army, obeying the commands of the leaders. Mutual help and orderliness are the needs of the time. The leadership comes from God and must be recognized. Division and disloyalty to the elders must end. Love is the solution of the difficulties. It may involve self-sacrifice, but the Lord will bring peace.

The epistle closes with intercession for help, for cleansing, for peace, and with a benediction.

This document is the earliest writing outside of the NT that one can identify with reasonable certainty as to the date of its composition, the place of its origin, and its author. It is therefore of special value. As Adolf von Harnack said, it is with this letter that ancient church history began (*Einführung in die alte Kirchengeschichte: Das Schreiben der römischen Kirche an die korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (I. Clemensbrief)* [1929], 5). One begins to observe the postapostolic church with some security. PETER and PAUL are referred to as martyrs for the faith, after Paul had reached the "limits of the West" (*1 Clem*. 5.7). The truth taught by the church has come from the apostles. The blood of Christ "poured out for our salvation" (7.4) is referred to in similar terms in two other passages (21.6; 49.6) and in the language of Isa. 53 in another (16.5). The resurrection is the object of attention in chs. 24 – 26.

It is especially noteworthy that in a letter about discipline sent from Rome to Corinth there is no mention of a monarchical bishop in either place. The author does not speak in his own name, personal or official, but in the name of the church. He refers to a group of officials as in the episcopate, and in the next sentence as presbyters (44.4 – 5). The letter provides no evidence for a monarchical bishop of Rome at this time, but rather the contrary.

CODEX ALEXANDRINUS has the entire Greek text except for a missing page (57.6 to 64.1). Its position is immediately after the book of Revelation. The MS published by Bryennius in 1875 contains the entire Greek text, where it follows the DIDACHE. There are Syriac, Latin, and Coptic versions. The Latin version was altered in the medieval period to enhance Roman authority. In a late Syriac MS it follows the Catholic Epistles.

The Greek is smooth and balanced compared to other Christian writing of the time. First Corinthians (e.g., *1 Clem*. 42.1 – 4), Romans (e.g., 35.5 – 6), and Hebrews (e.g., 9.3; 7.1; 19.2) are reflected by Clement (cf. also 2.7 [Tit. 3:1] and 49.5 [1 Pet. 4:8]). The gospel tradition is clearly known to him as well. (The standard edition, including extensive essays and full commentary, is J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part I, 2 vols. [1890]. See also B. E. Bowe, *A Church in Crisis: Ecclesiology and Paraenesis in Clement of Rome* [1988]; H. E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief übersetzt und erklärt* [1998]; D. G. Horrell, *The Social Ethos of the Corinthians Correspondence: Interests and Ideology from 1 Corinthians to 1 Clement* [1996]; O. M. Bakke, *"Concord and Peace": A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition* [2001].)

II. Second Clement. Although the subscription assigns this work to Clement (of Rome), it is clearly not his. Rather than being a letter, it is a sermon, as the text shows (*2 Clem*. 17.3; 19.1); it is probably the oldest complete Christian sermon extant. The message of the homily is to "think of Jesus Christ as of God" (1.1) and to obey his commandments. Men are in this world only a short time. Keep the seal of baptism (7.6; 8.6). The flesh will rise and we will be judged. Holiness is the way to salvation. "Love hides a multitude of sins," but prayer "rescues from death," "fasting is better than prayer," and "almsgiving better than both" (16.4).

The sermon may have originated in Corinth in the atmosphere of the Isthmian Games (cf. 7.1 – 4), as suggested by J. B. Lightfoot (*The Apostolic Fathers* 1/2 [1890], 197). Alternatively, it may have been sent to Corinth from Rome. Harnack (*Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* 2/1 [1897], 438ff.) thought it was the letter from Soter of Rome (166 – 174) referred to by EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist*. 4.23.11). But it is not a letter, and if it originated in Rome, was probably an enclosure in a letter. It is expressed in hortatory, but not exalted, language. The date should be placed

probably in the middle of the 2nd cent. (See K. P. Donfried, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity* [1974]; R. Warns, *Untersuchungen zum 2. Clemens-Brief* [1985]; W. Pratscher, *Der zweite Clemensbrief übersetzt and erklärt* [2007].)

The Greek text is included in CODEX ALEXANDRINUS and in the medieval MS discovered by Bryennius; it has also been preserved in a Syriac version. (For recent and valuable editions of *1 – 2 Clement*, see M. W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fath ers: Greek Texts and English Translations,* 3rd ed. [2007]; B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2 vols., LCL [2003].)

P. WOOLLEY

Clementine Literature. Also referred to as the *Pseudo-Clementines*. Although various documents in ancient times were falsely attributed to Clement of Rome (including *2 Clement*; see CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF), the term *Pseudo-Clementines* refers

primarily to three works. (1) The *Homilies*, consisting of twenty discourses and preceded by some introductory material (letters from Clement and PETER addressed to JAMES, as well as a response [*Contestatio*] by James to Peter's letter). This document, which scholars regard as an example of the Hellenistic romance, contains the legendary story of Clement's life, including his travels in the E and his association with Peter; special attention is given to Peter's confrontation with SIMON MAGUS. Much doctrinal material accompanies the narrative. Two medieval MSS contain the Greek text. (2) The *Recognitions*, a closely related document whose narrative material overlaps that of the *Homilies*. This work has not survived in its original Greek form, but it is preserved in Latin and Syriac translations. (3) The *Epitomes*, a later and less important work preserved in Arabic.

The *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* are thought to have been written in Syria in the 4th cent. and to be reworkings of a common basic source (referred to as *Grundschrift*) produced a century earlier. Because these writings reflect a Gnostic and anti-Pauline bias, some scholars postulate that the *Grundschrift* was an EBIONITE document entitled *Kērygmata Petrou* ("the preachings of Peter," not to be confused with the *Preaching of Peter*, a work quoted in the Patristic literature; see PETER, PREACHING OF). The *Pseudo-Clementines* played a very important role in
F. C. Baur's theories regarding the conflict between Petrine (Jewish) and Pauline (Gentile) Christianity. See BIBLICAL CRITICISM IV. (For the history of research on the *Pseudo-Clementines*, see F. S. Jones in *The Second Century* 2 [1982]: 1 – 33, 63 – 96. For an English translation of selected portions, see *NTAp*, 2:483 – 541, and F. S. Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1.27 – 71* [1995]. See also N. Kelley, *Knowledge and Religious Authority in the Pseudo-Clementines* [2006].)

Clement of Alexandria. Born about A.D. 150 (possibly in Athens), Clement became a teacher at the Catechetical School in ALEXANDRIA around the year 190, though some twelve years later he had to flee the city as a result of persecution. He is thought to have died c. 215. Clement was a creative theologian and apologist (somewhat influenced by GNOSTICISM) who sought to respond to pagan criticisms of Christianity. He wrote a number of important works, including the *Protrepticus* (also known as *Exhortation to the Greeks*), the *Paedagogus* (which deals with the Christian life), and the *Stromateis* ("Miscellanies"). In some of these writings he preserves significant traditions concerning the apostolic period, and his testimony is frequently mentioned by EUSEBIUS (cf. esp. *Eccl. Hist.* 6.13 – 14). (See E. F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* [1957]; S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* [1971]; D. K. Buell, *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy* [1999]; A. Choufrine, *Gnosis,*

Theophany, Theosis: Studies in Clement of Alexandria's Appropriation of His Background [2002]; E. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* [2005].)

Clement of Rome. See CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF.

Cleopas klee'oh-puhs (Κλεοπᾶς ***G3093***, a short form of Κλεόπατρος [fem. Κλεοπάτρα], possibly "renowned father"). One of the two disciples whom Jesus joined on the road to EMMAUS during the afternoon of the day of his resurrection (Lk.
24:13 – 32). The other disciple is not named. Tradition gives the name Simon to Cleopas's companion and includes both among the seventy(-two) whom Jesus sent out on a mission (Lk. 10:1 – 24; other suggestions regarding the identity of this disciple include Cleopas's wife or son, as well as NATHANAEL, NICODEMUS, et al.). They conversed with Jesus on the way to Emmaus regarding what had happened during the past few days and the report of the women who had visited the tomb that morning. Jesus explained to them the prophecies of the OT concerning his death and resurrection. When they arrived at Emmaus, they invited Jesus to spend the night with them. It was only when Jesus took the bread and gave thanks that they recognized him. (On the significance of the Emmaus story, see B. P. Robinson in *NTS* 30 [1984]: 481 – 97.)

Some of the church fathers identified Cleopas with the CLOPAS mentioned in Jn. 19:25. Because of the sound similarity, Cleopas (a genuine Greek name) may have functioned as the equivalent of Clopas (the Greek form of a Semitic name), but there is no evidence that these two persons were the same (cf. BDF §53.2(d) and 125.1 – 2).

G. H. WATERMAN

Cleopatra klee'uh-pat'ruh (Κλεοπάτρα [fem. of Κλεόπατρος], possibly "born of a renowned father"). A common name in Macedonian and Hellenistic culture, borne by several Ptolemaic rulers in Egypt (see PTOLEMY). Best known among them was Cleopatra VII, last great name of the Ptolemaic dynasty (ruled 51 – 30 B.C.). Cleopatra was a Macedonian princess, cultured, brilliant, and one of the most dynamic women of the ancient world. Alone of the Greek rulers of Egypt, she spoke the people's language, took their religion seriously, and like the royal house of the ancient pharaohs, considered herself the daughter of RE, the sun god.

When Julius CAESAR intervened in the disturbed dynastic affairs of Egypt, at the end of 48 B.C., Cleopatra was in exile from her brother's court. She was twenty-two years of age, became Caesar's mistress for reasons of ambition, bore him a son, and followed him to ROME. After Caesar's assassination, Cleopatra returned to Egypt, and in 41 B.C. Antony summoned her to TARSUS, where he, like Caesar before him, fell under her spell. The first liaison was brief, but when Antony, breaking with Octavian, traveled to the E in 37, he married Cleopatra, and a partnership was formed that almost anticipated distant

Limestone portrait (c. 40 – 30 B.C.) of a woman imitating the appearance of the popular queen of Egypt, Cleopatra VII.

history and divided the Roman empire into E and W. Cleopatra was the dynamic member, and the fear Rome held for the queen is reflected in more than one context of Roman Augustan literature. There is no doubt that the able and ambitious queen hoped to use Antony to defeat metropolitan Rome. The dream ended with the naval battle at Actium in 31 B.C., one of the decisive battles of the world.

Back in Egypt, the queen saw plainly that the one desperate chance was to influence Octavian, as she had influenced Antony and Caesar. Failing in this, with typical decision and pride, she abjured further bloodshed and committed suicide with the famous asp, symbol of Re. She was forty years of age. The Romans, says W. W. Tarn (*Hellenistic Civilisation*, 3rd ed. [1952]), feared this woman "as they had feared no one since Hannibal." (See further A. Weigall, *The Life and Times of Cleopatra* [1925]; M. Grant, *Cleopatra* [1972]; E. Flamarion, *Cleopatra: From History to Legend* [1997]; M. Chauveau, *Cleopatra: Beyond the Myth* [2002]; S. Walker and S.-A. Ashton, eds., *Cleopatra Reassessed* [2003]; S. M. Burstein, *The Reign of Cleopatra* [2004]; Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Cleopatra and Rome* [2005].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Cleophas. klee'oh-fuhs. KJV form of CLOPAS.

clerk, city. A city official at EPHESUS who dispersed the mob gathered at the theater to attack PAUL (Acts 19:35; Gk. *grammateus* ***G1208***; NRSV, "town clerk"). In the Greco-Roman world, a city clerk occupied a position of considerable importance in urban administration. His initial duties consisted of keeping the records of the city, taking the minutes of the council and assembly, caring for official

correspondence, receiving the edicts of emperors and governors, plus a great mass of miscellaneous documents, then filing and publishing these, as required. He publicly read decrees, put up temporary notices for the people to read, and those of permanent importance were inscribed on stone. This clerk of the Greek towns also served on a number of boards and was the normal officer of the council. His work load was therefore heavy; hence he normally had a staff of assistants.

By the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D., the town clerk had attained considerable importance in city leadership, thus becoming a dominant political figure who filled the highest magistracy a Roman colony had to offer. He enrolled new citizens in some towns, and occasionally the priesthood was combined with his office. Since his work necessitated such broad and specialized knowledge, the office was sometimes held for a long period of time and exercised great influence in city affairs. He might also on occasion be a member of the ASIARCHS, who seem to have been elected officers of importance and who were drawn from the ranks of the wealthy and influential.

At Ephesus the town clerk was president of the assembly and probably of Roman aristocracy. He was frequently named on the coins and inscriptions of the city. Roman records show that he annually distributed money from the public treasury (evidently to the poor and needy), on the occasion of Emperor Antoninus's bir thday. This was authorized by both the council and the assembly (the town clerk had charge of the endowment for doles to be given to the citizens). Another record shows his distribution to the councillors of money presented by Vibius Salutaris.

Barbara Levick (*Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* [1967], 89) summarizes the importance of the town clerk: "In creating the positions of gymnasiarch, *grammateus*, and irenarch, the colonies were trying to have the best of two worlds, to enjoy the prestige of possessing both the highest city status in the Roman world, and the most up-to-date Greek magistrates." (See also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* [1950], 60, 645; A. Jones, *The Greek City* [1967], 238 – 39.)

M. H. HEICKSEN

client kings. A term used by classical scholars to designate independent rulers, such as CLEOPATRA and HEROD the Great, who enjoyed a friendly relationship with the Roman empire. These alliances (often made official through formal treaties) played a key role in Roman expansion and administration. Under AUGUSTUS, client kings became a more integral part of the empire. (See D. C. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* [1984].)

clift. This obsolete term, equivalent to CLEFT, is found a few times in most editions of the KJV (Exod. 33:22; Job 30:6; Isa. 57:5).

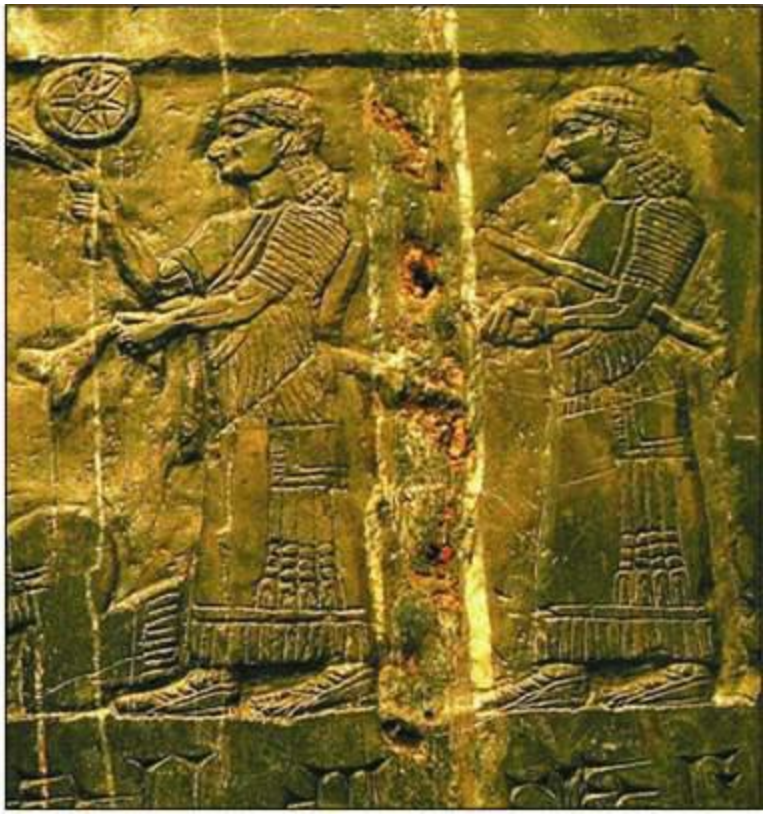
climate of Palestine. See PALESTINE V.

cloak. KJV *cloke*. Several Hebrew and Greek words can be translated "cloak" (see COAT; DRESS; MANTLE; ROBE). On the Black Obelisk of SHALMANESER III, the attendants of JEHU wear long garments with a fringed edge that envelopes the body completely. A square of cloth, with armholes, draped over one shoulder was the cloak of the Hebrews, and little was worn beneath it. Obviously it was not working attire, for under the hot sun it would be laid aside (Matt. 24:18; Mk. 10:50).

The book of RUTH demonstrates the mode of attire. BOAZ lay in the grain field covered by his cloak in the fields of BETHLEHEM. Ruth, who claimed his protection in her widowhood, crept secretly under the ample edge of the garment at his feet. Awaking at midnight, Boaz found her there, and she said to him: "Spread the corner of your garment over me, since you are a kinsman-redeemer" (Ruth

3:9). The cloak was a symbol of the protection Ruth could expect from Boaz under the LEVIRATE LAW. (For figurative uses of the word "cloak," see Isa. 59:17 KJV; Jn. 15:22 KJV; 1 Thess. 2:5 RSV; 1 Pet. 2:16 KJV.)

In Israel, a cloak could be named as a guarantee or PLEDGE, but if claimed in forfeit by the moneylender, it was to be returned at sunset, "because his cloak is the only covering he has for his body. What



The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III illustrates ancient attire.

else will he sleep in? When he cries out to me, I will hear, for I am compassionate" (Exod. 22:26 – 27; cf. Deut. 24:12 – 13, 17). Without a cloak a man was said to be naked (1 Sam. 19:24 NRSV).

A potsherd letter discovered in 1960 at a site near Yavneh (JAMNIA) illustrates the custom. Seeking to file a complaint with the commander of the local garrison, a peasant during the reign of the good King JOSIAH (c. 630 B.C.) wrote on this piece of earthenware: "Let my lord commander hear the case of his servant!…While thy servant was finishing the storage of grain with his harvesters, Hoshaiah son of Shobai came and took thy servant's mantle…And all my companions will testify on my behalf…" (*ANET*, 568). It appears that someone by legal process had appropriated a poor man's most necessary possession. Night came and the harvester looked for the garment which would cover him from the night's chill, only to find it had not been returned.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Clopas kloh'puhs (Κλωπᾶς ***G3116***, prob. from Aram. קלופא, a name attested in Palmyrene texts). The husband (or possibly the son or father—the Greek text is ambiguous) of a certain MARY, one of the women who stood at the foot of the cross when Jesus was crucified (Jn. 19:25). This Mary is distinguished from Mary Magdalene and from Jesus' mother. It is not certain whether or not she should be distinguished from Jesus' aunt. If "Mary the wife of Clopas" is in apposition with "his mother's sister" in this verse, Clopas could be a brother of Mary, the mother of Jesus. It is more

likely, however, that John intends to identify four separate women at the cross.

Matthew and Mark both mention a "Mary the mother of James and Joseph [Joses]" among the women who were at the cross (Matt. 27:56; Mk. 15:40). Mark identifies this JAMES as "James the younger" as if to distinguish him from James the son of Zebedee. It is interesting that in all four lists of the twelve disciples given in the Gospels and Acts, there is a James son of ALPHAEUS (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13). If the James mentioned in Matt. 27 and Mk. 15 is the son of Alphaeus, then Clopas is the same as Alphaeus (the view that both names are derived from Heb. ḥ*alpî*, however, has weak linguistic support).

Some of the later church fathers identified Clopas with CLEOPAS, one of the disciples to whom Jesus appeared on the road to EMMAUS after his resurrection (Lk. 24:18), but the latter is clearly a Greek name while Clopas is Semitic. Other writers identified Clopas with Alphaeus. Hegesippus mentions a brother of Joseph named Clopas. If he is the same Clopas mentioned in Jn. 19, his wife might be referred to as the sister of Jesus' mother (actually her sister-in-law). In conclusion, however, all we can say is that Clopas probably had two sons, James and Joseph, and that his wife Mary was among the women at the cross.

G. H. WATERMAN

closet. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew ḥ*uppâ* ***H2903*** (with reference to a bridal "chamber" or "canopy," Joel 2:16; cf. Ps. 19:5; Isa. 4:5) and Greek *tameion* ***G5421***, "private room, inner chamber" (Matt. 6:6; Lk. 12:3).

cloth. A fabric or textile woven from wool, flax, hemp, hair, silk, or other fiber for clothing and other purposes. In both the OT and NT the terms for the raw material, the woven fabric, and the finished garments are used interchangeably and metaphorically, indicating the types of material the ancients used for garments. The Bible offers, in an incidental manner, detailed and generous description of the clothing people wore in biblical times; this information gives a definite clue to the types of cloth and materials from which such clothing was made. The terms used in the Scriptures for the various garments and materials from which they were made are rendered variously by translators of the Bible and would be a study in itself. See DRESS.

People of the ANE loved bright clothing and cloth since, as has been said, they lived against dull backgrounds and wished to brighten their existence, especially on festive occasions. Their clothing was symbolic and expressed their feelings and emotions. A busy street in an ancient city would flash with many colors. JACOB made his son JOSEPH a "richly ornamented robe" (Gen. 37:3), and James describes a man who came into the synagogue in "fine clothes" (Jas. 2:2 – 3). Most of the clothing of the common people in biblical times was dull white or brown, or even the hair or fur of an animal, with color accents in head dress, embroidery, or belt.

I. Weaving cloth. Unless the material for clothing came from skins of animals, the women of the home both spun and wove the cloth for the family clothing. See WEAVING. WOOL or goat's hair from their own flocks was the primary source of raw material. The wool or hair was spun by hand, since there were no spinning wheels as used later. While the Egyptians and Babylonians had large looms, those of the Palestinian women were primitive, slow, and cumbersome. This is why the book of Proverbs describes the ideal mother as never idle from her spinning or her loom (Prov. 31:13 – 27). The DISTAFF and spindle were hardly ever out of her hands. There were no steel needles, only those crudely made of bronze or splinters of bone.

II. Types of cloth and material. *Sheepskin*, of course, was one of the most ancient materials for clothing. Shepherds and farmers wore it a great deal. When a sheep was sheared and killed for food, the animal was skinned and the hide tanned. The women would then sew together heavy coats from the skin, which still had much of the wool on it. The outer garments of the common people were often made of sheepskin or similar blanket-like material.

Goat's hair was cut, spun, and woven into a thick black cloth (Exod. 35:26; Cant. 4:1; 6:5). Such dense material was quite waterproof and was used for tents and for heavy outer garments. Goat's hair was the cloth of the poor and suffering (Heb. 11:37). Scholars believe that PAUL, a tent-maker, perhaps not only made tents but also wove the material from Cilician goat's hair. Perhaps Paul cut the material into strips and made tents, shaping them according to a pattern or design (Exod. 26:7; Acts 18:3).

JOHN THE BAPTIST wore a coat of *camel's hair*. Goat's hair and camel's hair became known as the sackcloth that was thick and waterproof. A cloak made of sackcloth often was used as a blanket for sleeping (an ancient sleeping bag!). It was so essential that, if borrowed, one could not keep it from a poor man overnight according to the law (Exod. 22:26 – 27). It became a saddle pad or carpet to welcome guests. It is possible that Paul asked Timothy to bring him such a sackcloth coat for a cold prison (2 Tim. 4:13). Slaves, goat herds, and prophets sometimes wore these hairy garments against the skin. It was a protest against luxury and a symbol of grief and repentance.

Wool was the oldest and most common textile of biblical times. The value of sheep lay in wool rather than in their flesh. Shearing time wa s a time of festivity because it meant more clothing for the family. Wool came mainly from JUDEA, while GALILEE produced linen and flax from earliest times. Even the Greeks used wool for clothing. The finest wool came from the lamb. Perhaps the most expensive woolen cloth was woven from the wool of the sheep that had been kept clean from dirt and manure. Such wool made dazzling white cloth such that the prophets likened a pure person to clean white wool. Wool also was rubbed and bleached to get a bright color. Women who lived in the country generally wore white woolen garments around the home. Priests were forbidden to wear woolen garments, which implies that they were commonly worn by the common people (Ezek. 44:17). The desert people often wore woolen tunics even in the hottest weather.

Linen or *fine linen* was woven from flax or hemp thread and was used for inner garments particularly. The linen woven in Palestine was some of the best in the world, preferred even to what came from Egypt, which was coarser. Egyptian royal garments were from fine linen. It was the cloth used in garments of the rich (Lk. 16:19). The Palestinian weaver could make linen as fine as silk, 540 warp threads and 110 woof threads to the inch. Often it was made in a chevron pattern and pleated. Some linen cloth was so sheer and thin that it had a see-through effect, translucent. The shirt close to the

Linen cloth belonging to a priestess from Egypt.

body was of fine linen, while cotton or wool was used for the second garment. See also LINEN.

Cotton was known in China and India very early and is sometimes spoken of by the Greek writers, but it was not grown much in the climate of Palestine. What has been called cotton was really cloth made from flax or hemp.

Silk was reserved for the garments of those who wished to express pride, elegance, and extravagance. Silk was brought from the E by traveling merchants, mainly from Persia, and became more common in Palestine during Roman times. It was used to wrap the holy rolls of the Scriptures, and some scholars believe that the veil of the temple was made of some type of silk. On the other hand, holy writers used silk to describe the sins and extravagance of the rich over against the poor (Rev. 18:12).

Of course, *leather* was the first material for clothing. The earliest "cloth" was really skins of animals. God even provided clothes of skin (Gen. 3:21). The loin cloth was worn in the early OT days. See LEATHER.

III. Professional cloth makers. During biblical times the people of the country wove their own materials, but soon crafts of weavers and fullers became known in the mercantile centers, such as Jerusalem and other cities. People would bring their clips or bunches of wool from their sheep to sell to the ancient manufacturer by weight. The FULLER (something like our dry cleaner) was a very important person in the garment industry. He took the raw material, soaked and bleached it in a solution of lye, dried it in the sun, and prepared it for the weaver (Mk. 9:3).

Although the common people did a great deal of crude dyeing, guilds of dyers also sprang up in the cities. They filled the country with bright shining colors: scarlet, purple, violet, brown, and blue being the most common. Many garments were made by sewing various strips of contrasting colors together. This is common in the Middle E to this day. Sometimes the thread was dyed before the weaver made the cloth.

A large selection of cloth was made on the loom rather than in narrower strips "by the yard." This may explain the seamless robe of our Lord. From these garment makers grew the large bazaars of the Middle E. Most of the dye came from animal or vegetable products. The shell fish (*mulex*) or the cuttlefish supplied a bright purple dye from the sea. The most esteemed color was PURPLE, a sign of royalty and power. Beside the color, the cloth, once made into clothing, was embellished by all sorts of embroidery and jewelry.

IV. Washing clothing. In India and the Near E even today, women go to the nearest stream or pool or trough to wash clothing. The garments are soaked for a time, then dipped in and out, and finally kneaded or pounded on the rocks with a flat board. Perhaps this is what DAVID referred to in his famous statement, "Wash away all my iniquity" (Ps. 51:2; cf. v. 7). If washing was by kneading or beating, then the psalmist confesses he was ready for discipline and severe cleansing. The ancients even used soap. Archaeologists say it was made from vegetable oil and alkali (Jer. 2:22). LYDIA was a dyer and seller of purple cloth (Acts 16:14).

There has been much documentation of the cloth and weaving processes of ancient times through the discovery in 1949 of many old textiles in the cave of ʿAIN FESHKHA in the Jordan Valley in Palestine, textiles that were used for wrapping and packing a group of ancient scrolls and MSS. Old pieces of cloth made of wool, flax, hemp, linen, and silk were found. Some were interwoven with blue threads, and the techniques of ancient weaving were thoroughly exemplified. (See G. M. Crowfoot in *PEQ* no vol. [1951]: 5 – 31.)

From even a little knowledge of ancient textiles and materials used for clothing and an acquaintance with Eastern dress and social habit, one might imagine how the prophets or our Lord and his apostles were garbed on a given day in Palestine. Lest we denigrate our ancestors, the observation must be made that until our scientific age gave birth to synthetics, there has been little new in the category of cloth and materials for clothing that the ancients did not use. We have developed only what was already there. Wool has been cherished by all peoples, ancient and modern. Greeks, Romans, and Europeans borrowed from the E. Many still prefer a beautiful ga rment of wool, fine linen, or fur to a plastic jacket. Even today the hand-woven textiles of the E with their beautiful dyes and color designs are coveted prizes of the W and are sought out by those who can afford them, just as in biblical times. (See further A. E. Bailey, *Daily Life in Bible Times* [1943], 28 – 40, 68 – 73, 190 – 91; M. S. and J. L. Miller, *Encyclopedia of Bible Life* [1944], 488 – 564; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 8 vols. [1955 – 64], 4:43 – 65; H. Daniel-Rops, *Daily Life in Palestine at the Time of Christ* [1962], 212 – 218, 239, 431; P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], 265 – 71.)

L. M. PETERSEN

clothes, rending of. A symbolic act characteristic of the emotional expression of grief common among ANE peoples. The suggestion is that life is ended in the face of catastrophe, and the common appurtenances of life are no longer of interest or necessity. In REUBEN'S case, upon the discovery of the empty cistern where JOSEPH had been incarcerated, the action was spontaneous (Gen. 37:29, 34). The formalization of the act was, however, already visible in the case of JOSHUA, TAMAR, and JOB as a sign of affliction or supplication (Josh. 7:6; 2 Sam. 13:19; Job 1:20; 2:12). EZRA specified the garments involved, as though by his time the legalities of emergent JUDAISM were establishing degrees of demonstration in the act (Ezra 9:3). It was recognized as a sign of funeral mourning in Levitical times, for AARON was forbidden thus to grieve for his delinquent sons (Lev. 10:6).

In NT contexts the formality of the custom is clear. The high priest "tore his clothes," as the judge was required to do in the presence or sound of blasphemy (Matt. 26:65; Mk. 14:63). The act was a histrionic conventionality, but it was also a deeply ingrained practice, as illustrated by Acts 14:14: faced with the horrible situation of divine reverence paid to them, PAUL and BARNABAS "tore their clothes." Figurative uses underline the emptiness of the formality in times of spiritual degeneracy (Joel 2:13).

clothing. See CLOTH; DRESS.

cloud. The climate of Palestine is relatively simple. See PALESTINE V. The weather is highly predictable for every day in each season, and the seasons are nearly identical in pattern every year. To the W lies the Mediterranean Sea; to the E, the desert. The prevailing winds come from the W and bring clouds. If it is cool enough or if the mountains are high enough, the clouds release their water in the form of RAIN or, more rarely, SNOW. Therefore, the coast and the higher mountains, particularly GILEAD and MOAB, receive the most rain but this is only in the winter. One may see clouds year round, and even though they do provide shade they may not drop rain. Frequently a mist is seen in the morning, but the rising heat of the day quickly dispels it. (See G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 25th ed. [1931], ch. 3.)

I. Biblical terminology. There are several words for "cloud" in Hebrew, and in some instances several kinds of clouds are meant and various illustrative points may be drawn from each. The most common term is *ʿānān* ***H6727***. It is used of the cloud in which NOAH'S rainbow will be seen (Gen. 9:13 – 16). It is the exclusive word for the pillar of cloud that led the children of Israel through the wilderness, and in this connection appears about forty times in Exodus through Deuteronomy (see PILLAR OF FIRE AND OF CLOUD). This same word describes that which obscured the top of Mount SINAI when MOSES received the law (Exod. 19). The word also describes clouds of dust or smoke as implied in Exod. 14:20 and 1 Ki. 8:10 – 11 and perhaps also Nah. 1:3. In none of these references is there a mention of rain.

Rain clouds are generally described by the second most common word, *ʿāb* ***H6265*** (Ps. 77:17; Eccl. 11:3; Isa. 5:6). A third term, *šaḥaq* ***H8836***, is related to a verb meaning "to be thin" and hence it refers to scattered or thin clouds (e.g., Job 36:28; NRSV, "skies"). The noun *nāśîʾ* ***H5955*** occurs only a few times (e.g., Ps. 135:7).

In the NT the word for "cloud" is *nephelē* ***G3749*** (the related term *nephos* ***G3751*** occurs only once, Heb. 12:1). Among various uses, it describes both rain clouds (cf. Lk. 12:54; Jude 12) and that which will accompany the SON OF MAN when he comes "with power and great glory" (Lk. 21:27 et al.).

II. Theological uses. In many instances in both Testaments clouds indicate God's coming or covering. "See, the LORD rides on a swift cloud…" (Isa. 19:1; cf. Pss. 104:3; 147:8; the word in these instances is *ʿāb*). Throughout the Sinai episode God's presence or leadership was seen in the cloud (*ʿānān*, Exod. 16:10; 19:16; 24:15-18; 34:5; 40:34 – 38; Num. 9:15 – 22; et al.). At the TRANSFIGURATION of Jesus a voice came from the cloud (Mk. 9:7); after the RESURRECTION, Jesus was received up into a cloud (Acts 1:9). Furthermore, the saints on earth will be caught up with the raptured dead into the clouds (1 Thess. 4:17). Christ will return as he predicted (Matt. 24:30 et al.) in the clouds (Rev. 1:7).

The Bible writers used clouds to illustrate many things. In Hosea it depicts transitoriness, "Your love is like a morning cloud, / like the dew that goes early away" (Hos. 6:4 NRSV; cf. Job 7:9; 30:15). Koheleth illustrates the depression that comes with old age: "Remember your Creator / in the days of your youth, / before…the clouds return after the rain" (Eccl. 12:1 – 2). Isaiah pictures

swiftness and irretrievability in Isa. 60:8 and 44:22 respectively: "Who are these that fly along like clouds?" "I have swept away your offenses like a cloud, your sins like the morning mist." Job 38:37 illustrates innumerability: "Who has the wisdom to count the clouds?" (cf. Heb. 12:1). Several passages portray divine visitation: "For the day is near, / the day of the LORD is near—/ a day of clouds, / a time of doom for the nations" (Ezek. 30:3; cf. Joel 2:1 – 2; Zeph. 1:15).

Job uses clouds to illustrate things more widely by far than any other Bible book. In addition to the uses noted above, the following are worthy of mention: Job 20:6 illustrates height while other verses (36:29; 37:16; 38:34) illustrate human inability to understand, comprehend, or compare with God's creation. By the same token they show God's power (Job 26:9; 37:11; 38:9).

R. L. ALDEN

cloud, pillar of. See PILLAR OF FIRE AND OF CLOUD.

club. A specially made club for battle purposes seems to have been used as early as 3500 B.C. in the ANE. The head was a well-shaped stone or ball of metal with a hole through which the handle was thrust. When an adequate helmet was invented, the mace became obsolete as a crushing weapon, and the axe was developed to pierce the armor of the enemy. (See Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* [1963], 1:11 – 13, 40 – 43.) The club then became stylized as a symbol of authority. In the OT this is called a "rod of iron" (Ps. 2:9; Isa. 10:5; cf. Isa. 10:15). The shepherd's weapon was a wooden club (1 Sam. 17:40, 43; Ps. 23:4; cf. the use of *xylon* ***G3833***, "wood," in Matt. 26:47, 55; Mk. 14:43, 48; Lk. 22:52). Other passages use Hebrew terms that can be rendered "club" (e.g., 2 Sam. 23:21; Job 41:29; Jer. 51:20). See also ARMOR, ARMS.

G. M. LIVINGSTON

Cnidus n*i*'duhs (Κνίδος ***G3118***). A Greek colony on the SW tip of ASIA MINOR, in the region of CARIA. Cnidus was a trading city that had connections with both Egypt and Italy as early as the 6th cent. B.C. It housed a medical school, possessed the famous statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles, and was the home of the astronomer Eudoxus. Cnidus fell under Persian domination in common with all Asia Minor in the 6th cent., and in the 5th was a member of the Athenian-dominated Delian League. Its subsequent history, in Hellenistic and Roman times, is not well known. It was a free city in the province of ASIA. There were Jewish inhabitants as early as the 2nd cent.

From Cnidus the best course for westbound maritime traffic was by one of the routes across the Aegean. The steady thrust of the *meltemi* (the Etesian winds), blowing out of Thrace (see THRACIA), precluded this navigation at the time of PAUL'S voyage (Acts 27:7), but provided a following wind for the shipmaster's daring attempt to sail S or SW and move W under the lee of CRETE. Situated as it was on the end of a long peninsula thrusting seaward between the islands of Cos and RHODES, Cnidus, with its two harbors, was admirably equipped to form the port and point of departure for such traffic. A few ruins of the temple of Aphrodite are still to be seen. (See G. E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Maeander*, 2nd ed. [1980], ch. 12.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

coal. The term primarily refers to charcoal, since Palestine does not have deposits of mineral coal, and there is no evidence that it was used in ancient times. Charcoal was made by charring wood that was stacked in a dome-shaped pile from which air was excluded. Among several Hebrew terms

translated "coal," the most common is *gaḥal* ***H1624***, which denotes burning charcoal used for cooking (Isa. 44:19; cf. *anthrakia* ***G471*** in Jn. 21:9) and heating (Isa. 47:14; cf. Jn. 18:18). The term occurs with several metaphorical connotations. It may designate the revelation of God (2 Sam. 22:9, 13; Pss. 18:8, 12; Ezek. 1:13; 10:2); the breath of LEVIATHAN (Job 41:21); and the judgment of God (Ps. 120:4; 140:10; Prov. 25:22; cf. *anthrax* ***G472*** in Rom. 12:20).

G. H. LIVINGSTON

coast. This English term translates several Hebrew words, including *gĕbûl* ***H1473*** ("border," e.g., Num. 34:6), *ḥôp* ***H2572*** ("shore," e.g., Josh. 9:1), and especially *)î* ***H362*** ("island, coastland," e.g., Jer. 2:10). Today the word is used only in reference to the border of the sea, but in Elizabethan times it was used of any border of a nation or people or town. (A Christmas carol of a later period, obviously misunderstanding the KJV of Matt. 2:16, has ships sailing into Bethlehem, a geographical impossibility.)

J. B. SCOTT

coat. This English term is used frequently by the KJV where other versions prefer "clothes," "garment," "robe," etc. The tunic-coat was a close-fitting undergarment worn by both men and women. It became predominant during Bronze III and was the usual dress in the Iron Age. It was probably made from two pieces of cloth sewn together (or maybe just a single piece) with a hole cut at the top for the head to pass through. Sometimes it was woven without seam (*chitōn* ***G5945***, Jn. 19:23); frequently it was of one solid color. Apparently the fabric was wool or linen, although the tunics worn by Adam and Eve were of animal skins (*kuttōnet* ***H4189***, Gen. 3:21). The garment was lined with a white cotton material and was worn next to the body during warm weather. This covering was so scanty that if a person had on nothing else he was considered naked (1 Sam. 19:24; 2 Sam. 6:20; Jn. 21:7). It was pulled or tucked up when one worked or ran (Exod. 12:11; 2 Ki. 4:29). The tunic was rent as a sign of grief (2 Sam. 13:19; 15:32), and apparently the SHULAMMITE laid hers aside at night (Cant. 5:3).

The tunic worn by the priests had long sleeves, extended down to the ankles, and was fastened about the loins by a girdle (Exod. 29:5, 8 – 9; 39:27). The fold formed by the overlapping of the robe served as an inner pocket. JOSEPHUS states that the sleeves were tied to the arms (*Ant*. 3.7.2). AARON'S tunic was of fine Egyptian linen and was woven "in checker work" (Exod. 28:39). JOSEPH'S "coat of many colours" (Gen. 37:3 KJV) or "long robe with sleeves" (NRSV) may have been a tunic reaching to the feet (*kuttōnet passîm*; see SLEEVE). TAMAR'S garment was also of this type (2 Sam. 13:18) and might have been quite colorful.

Slaves, laborers, and prisoners wore a more abbreviated style (sometimes only to their knees and without sleeves), as appears on the BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION. In the Assyrian relief depicting the siege and capture of LACHISH by SENNACHERIB (701 B.C.), there are Jewish captives (male and female) wearing long, dress-like tunics that reach almost to the ankles. These garments are moderately tight and fit close to the neck (cf. Job 30:18). They are pure white and have short sleeves reaching half-way to the elbow; they are without decoration and are not held in place by a girdle. These Hebrews, however, were prisoners of war, and they had probably been stripped of all but their essential clothing.

R. C. RIDALL

coat of mail. See ARMOR, ARMS IV.B.

cobra. See ASP; SERPENT.

cock. See ROOSTER.

cockatrice. This English term is used by the KJV four times (Isa. 11:8; 14:29; 59:5; Jer. 8:17) as a rendering of Hebrew *ṣip(ōnî* ***H7626***, which refers to a poisonous SNAKE. It is translated VIPER by the NIV and ADDER by the NRSV.

cockcrow. Literal rendering of Greek *alektorophōnia G231*, used once in the NT to designate the name of the third watch of the night, from twelve to three A.M. (Mk. 13:35 NRSV; the KJV has "cockcrowing"; the NIV, "when the rooster crows"). In the time of Christ the night was divided by the Romans into four watches: late, midnight, cockcrow, and early (see HOUR). In a literal sense, each of the evangelists refers to the crowing of the ROOSTER in connection with PETER'S denial of Jesus (Matt. 26:34, 74; Mk. 14:30; Lk. 22:34; Jn. 13:38).

J. B. SCOTT

This inscription found in the Jerusalem temple mount reads, "To the place of the trumpeting." At cockcrow in NT times, two priests blew the shofars from the SW corner of the temple platform (*m. Sukkah* 5:4).

cockle. This English term, which can refer to any of several weedy plants, is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *bo)šâ* ***H947*** (found only in Job 31:40; NIV, "weeds"). The cognate verb *bā)aš* ***H944*** means "to stink," and thus the NRSV translates "foul weeds" (cf. also *bĕ)uš* ***H946***, used of wild or sour grapes in Isa. 5:2, 4). The cockle is *Agrostemma githago*, and grows about 2 – 3 ft. high. The flowers are rose pink, and the green stalks have a gray down on them. It is a common weed of Palestinian barley fields. If the seeds are harvested with the grain, the flour produced can be irritantly poisonous. There ought to be, therefore, complete elimination of cockle plants when the barley is growing. Others believe that the Hebrew word refers to darnel (*Lolium temulentum*; cf. *HALOT*, 1:107). See also WEEDS.

code, written. This expression is used by the NIV to render Greek *gramma* ***G1207***, meaning "letter, document" (Rom. 2:26 – 27; 7:6), and *cheirographon* ***G5934***, meaning "handwritten document, record of debts" (Col. 2:14). In both cases it refers to the Mosaic law viewed negatively. The first term focuses on the law as an outward requirement, contrasting with what is spiritual. The second speaks of its condemnatory function. See also LAW (NT).

Code of Hammurabi. See HAMMURABI.

codex. A bound manuscript (pl. *codices*), contrasted with a SCROLL (which consists of sheets joined together in long rolls). The modern book

This tool is used to bind the pages of a book together when making a codex.

descends from the codex form, which was already in existence, but rarely used, during the NT period. As early as the 2nd cent. of our era, Christians were favoring the codex for the transcription of NT books and other religious literature. Although the original reason for this choice is debated, the codex provided some significant advantages over the scroll. A relatively long biblical book, such as the Gospel of Luke, would fill one large scroll, whereas the whole NT (and even the whole Greek Bible) could be bound together within the covers of one portable codex. Moreover, finding a specific text was far easier by turning pages than by unrolling a scroll that was 20 – 30 ft. long. By the 4th cent., the codex had become the medium of choice also for the transcription of non-Christian literature. (Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 2nd ed. [1951]; E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* [1977]; C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* [1983]; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* [1995].) See below for separate articles on the most important biblical codices. See also TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

Codex Alexandrinus (A) al'ig-zan-dr*i*'nuhs. A MS of the whole Bible in Greek, dated probably in the 5th cent., now in the British Museum (numbered Royal, I.D. V-VIII). In the standard notation system used by biblical scholars, it bears the siglum A (also 02).

Codex Alexandrinus was the gift of Cyril Lukaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, to King Charles I in

1627, whence its name. A study of notes in the MS has corrected the statement of Thomas Smith (1686) that Cyril brought the MS with him from Constantinople; it is now clear that the codex was brought by Athanasius III in the 14th cent. It is on the whole well preserved, but lacunae are found in Genesis, 1 Kingdoms (= 1 Samuel), Psalms, Matthew, John, 1 Corinthians. The noncanonical *1 – 2 Clement* also are found (both with slight lacunae), but the *Psalms of Solomon*, once part of the MS, have been lost. It is carefully written: from a study of its writing and styles of decoration it seems clear that it is the work of two scribes, one of whom wrote the Octateuch, Prophets, and NT; the other copied the rest of the books. This is an important witness to the text both of the LXX and of the NT. In the LXX the text type differs from book to book; three main types of text are found, that of the pre-Hexaplaric Alexandrian text, the Hexaplaric recension, and the recension of Lucian of Antioch (cf. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* [1968], 183 – 88). See SEPTUAGINT.

In the NT also its textual affiliation differs from section to section. In the Gospels, it is one of the earliest witnesses to the text later prevalent in the Byzantine period (sometimes ascribed to the activity of Lucian). In the Acts and Epistles it is an ally of CODEX VATICANUS and P^{46}, which give a very good text. In the Revelation it is the best single witness to this book's complete text, its close allies being CODEX EHRAEMI SYRI and some minuscules. Its Constantinopolitan origin may have given it contact with good traditions. (For a reduced photographic facsimile in 4 vols., see *The Codex Alexandrinus* [1909 – 1936]; cf. also H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* [1938], App. ii; id., *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus*, 2nd ed. [1963]; B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* [1981], 86 and pl. 18.) See TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D) bee'zee-kan'tuh-brij-ee-en'sis. This MS is named for Théodore Beza (de Bèze), John Calvin's friend, who, after obtaining it near Lyons, France, during the Wars of Religion, gave it in 1581 to Cambridge University, in whose library it still lies (thus the additional name Cantabrigiensis). In the standard notation system used by NT scholars, it bears the siglum D (or 05). This MS is to be distinguished from CODEX CLAROMONTANUS (06), which contains only the Pauline epistles and bears also the siglum D.

Codex Bezae is a bilingual MS, with Greek on the left page facing Latin on the right. It contains the four Gospels (in the Western order: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) and Acts with a small fragment of 1 John. Perhaps originally it had the Revelation also. There are numerous lacunae in Acts, some caused after the arrival of the MS in Cambridge. It is dated in the 4th or 5th cent., and a long series of correctors and annotators have worked on it, some emending the text, others adding liturgical notes, one a series of "fortunes" foretelling the future.

Its place of origin has caused much debate and is still not quite settled. Greek was the language of the region, and of most of the later annotators. The liturgical links are Greek, but there are occasional Latin contacts in the style of the MS. This combination of features has pointed for many scholars to some Western area: Gaul, Sardinia, South Italy, and Sicily, all of which partook of Greek and Latin culture. Sicily has seemed the most likely source, since its Greek contacts were the least interrupted over the centuries. It is possible, however, that either Jerusalem or Alexandria might be the place of origin, since it is known that bilinguals were in use for the sake of pilgrims. Both the Latin and the Greek of the MS are fairly typical of the vulgar form of the languages in the late empire; they give little guidance on origins.

In its bilingual form Codex Bezae is probably the descendant of earlier copies, since both the Greek

and the Latin text bear signs of being brought into close verbal agreement one with the other, which indicates a history behind this MS. Its Greek text differs considerably from most Greek MSS, especially in Acts where it attests a longer text; but it is not without support among recently discovered papyri. In Acts, it may occasionally preserve the original reading; generally its text represents the rehandling by some group who wished to emphasize the work of the Holy Spirit and also may have been motivated by an anti-Jewish tendency. In the Gospels, its peculiarities are often locutions more Semitic than Greek; where this is true, a case can be made for their originality as dependent upon a slavishly rendered tradition of the words of Jesus. This would often be earlier than the form of other texts more polished in their Greek.

Support for the readings of D comes sometimes from later Greek MSS, but more often from the versions, particularly the Old Latin, Old Syriac, and sometimes the Sahidic Coptic. These MSS represent an ancient text, often original, which has left its traces on the outskirts of the Christian world, in versions made early in the 2nd cent., and in out-of-the-way places only in the mainstream of the Greek transmission of the text. Hence, D has grown in interest with modern advances. (For a facsimile ed., see *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* [1899]; cf. also J. H. Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 1/3 [1926], lvi-lxxxiv; A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* [1933], 173 – 220; E. J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* [1966]; B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* [1981], 88 – 89 and pl. 19; J. N. Birdsall in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments,* ed. W. Schrage [1986], 102 – 14.) See also TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

Codex Claromontanus (D) klair'uh-mon-tan'uhs. A 6th-cent. Greek-Latin bilingual MS of the Pauline Epistles now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France. Like CODEX BEZAE (D or 05) it was once in the possession of Theodore Beza, Calvinist reformer, and it also bears the siglum D (along with 06), sometimes written D^p or D_2. In it the text of Hebrews is separated from the rest of the Epistles, concluding with Philemon, by a list of canonical books, the Catalogus Claromontanus, which is remarkable for the omission (perhaps accidental) of Philippians and Hebrews, and the inclusion of *Barnabas, Shepherd of Hermas, Acts of Paul*, and *Apocalypse of Peter*.

The place of the codex in textual study is not to be understood without reference to the relationship to two other bilingual MSS, the Codex Augiensis (F^p or 010) and the Codex Boernerianus (G^p or 012). In a family tree, these other somewhat later MSS are to be placed as in a collateral line of descent, their immediate ancestor being a "brother" of the Claromontanus, both copied from one archetype. Sometimes the more recent MSS are better representatives of the text of the archetype than the older, since it attests in the form of conflate readings many variants that are known in the others in their original form.

The Latin of Claromontanus is representative of a form of old Latin known from the church fathers. Its relatives do not use the same type for their Latin. The Greek text common to the three has been called "Western," since although an old Syriac text antedating the Peshitta existed, few traces of it remain, and these are unanalyzed. Like the text of D and its allies in the Gospels and Acts, it may be characterized as an ancient text with many errors and corruptions, but at places sharing with other Greek witnesses' early readings, some of them original and correct. It requires then here, as in the Gospels, careful scrutiny, not flat rejection. The Codex Boernerianus has a trace within it of the apocryphal *Epistle to the Laodiceans* after Philemon. There is no trace of this in the Claromontanus,

although it is at this point that the unexpected Catalogus is found. (See H. J. Vogels, *Der Codex Claromontanus der paulinischen Briefe*, ed. H. G. Wood [1933], 274 – 302; G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* [1953], 84 – 149.) See also TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C) ee'fruh-mee-sihr'ee-ri-skrip'tuhs. Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France, this codex is the remains of a 5th-cent. Greek MS of the whole Bible. In the standard notation system used by biblical scholars, it bears the siglum C (or 04). About the 12th cent. it was broken up, and the 208 leaves that still survive were erased and rewritten with works of EPHRAEM SYRUS in Greek translation; the MS is thus a *palimpsest* ("scraped again"; cf. its Latin name, *Rescriptus*, "rewritten"). It has proved difficult to read even with the use of chemical reagents. It contains parts of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Song of Songs, and the NT (other than 2 Thessalonians and 2 John). It appears difficult to determine the number of scribes and in some cases to distinguish the corrections from the original.

The textual complexion of the MS, as far as one can venture a general rule, is that of a weaker brother of CODEX VATICANUS and CODEX SINAITICUS. The differences in text in the NT probably arise from a difference in date, and show a development within the text-type represented in all. In Revelation, however, it is a close associate of CODEX ALEXANDRINUS, attesting the best-known text form. In Rev. 13:18, the number of the Beast is given as 616, in agreement with the Armenian version, Irenaeus, and Tyconius (but against the Codex A). (For an edition of the MS, see C. Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi rescriptus sive Fragmenta Novi Testamenti* [1843], with the corrections noted by R. W. Lyon in *NTS* 5 [1959]: 266 – 72. Cf. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* [1968], 188 – 90.) See also SEPTUAGINT; TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

Codex Sinaiticus (א) si'n'i-it'uh-kuhs. A MS of the whole Bible formerly at Mount Sinai, then at St. Petersburg, and finally bought for the British nation in 1934. In the standard notation system used by biblical scholars, it bears the siglum א, which is the Hebrew letter *)aleph* (also 01; in SEPTUAGINT studies, S). It now contains parts of Genesis, Numbers, 1 Chronicles, 2 Esdras, the poetical books, Esther, Tobit, Judith, the prophets (apart from Hosea, Amos, Micah, Ezekiel, Daniel), 1 and 4 Maccabees, the whole NT, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and a large part of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

Its discovery by C. Tischendorf, apparently in a wastebasket, has often been romantically rehearsed. Further investigation has shown, however, that an element of the unscrupulous entered into its removal to Russia. (See B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. [2005], 62 – 67.) It may be dated in the 4th cent. on paleographical grounds and by the presence of the EUSEBIAN CANONS (a system of finding the correlations of the synoptics, devised by EUSEBIUS in the early part of the century). Its place of origin is uncertain, possibly ALEXANDRIA or CAESAREA; it was certainly in the latter city by the 6th (or 7th) cent., when a group of Caesarean scribes made corrections on the text. (See H. J. Milne, T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* [1938].)

The textual value of the codex is high, but its affinities vary from book to book. It often agrees with CODEX VATICANUS (B) in the OT, sometimes giving a Hexaplaric text, sometimes pre-Hexaplaric (cf. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* [1968], 180 – 83). In the Synoptic Gospels, it is a close ally of B, but in the Gospel of John it agrees with CODEX BEZAE against its former ally. In the

Acts and Epistles it is again in harmony with B and other witnesses to its text. In Revelation (where B is no longer extant) it is the ally of the CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI and the quotations of ORIGEN, giving a text that does not command the assent of present-day scholars. The correctors in both Testaments have a different textual affiliation. (For a facsimile in 2 vols., see *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus* [1911 – 22]; cf. also H. J. M. Milne, and T. C. Skeat, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus*, 2nd ed. [1963]; B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* [1981], 76 – 78 and pl. 14; J. H. Charlesworth, *The New Discoveries in St. Catherine's Monastery: A Preliminary Report on the Manuscripts* [1981].) See also SEPTUAGINT; TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

Codex Vaticanus (B) vat'i-kan'uhs. A MS of the whole Bible, already in the Vatican library by 1475. In the standard notation system used by biblical scholars, it bears the siglum B (or 03). The first forty-five chapters of Genesis are missing, as well as a part of 2 Kingdoms (= 2 Samuel), some psalms, the end of Hebrews, and all of Revelation. It is datable in the 4th cent. Its place of origin is unknown; many scholars have remarked its close congruence with the ideas of Athanasius about the canon of Scripture, with which it agrees both in content and order. Textually the codex generally agrees closely with Egyptian fathers and versions, and these two facts lead many to suggest an Egyptian origin for it. In the view of competent paleographers, however, one of the scribes of CODEX SINAITICUS (א) also wrote part of B. CAESAREA then may be a more likely place of origin.

Its textual value is very high. In the OT it usually preserves a pre-Hexaplaric text (that is, before the revisions by ORIGEN), although some portions, such as the book of Isaiah, are Hexaplaric (cf. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* [1968], 177 – 79). In the NT, it has perhaps been overrated in the past; it represents the product of very good editorial activity rather than an uncontaminated "original Greek." Recent papyrus discoveries have shown its textual type to be perhaps as much as two centuries older than the date of the MS itself. It is also noteworthy for two systems of chapter division that were later superseded by others. The chapter divisions in the Gospels (called the Vatican Sections), known in one other MS only, are topical. In the Acts and Epistles, an ancient system important for the history of the canon is attested: in it 2 Peter had no place and Hebrews followed Galatians. (For a facsimile, see *Bibliorum ss. graecorum Codex Vaticanus 1209*, 4 vols. [1889 – 1904]; cf. also M. J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle.* II. *La critique rationelle* [1935], 83 – 90 et passim; B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* [1981], 74 and pl. 13.) See also SEPTUAGINT; TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. N. BIRDSALL

Coelesyria see'lee-sihr'ee-uh (Κοίλη Συρία, possibly "Hollow Syria" or "All Syria"). Also Coele-Syria. A geographical term, with varying connotation, used of parts of Syro-Palestine. This name is first attested in the early 4th cent. B.C., when it seems to have referred to the whole of the great Rift Valley, which extends from the ʿAmuq plain in the N (on the ORONTES River) to the DEAD SEA in the S. It often referred more particularly to the BEQAʿ plain

Codex Vaticanus, showing Acts 15:25 – 36.

between the LEBANON and ANTILEBANON mountains. During the Hellenistic period the Beqa(lay in the region where the Seleucid and Ptolemaic claims met (see SELEUCUS; PTOLEMY).
In the 3rd cent. the Ptolemies controlled it from Egypt and referred to the area as SYRIA, but in 200 B.C. the Seleucids conquered this area, and to distinguish it from those parts of Syria already in their possession, they called it Coelesyria (the term is used in 1 Macc. 10:69; 2 Macc. 3:5, 8; 4:4; 8:8; 10:11; also in 1 Esd. 2:17, 24, 27; 6:29; 7:1; 8:67 [cf. "Beyond the River" or "Trans-Euphrates" in the parallel passages, Ezra 4:11, 16, 20; 6:8, 13; 8:36]). With the end of the Seleucid empire in the 1st cent. B.C., and the rise of the HASMONEAN kings in Palestine, the term was confined to the Beqa(and the area to the E of it. From the time of AUGUSTUS it was further limited to the Beqa(alone. Finally in the late 2nd cent. A.D., Septimius Severus created a new province under this name, comprising the whole of N Syria, and excluding the Beqa(, which fell in "Syria Phoenice." (See E. J. Bickerman in *RB* 54 [1947]: 256 – 68.)

T. C. MITCHELL

coffer. This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *)argaz* ***H761***, "box, chest," which occurs only three times (1 Sam. 6:8, 11, 15). See CHEST.

coffin. See BURIAL.

cohort. Nominally the tenth part of a Roman LEGION, or 600 soldiers, but the actual number varied. Although this English term often has the general sense of "a group of people," it is used by some versions in its military meaning to render Greek *speira* ***G5061*** (NIV, "company of soldiers" in Matt. 27:27 and Mk. 15:16; "detachment of soldiers" in Jn. 18:3, 12; "regiment" in Acts 10:1; 27:1; "Roman troops" in Acts 21:31).

The traditional Roman legion of 6,000 men was divided into ten cohorts. Each of these was divided for administrative purposes into three maniples and six centuries. In the minor provinces, such as JUDEA, Roman troops were usually recruited locally and assigned to auxiliary cohorts that were posted alone in frontier forts and in places of unrest. The cohort numbered from 500 men (*cohortes quingenariae*, under a PREFECT) to 1,000 (*cohortes milliariae*, under a TRIBUNE) and was composed of infantry and cavalry. In the NT narratives, the cohorts function as garrison troops and as local military police. See also AUGUSTAN COHORT; ITALIAN REGIMENT.

A. RUPPRECHT

coins. The invention of coined money in ancient times did not antedate the kingdom of LYDIA, which came to an end by 546 B.C. Prior to that time, the ANE carried on commercial transactions either by barter or by bullion weighed out in the scales. In the earlier period the chief medium of exchange w as livestock, such as CATTLE, SHEEP, or GOATS (esp. in nomadic communities), or else the products of AGRICULTURE, such as GRAIN, OLIVES, and FIGS, or the liquid manufactures in the form of WINE or olive OIL. Taxes were ordinarily paid in oil or wine, judging from the Samaritan OSTRACA from the reign of JEROBOAM II (793 – 753 B.C.), which list the number of jars paid by each

This round-mouthed jug was discovered in the foundations of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. It contained 19 coins predating 600 B.C. and thus belonging to the earliest period of coinage, soon after its invention in the Greek world.

taxpayer opposite his name. Even vassal kings like MESHA of MOAB paid their tribute to the Israelite government in the form of sheep's WOOL (at the yearly rate of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams, 2 Ki. 3:4).

On the other hand, it should be noted that SILVER bullion often was used in making purchases even as early as the beginning of the 2nd millennium, when ABRAHAM bought the cave and field of MACHPELAH from EPHRON the Hittite for 400 shekels of silver (Gen. 23:15 – 16). These shekels of course were not in the form of minted coins at this early period, but they were simply units of weight amounting to about 0.4 oz. or 11.5 grams per shekel. In an earlier passage (20:14 – 16), King ABIMELECH of GERAR is said to have paid Abraham a thousand shekels of silver before he left his territories, along with sheep, oxen, and slaves. Young JOSEPH was sold into slavery by his brothers for twenty shekels (37:28). The term *kesep* ***H4084***, "silver," mentioned in these transactions must have been intended for "shekels of silver," even though the word *šeqel* ***H9203*** is not mentioned until MOSES' time (Exod. 21:32), apart from the aforementioned purchase of the cave of Machpelah. One other unit of weight is also referred to in a real estate transaction in the life of JACOB; he is said to have bought a parcel of ground near SHECHEM for 100 "pieces of silver" (*qĕśîṭâ* ***H7988***, Gen. 33:19) —a unit that perhaps represented the current rate of silver for a lamb (the term is also used in Josh. 24:32 and Job 42:11).

The bullion used in such transactions may have been forged into standard shapes, for Egyptian bas-reliefs show bundles or piles of silver rings that were capable of being tied together for

convenience' sake, as the sons of Jacob did when purchasing grain in Egypt (Gen. 42:35). As for the buying power of silver in Mosaic times (Lev. 5:15), it is indicated that two shekels was the price of a ram, and fifty shekels for a *homer* (estimated at four bushels or more) of barley seed (Lev. 27:16). In ELISHA'S day, under favorable conditions of supply at least, a *seah* (or 1.5 pecks) of fine meal could be had for one shekel (2 Ki. 7:16). For further discussion of these and other units, see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The normal subdivisions of the shekel mentioned are: the *gerah* (one 20th), the *beka* (a half shekel), and the *pim* (prob. two-thirds of a shekel; cf. 1 Sam. 13:21). The multiples of the shekel were the *maneh* (50 shekels) and the *kikkar* or talent (3,000 shekels, i.e., 60 *manehs*). It goes without saying that no coin was ever minted that was equivalent to these higher values; even among the Greeks the largest silver coin was the *decadrachma*, which weighed less than three of the full-weight shekels of Israelite times.

The earliest minted coinage thus far discovered is that of the Lydian empire, as mentioned above. These came out at first in electrum (a mixture of silver and gold), and featured the forepart of a lion confronting the forepart of a bull. The reverse of the coin bore a shapeless punch mark rather than any recognizable type, a custom followed from then until the advent of Greek influence in the ANE. Somewhat later the Lydians also produced a silver *siglos* of about the same shape and design as the electrum prototype. After the Persian conquest of Lydia (546 B.C.), probably in the reign of DARIUS I (522 – 485), the Persian imperial currency came out with a new standard type: the king kneeling and facing to the right, holding a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left. This was minted both in gold and in silver.

It is interesting to note that the gold *daric* was the most frequently mentioned coin in the OT if one regards the *)ădarkōnîm* ***H163*** of 1 Chr. 29:7 and Ezra 8:27 as identical with the *darkĕmônîm* ***H2007*** of Ezra 2:69 and Neh. 7:70 – 72. Some authorities regard the latter as the Greek term *drachmē* ***G1534*** ("drachma," cf. NIV), but this is more than doubtful, since the Greeks did not refer to gold coins as drachmas. Of course it may be that the daric was used as a unit of weight, rather than a minted coin, since Ezra 8:27 refers to gold basins of 1,000 darics each. Certainly the shekel was used as a unit of weight rather than as a coin throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, except possibly in Neh. 5:15 (which refers to a time after the invention of minted money).

It was apparently in GREECE that the first silver coinage made its appearance, even before it was minted in Lydia. The earliest silver *staters* from Aegina, an island near the coast of Argolis on the NE shoulder of the Peloponnesus, date from around 670 B.C., and show a sea tortoise on the obverse, with a mill incuse on the reverse. Aegina was a major mercantile center during the 7th and 6th centuries, and its coinage was widely used. With the rising naval power of ATHENS at the beginning of the 5th cent., the Athenian *tetradrachma* took the field as the dominant silver coin in international trade in the eastern Mediterranean. This coin featured the head of the patron goddess, Athena, facing right, and on the reverse her sacred bird, the owl, with an olive spray behind it. Unlike the coinages of other cities, this Attic tetradrachma never reduced its weight from 270 grains, nor did it debase the silver from its original fineness. For this reason, as well as for the extensive political power of Athens (esp. under the leadership of Pericles), this coin enjoyed the widest circulation of any Greek coin prior to the Alexandrian conquest.

Hoards, including these tetradrachmas, have been unearthed all over the Mediterranean area, even in the Black Sea Hellenic settlements and the coastal districts of the ANE, including Palestine itself. In 230 B.C., after 300 years of use, this older type was replaced by a new style with a broader flan, containing the head of Athena Parthenos (the famous masterpiece of Phidias in the Parthenon)

with the three-crested helmet. The coin has this inscription: ΑΘΗ ΜΗΤΡΟ ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ ("Of the metropolis of the Athenians, Epigenes [and] Sosander"). The two magistrates named held office in 163 B.C. according to some authorities, but others prefer the year 158.

Another widely used currency was that of the city of CORINTH, whose colonies and mercantile connections spread from western Greece over Sicily and southern Italy. It minted a beautiful stater with a lovely head of Athena wearing an owl-type helmet, and on the reverse the winged horse Pegasus. Many of the colonies founded by Corinthian settlers used the same types on their staters. The smaller denominations of Corinth retained the Pegasus on the reverse, but varied the obverse type. Thus, the drachma bore the head of Aphrodite, whose temple on the Acrocorinthos overlooking the city was said to maintain a thousand temple prostitutes for the convenience of her worshipers—a tradition of sexual impurity that continued until Paul's generation in the 1st cent A.D.

The currency needs of Palestine itself were largely supplied by the Persian imperial coinage described above, but also by the mintages of TYRE and SIDON in nearby PHOENICIA. From the late 5th cent. onward, the shekels of Sidon carried a sail ship or galley riding above the waves, and on the reverse a two-horse chariot occupied by the standing figure of the king and one or two attendants. The coinage from Tyre at this same period portrayed a hippocamp (or winged sea horse) ridden by a long-bearded BAAL Melqart with waves indicated below. On the reverse a dignified owl stands in front of the traditional Egyptian symbols of kingly authority: the flail and the shepherd's crook. (See J. W. Betlyon, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia* [1980].) In addition to these Phoenician currencies, there was at least one mint in the province of Judah, perhaps located at GAZA, where a type of shekel was produced that bore a bearded Semitic head on the obverse, but on the reverse a crude imitation of the Athenian owl and the inscription יהד (i.e., *Yehud*, "Judah"). This may have been a limited issue, since so few specimens have been unearthed.

The groundwork was laid for the intrusion of Hellenic influence in the ANE by the brilliant reign of King Philip of MACEDONIA (359 – 336 B.C.). Under his leadership the Macedonians developed an invincible army, and by clever political policies Philip was able to bring all of Greece (except Sparta) under his control. His gold staters found wide currency throughout the Greek world and even up to the Celtic tribes of the Danube valley. They bore a beautiful head of the god APOLLO on the obverse, and a two-horse chariot with a charioteer racing off to the right; above was the inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ("of Philip"). His silver tetradrachmas also were widely circulated; these portray the head of ZEUS on the obverse (possibly copied from the famous statue by Phidias in Olympia) and a prancing horse with a bareback rider or jockey on the reverse. This series was apparently issued in celebration of Philip's prize-winning horse at the Olympian games. (See C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* [1976].)

After Philip's career was suddenly cut off by assassination, his young son, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, came to the throne, and proved to be one of the greatest military geniuses the world has ever seen. After putting down a serious rebellion in Greece (which resulted in the total destruction of the city of Thebes), he began his amazing conquest of the Persian empire. In three major battles, Granicus in Asia Minor (334 B.C.), Issus in N Syria (333), and Gaugamela or Arbela in Assyria (331), he completely crushed the military might of King Darius III and pushed all the way E to Afghanistan and the Indus River valley region of India. Thus in seven years he acquired the largest empire of ancient times, stretching all the way from Yugoslavia to Pakistan, and from Romania in the N to Sudan in the S.

Alexander was magnanimous to all who surrendered to him, but ruthless toward cities like Tyre

and Gaza, which held out against him to the bitter end. It should be noted that after his campaign against Gaza, Alexander descended into Egypt, where he was welcomed as a deliverer from the hated Persian yoke, and he was hailed as a son of Zeus Ammon, the chief deity of Egypt. Thus he became eligible to have his portrait on coinage (for only divine beings could be so honored) and to wear the ram's horn crown of Zeus Ammon. (He is thus represented on a coin minted by King Lysimachus of Thrace after his death in 323. The reverse of this beautiful tetradrachma shows Athena seated and holding the victory goddess, Nike, in her right hand, with the inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ, "of King Lysimachus."

Alexander's portrait did not, however, appear on the coinage of his empire during his lifetime. His silver pieces, both the tetradrachma and the drachma, bore the familiar Macedonian type of the head of Heracles in his lion's headdress (Heracles was the mythical ancestor of the Macedonian royal line), and on the reverse the god Zeus enthroned,

Alexandrian Empire tetradrachma, c. 325 B.C.

holding an eagle in his right hand and a tall scepter in his left. Below the eagle is the mint mark, in this case the wreath, which represented the city of SIDE in PAMPHYLIA. The inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to the right) and ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ below (i.e., "of King Alexander"; see Alexandrian Empire coin). His gold coinage was plentiful, for vast treasures of captured Persian gold were melted down for currency purposes.

After the conqueror's untimely death in 323, his successors (the Diadochi) revered his memory on their coinage. Not only Lysimachus of Thrace, as noted above, but also PTOLEMY I Soter of Egypt in his earlier issues represented Alexander's head in an elephant headdress, in a portrait less rugged than the more lifelike representation shown on Lysimachus's coin, and on the reverse Athena Promachos ("Battle-champion") advancing to the right with upraised shield, and an eagle at her feet. The inscription is a simple ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Later on Ptolemy was emboldened by Alexander's example to claim divine status, and hence his own portrait appeared on his tetradrachmas during his lifetime. It was such an unflattering likeness that it must have been quite true to life. Yet the founder of this dynasty was so revered by his successors that they often retained his portrait on the coinage of their own reign, as was the case with his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

Apart from Palestine (which remained part of the Ptolemaic domain until 198 B.C.), the Asiatic territories of Alexander's empire E of Asia Minor fell under the sway of SELEUCUS, who at first was merely satrap of Babylonia (and as such issued thick tetradrachmas with Zeus or Baal enthroned on

the obverse, and a lion striding leftward with an anchor symbol above him, on the reverse). Later on, Seleucus consolidated his hold and asserted the title of king in his own right. He founded the city of ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, which became the capital of his empire. After 306 he had begun to issue coins with a portrait of Alexander.

It may be assumed that the inhabitants of Palestine used Ptolemaic Egyptian coinage until their territory was taken over by Antiochus the Great in 198 B.C. His younger son, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who began to rule in 175, made a supreme effort to extinguish the Jewish faith and to compel the

Antiochus IV Epiphanes tetradrachma, mid-2nd cent. B.C..

Hebrew people to become polytheists like the rest of his subjects. (See MACCABEE.) In 168 he forced his way into the temple precinct in Jerusalem and converted it into a temple to Zeus Olympius, whose statue was erected within the Holy Place. He made it a capital crime to possess a copy of the Scriptures or to permit one's child to be circumcised. The coin shows a flatteringly handsome portrait of the king; the reverse has Zeus enthroned (see Antiochus IV Epiphanes coin). The coin has words meaning "Of Antiochus the King, the god manifest." Quite fittingly this man is predicted in Dan. 8 and 11 as the little horn emerging from the third kingdom of Daniel's visions, and a type of the "beast" of the end time, the little horn who emerges from the fourth kingdom (Dan. 7; 11:40 – 45). With blatant arrogance Antiochus in this coin claimed to be God manifest in the flesh.

The Maccabean family was able to lead the Jews in a successful revolt against the tyranny of the Seleucid government, maintaining their loyalty to the Scriptures, setting up an independent Jewish state, and cleansing the temple (165 B.C.). Jonathan Maccabee was appointed high priest by one of the rival contenders for the Seleucid throne, and this was confirmed to his successor, SIMON MACCABEE, by vote of the Jewish people soon after the beginning of his reign in 143. It does not appear, however, that he minted any coins during his reign even though he was briefly granted permission to do so by Antiochus VII in 139; the coins formerly attributed to his reign have been verified now as either First Revolt or Second Revolt. Thus, all coins bearing the Hebrew inscription שמעון refer to Simeon ben Kosiba (see BAR KOKHBA) of the Second Revolt, A.D. 132 – 35. It seems clear, therefore, that John Hyrcanus I (135 – 105 B.C.), the son and successor of Simon Maccabee, was the first HASMONEAN ruler to issue Jewish coinage—indeed the first that the Jews ever minted,

as far as is known. These came out only in small bronzes, the *lepton* (or "mite") and the *dilepton*.

The lepta of his younger son, Alexander Jannaeus (104 – 78), often bear the same double cornucopia image as those of John Hyrcanus. Most of his coins carry an anchor on one side and a Greek inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. His son, John Hyrcanus II (63 – 40 B.C.), is abundantly represented in the lepta unearthed in Palestine, which closely resemble those of his grandfather of the same name. The types and inscriptions are identical, and since their names were the same, it is possible to distinguish between them only by the tendency of the later Hyrcanus to show thinner lines in the lettering of the inscription and to cramp the letters more closely together.

Since the Hasmonean priest-kings minted only the small bronzes, it follows that the silver and gold currency in circulation in the Judean kingdom had to be imported from surrounding states. For the most part this supply came from Egypt to the S and Phoenicia and Antioch to the N. Until the Roman conquest in 63 B.C., the tetradrachmas of the Ptolemies and the Seleucid kings must have served for the bulk of the commercial transactions requiring silver currency.

Tyrian shekels, c. 10 B.C.

A series more frequently found in Palestinian excavations is the Tyrian tetradrachma (or shekel; see Tyrian coins) bearing the laureate head of Baal Melqart portrayed as a Grecian Heracles, and on the other side the Seleucid eagle striding fiercely toward the left with a palm of victory and the legend: ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ("of Tyre the Holy and a City-of-Refuge"). The treasure jar found by Roland de Vaux at Khirbet QUMRAN (and dating from about 10 B.C.) was filled with shekels and half-shekels of this mintage. Since this series continued to be struck until the 2nd cent. A.D., it is reasonable to suppose that most of the thirty silver pieces given to JUDAS ISCARIOT for the betrayal of our Lord consisted of these Tyrian tetradrachmas.

Jewish independence came to an end in 63 B.C. when POMPEY the Great was asked by Aristobulus II to intervene on his behalf against his older brother, John Hyrcanus II, who had temporarily ousted him from the throne he had wrongfully usurped. Pompey annexed the territory to the Roman empire, although he permitted Hyrcanus to remain on as puppet king. One coin displays a

portrait of Pompey himself with a pitcher and augur's wand (the insignia of Pompey's office as Pontifex Maximus, or chief priest of the Roman hierarchy), and his title: MAG(nus) PIUS I(MPerator ITER): ("The Great, Pious Commander for the second time"). The reverse shows the legendary Catanaean brothers carrying their father to safety—an allusion to the loyalty of Pompey's own sons in carrying on their dead father's cause against the Caesarian party (i.e., Antony and Octavian) even in 40 B.C., the approximate date of this denarius, minted while Sextus Pompey was temporarily master

Augustus denarius, c. A.D. 10.

of Sardinia and Sicily. The biblical interest of this coin, of course, lies in its portrayal of Pompey himself, the man who ushered in the fourth empire of Daniel's prophecy in Dan. 2.

Actually Pompey was the loser in a titanic struggle with Julius CAESAR for mastery of the Roman empire, for after losing the Battle of Pharsalus he had to flee to Egypt in 48 B.C., where he was treacherously murdered. One coin shows Julius Caesar in the veiled garb of the pontifex maximus, and his name, CAESAR DICT(ator)PERPET(uus), "Caesar permanent dictator." The reverse shows the modestly garbed standing figure of Venus (the legendary ancestress of the Julian *gens* or clan) and the name of the moneyer: P(ublius) SEPULLIUS MACER. This issue, interestingly enough, was probably the first ever to bear the portrait of a living Roman; before that, only gods or the illustrious dead could appear on the coinage of Rome.

Although Palestine was a vassal state of the Roman empire, it was permitted to endure the misrule of the Herodian dynasty for the remainder of the 1st cent. B.C. Antipater the Idumean had proved a valuable helper to Caesar and Antony, and his clever son, HEROD, managed to pick the victorious side when Antony and Octavian (later AUGUSTUS) clashed at the naval battle of Actium in 31 B.C. He was rewarded with the rule of all Palestine. Herod's lepta featured the traditional types of the double cornucopia and the anchor (suggesting that the king was an anchor to the ship of state). He later had his wife, Miriamne, murdered, for he was as ruthless toward his own family as he was to the innocent babes of Bethlehem after the birth of Jesus.

His oldest son and successor was Herod Archelaus, who ruled as ETHNARCH of JUDEA from 4 B.C. to A.D. 6, and was afterward deposed by the Romans on account of his oppressive and unpopular rule (see HEROD IV). After his removal from power Judea became a province ruled by a succession of Roman procurators, who made Caesarea rather than Jerusalem their administrative capital. In GALILEE and PEREA another son of Herod the Great, Herod Antipas (see HEROD V) had previously held sway as TETRARCH from 4 B.C. to A.D. 39. It was he who had JOHN THE BAPTIST executed.

Now turning our attention to the Roman emperors themselves, we note that it was Caesar Augustus whose CENSUS decree (Lk. 2:1) resulted in the birth of Jesus at BETHLEHEM (rather than at

NAZARETH, the normal residence of Joseph and Mary). One coin shows a denarius (always rendered "penny" in the KJV) with a mature head of the emperor, and the legend: AUGUSTUS DIVI F(ilius), "Augustus, son of the divine" (see Augustus coin). This refers to the divine status that the Roman senate had voted for Julius Caesar. Before his assassination Julius had adopted his grandnephew, Octavian, as his heir (hence "son"), and later the senate voted to confer on Octavian the title of "Augustus" or "Revered." A bronze *sestertius* (which was equal to one fourth of a denarius) with his portrait was minted as a commemorative after his death, since it calls him DIVUS AUGUSTUS PATER ("The divine Augustus, Father"—i.e., father of his country).

The Lord carried on his adult ministry in the reign of TIBERIUS (A.D. 14 – 37), the adopted son of Augustus. It was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius that John the Baptist began his prophetic career near the banks of the Jordan (Lk. 3:1). His denarius (see Tiberius coin A) bears the inscription: TI(berius) CAESAR DIVI AUG(usti) AUG(ustus) ("Tiberius Augustus the son of Augustus"). The reverse shows a vestal virgin, possibly his own mother Livia, seated, and his own priestly title: PONTIF(ex) MAXIM(us). This would have been a new and current "penny" at the time when Jesus illustrated the obligations of citizenship by asking, "Whose portrait is this? And whose inscription?" (Matt. 22:19). Hence, this coin is known in numismatic circles as the "tribute penny" issue. Another coin (see Tiberius coin B) shows a golden *aureus* of his with the same portrait and inscription on the obverse, but with a four-horse chariot and charioteer on the reverse and the legend: IMP(erator) VII, TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) XVII—which means that he had been acclaimed seven times as commander (or "emperor") when an official military triumphal procession had been held in Rome; and also for the seventeenth term in office as invested with the power of Tribune of the People—which gives an exact date of A.D. 15 for this coin.

During the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius the need for small change was supplied by the local provincial mint in Judea operated under the authority of the various procurators. Typical of these was the lepton from the governorship of Valerius Gratus (A.D. 15 – 26), showing a vertical palm branch with the name of Julia (the wife of Tiberius) and the date "year 11" or A.D. 24). In the governorship of Pontius PILATE for the first time a pagan symbol was used on a Judean lepton (see Pilate coin A), the *lituus* or

(Left) Tiberius denarius A. (Right) Tiberius denarius B, A.D. 15.

wand of the augur, with the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ (Greek for "Tiberius Caesar"). The reverse of this coin gives the year as "17," which would come out to A.D. 30, the probable year of Christ's crucifixion. Another coin (see Pilate coin B) shows a second type issued by PILATE, three wheat ears bound in a cluster; its reverse has a simpulum or ladle used in pouring liquids on a burning sacrifice—another Roman or non-Jewish symbol. These coins illustrate Pilate's usual lack of

concern for the feelings of his Jewish subjects.

(Left) Pilate lepton A, A.D. 30. (Right) Pilate lepton B.

Nero denarius, mid-1st cent. A.D.

In A.D. 37 Tiberius was succeeded by the young great-grandson of Augustus, Gaius CALIGULA (37 – 41), who in his short reign became a monster of infamy and sadistic cruelty. Herod Agrippa I was his boon companion, and used his influence to have Pontius Pilate removed from office and recalled to Rome in 37.

After the removal of Pilate, Herod Agrippa was given increasing authority until he was appointed king over the entire region of Palestine from 41 until his untimely death in 44. It was he who martyred the apostle JAMES, son of Zebedee (Acts 12:2) and imprisoned PETER before his marvelous deliverance by the angel. After his death (which came

Shekel from the first Jewish revolt, c. A.D. 68/69.

upon him as a judgment from God because of his impiety, Acts 12:23), the rule over Judea was again entrusted to Roman procurators.

After Caligula's assassination in A.D. 41, his uncle CLAUDIUS was chosen as emperor by the PRAETORIAN guard, and he reigned for thirteen years. During his reign the apostle PAUL began his missionary career and later met with AQUILA AND PRISCILLA after they had been temporarily expelled from Rome (Acts 18:2). The city of ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, from which Paul was commissioned as a missionary, was permitted by Rome to mint both bronze and silver. On Paul's first journey he preached in CYPRUS and ended up in PAPHOS on the W coast of the island. It was at Paphos that Paul had his dramatic encounter with the Jewish sorcerer BAR-JESUS (Acts 13:6 – 7). One tetradrachma of Paphos shows the head of VESPASIAN. The reverse depicts the façade of the temple of Aphrodite.

Back in Rome the Emperor Claudius came to an abrupt end when his wife poisoned him (according to popular rumor, at least) and thus left the way free for her degenerate son NERO to assume the throne (a kindness he later repaid by having her drowned in a spurious "accident"). One coin (not the Nero coin shown) bears Nero's portrait and titles: NERO CAESAR AUG(ustus) P(ater) P(atriae); the reverse shows the god Salus (Health) seated. It was to this emperor that Paul appealed his case from the tribunal of FESTUS at CAESAREA (Acts 25:11).

During Nero's reign Paul had carried on his lengthy ministry at EPHESUS, where the great temple of ARTEMIS was the chief tourist attraction. The coins of this city alluded to this cult by featuring symbols associated with Artemis.

Paul's arrest in Jerusalem took place around A.D. 58, and he was transferred to Caesarea for safekeeping under the protection of Antonius FELIX and his successor, Portius Festus. Two lepta have appeared, one of Felix and the other of Festus.

The Roman governors who succeeded Festus in Judea were greedy opportunists, until finally Gessius Florus goaded the Jews into a full scale rebellion in A.D. 66, a year they designated as "Year One of the Liberation of Zion." For the first three years they succeeded in defeating the Roman legions sent against them until finally General VESPASIAN began a systematic reduction of the walled cities of Galilee and Judea and closed in on Jerusalem. During these four years of precarious independence, the Jewish patriots issued an entirely new series of coins both in bronze and in silver. A silver shekel (see the coin from the first revolt) shows the libation chalice, and above it a ש and a ג (meaning "year three," or A.D. 68/69) and the legend: שקל ישראל ("the shekel of Israel"). The reverse depicts a cluster of three pomegranates and reads: ירשלים הקדשה ("Jerusalem the holy").

In late A.D. 68 Vespasian was compelled to leave the campaign in Judea in order to make good his claim to the imperial throne. Yet Vespasian's older son, TITUS, stayed on to besiege and finally to capture Jerusalem in the year 70, after its defenders had nearly destroyed one another in internecine

conflicts. The city was reduced to a smoking rubble except for two or three guard towers, and remained almost uninhabited until the reign of HADRIAN. In celebration of this victory over the rebellious Jews, Vespasian (who reigned until 79) struck a series of coins both in bronze and silver.

After Titus's brief reign (79 – 81), his younger brother DOMITIAN took the throne and ruled until 96 with increasing severity in his policy toward the Christians, including banishing the apostle John to the isle of Patmos. A denarius of Domitian has the legend: IMP(erator) CAES(ar) DOMIT(ianus) AUG(ustus) GERM(anicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestate) XII (his twelfth term with tribunician authority was A.D. 92; hence there is an exact date for this coin). (See C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Coins* [1974].)

Under Hadrian (117 – 138) a final attempt was made by the Jewish people to establish their independence from Rome. It was stirred up by the declared intention of Hadrian to rebuild the desolate city of JERUSALEM as a pagan center with a temple to Venus and rename it Aelia Capitolina. This resulted in the second revolt, which raged from 133 to 135 under the leadership of Simeon

(Left) Shekel A from the Bar Kokhba revolt, c. A.D. 133-35. (Right) Shekel B from the Bar Kokhba revolt.

ben Kosiba, who was acclaimed by the celebrated Rabbi AKIBA as the MESSIAH, and given the title BAR KOKHBAH ("Son of the Star"). A typical bronze from this period (see Bar Kokhba coin A), minted by the Jewish patriots, bears on the obverse a large vine leaf with the inscription שב (i.e., "year two" or A.D. 134) לחרת ישראל ("of the liberation of Israel"). The reverse has a date palm and some letters of Bar Kokhba's first name, שמעון. Other coins (for example, Bar Kokhba B) were issued in silver, both in shekel and half-shekel size, mostly overstruck on tetradrachmas from Antioch or Alexandria or else on denarii from Rome.

Shortage of bullion restricted the rebels' source of supply to the Greek and Roman coinage they happened to have on hand at the time the rebellion broke out. For reasons of patriotic sentiment they were heated and restruck as Jewish coins for circulation in the State of Israel. There was a quarter shekel and a slightly larger silver coin, possibly rated as a half shekel. The full shekel had a four-columned temple façade with a stylized ark of the covenant inside between the two central pillars; it too had the inscription שמעון. The reverse displayed a large *lulab* (that is, a bundle of twigs and citron) used in celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles or Succoth, and the standard inscription, "of the liberation of Jerusalem."

Thus it came about that in their final struggle for independence from Rome, the Jewish people reached their highest productivity and variety in all their numismatic history. It is significant that

virtually all of these types were finally adopted for the coinage of modern Israel in 1949. (In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see further F. Banks, *Coins of Bible Days* [1955]; A. Reifenberg, *Israel's History in Coins from the Maccabees to the Roman Conquest* [1953]; L. Kadman et al., *The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins* [1958]; Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 2 vols. [1983].)

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Cola koh'luh. KJV Apoc. form of KOLA (Jdt. 15:4).

cold. See HEAT AND COLD.

Col-Hozeh kol-hoh'zuh (כָּל־חֹזֶה ***H3997***, possibly "everyone is a seer"). TNIV Kol-Hozeh. Father of a certain SHALLUN who ruled the district of MIZPAH and repaired the FOUNTAIN GATE (Neh. 3:15). He should probably be distinguished from another Col-Hozeh, identified as the father of a certain Baruch and as the son of Hazaiah, and included in a list of descendants of JUDAH who lived in Jerusalem (11:5).

Colius koh-l*i*'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of KELAIAH (1 Esd. 9:23).

collar. This English term is sometimes used to render various Hebrew words, such as *peh* ***H7023***, "mouth, opening" (used figuratively in Ps. 133:2), *ʿănāq* ***H6736***, "neck pendant" (Jdg. 8:26; NIV, "chains"), and *ṣînōq* ***H7485***, "pillory" (Jer. 29:26; NIV, "neck-irons").

collection. See CONTRIBUTION.

college. This English term is used twice by the KJV to render Hebrew *mišneh* ***H5467***, "double, second," when it refers to a district in Jerusalem (2 Ki. 22:14; 2 Chr. 34:22). See SECOND DISTRICT.

colony Both this English term and Greek *kolōnia* ***G3149*** are loanwords from Latin. *Colonus* (from *colere*, "to cultivate") was the common Latin word for a tenant farmer, and a *colonia* was an assemblage of such cultivators. Early in Roman history the word assumed political and military connotations, and was used for groups of free Romans planted in conquered territory for reasons of security or strategy.

The earliest recorded colonies are groups of some 300 families sent to garrison the coastline at Ostia, Antium, and Terracina in the 4th cent. B.C. By 200 B.C. such coastal colonies were numerous. The first colony outside Italy was Junonia, an unsuccessful foundation by C. Gracchus, and part of his huge program of social reform in 123 B.C. The site was successfully colonized by Julius CAESAR; by the time of AUGUSTUS, the foundation of colonies had assumed imperial significance. The settlement of Roman citizens in overseas territories received strong stimulus from the need to employ and reward large numbers of retired veteran legionaries. This immediate purpose tied in with a policy of the empire to Romanize the Mediterranean world and disguise the military power that held its multiracial mass together.

PHILIPPI was such a foundation, as were ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, LYSTRA, CORINTH, and possibly ICONIUM, but the word *colony* is used in the NT only in connection with Philippi (Acts 16:12), where

Augustus planted a group of demobilized veterans in 30 B.C. to form an outpost and bastion of Roman power in northern Greece. The citizen soldiers formed the petty aristocracy of the place, and three generations later, when PAUL arrived, the tradition of self-conscious Romanism was still active. Perhaps this is to be accounted for by the fact that Augustus, following his usual policy of clemency, settled troops of his defeated rival Antony in Philippi. Their privileges, here and in all such foundations, included exemption from the oversight of the provincial governor, immunity from poll and property tax, and the judicial rights of Roman citizenship.

Luke's account shows clearly the care with which these special privileges were guarded. The MAGISTRATES were considerably perturbed to learn that they had hastily denied a Roman citizen his proper regard (see CITIZENSHIP). No new colonies appear to have been founded after HADRIAN. (See A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* [1939]; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Cities of the New Testament* [1965]; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. [1971].)

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color. No word occurs in Hebrew for the abstract idea of color. It is possible that the first commandment inhibited many types of artistic efforts among the Israelites, including the extensive employment of color. On the other hand, the colors of the TABERNACLE hangings were prescribed by God, and likewise also the vestments of the high priest. But it was probably after contact developed with the Phoenicians that colors became more emphasized in Israelite culture. Words designating aspects of color include ʿ*ayin* ***H6524***, "eye, appearance" (cf. KJV Prov. 23:31; Ezek. 1:7; 8:2; in these passages color is suggested in terms of likeness to some material) and ṭ*ālāʾ* ***H3229***, "spotted" (cf. NRSV "colored," Ezek. 16:16). Other terms rendered "color" in older versions are now understood differently (cf. KJV Gen. 37:3; Jer. 12:9). The Greek NT too does not use abstract words for color (such as *chrōma*).

Individual colors are not numerous in the Bible, though the primary colors of red, yellow, and blue are found, as are purple, scarlet, and crimson, but the precision of quality or definition is unknown. For example, the Hebrew term *śārōq* ***H8601***, used of horses in Zech. 1:8, is rendered "sorrel" (a brownish color) by the NRSV, but other colors, such as bright red and pale yellow, have been proposed.

Colors appear principally as DYES, the most lavish use being seen in the tabernacle and on a reduced scale in Solomon's temple. These were extracted principally from plants or mollusks, and the resulting product was rather impure and often unstable. The most expensive was the PURPLE of the *murex*, which required 250,000 mollusks per ounce! Hence the implication of great wealth in the saying, "born to the purple." Color derivation processes were mostly family secrets passed from father to son, and many formulas have been lost. Having only crude controls, constancy of color quality was impossible to obtain. The most important dyes were the reds and purples. (For a discussion of color designation in Hebrew and Aramaic, see A. Guillaumont in *Problèmes de la couleur*, ed. I. Meyerson [1957], 339 – 48.)

In early times colors probably had little allegorical meaning. PHILO JUDAEUS (*Life of Moses* 2.17) makes WHITE a symbol of the earth, and purple a symbol of the sea. The book of Revelation often mentions white, clearly as a symbol of purity and righteousness (e.g., Rev. 3:4 – 5; 19:8, 11, 14), while RED represents the carnage of war (6:4), and BLACK signifies the sorrow and death resulting therefrom (6:5, 12; cf. Zech. 6:2, 6).

H. G. STIGERS

Colossae. See COLOSSE.

Colosse kuh-lah'see (Κολοσσαί ***G3145***). Also Colossae. A city in the region of PHRYGIA within the Roman province of ASIA in NT times; it was 10 – 11 mi. farther up the Lycus valley than LAODICEA and about 15 mi. SSE of HIERAPOLIS. The three cities formed a triangle in an area that was probably evangelized during the fruitful period of PAUL'S residence in EPHESUS (Acts 19:10), the gateway to the whole thickly populated SW corner of Asia Minor.

The ancient site of Colosse. (View to the N.)

Colosse originally lay on the main road from Ephesus to the EUPHRATES and the E, at the junction of the highways to SARDIS and PERGAMUM, and it was the visible policy of Paul to plant the gospel at places near the main arteries of trade and communication. The active Christian communities of the Lycus valley are vividly illustrated in both Laodicea and Colosse, the one beset by problems of affluence, the other by the heretical philosophies of a cosmopolitan community. Colosse lost its significance under the empire, because the road to Pergamum was moved W, and Laodicea, an active and commercially aggressive society, absorbed the trade and importance of its neighbor. Originally Colosse seems to have shared in the wool trade of Laodicea, and in Persian times to have preceded that city in standing and importance. XERXES passed that way (Herodotus, *Hist*. 7.30), and CYRUS also (Xenophon, *Anab*. 1.2.6), and the fact that the historians mention Colosse as a staging post on the march of armies is indicative of its importance at the beginning and end of the 5th cent. B.C. Laodicea was not founded until 260 B.C., and Colosse was without rival.

The Christian history of Colosse can only be conjecturally reconstructed. The foundation of the Christian church in the locality, since Paul

Colosse.

had apparently not visited it (Col. 1:4; 2:1), may have been due to the noble EPAPHRAS, who was a Colossian (Col. 1:7; 4:12). If Paul ultimately visited Colosse, it was subsequent to the writing of his letter and the founding of the Christian community (Phlm. 22). ARCHIPPUS seems to have exercised a fruitful ministry in Colosse (Col. 4:17; Phlm. 2), while PHILEMON and his slave ONESIMUS were members of the church (Col. 4:9; Phlm. 10). It may be supposed that, during Paul's Roman imprisonment (Acts 28:30), Epaphras brought him a report of conditions in the Colossian church. This report produced the epistle to the COLOSSIANS, rebuking the deviations from sound doctrine and calling those in philosophic error back to a pure Christology and faith in the all-sufficiency of Christ.

Colosse was disastrously weakened in the 7th and 8th centuries, when the breakdown of Byzantine power in Asia Minor left the position damagingly exposed to raiders. There was a shift of the remaining population to Chonae, the modern Chonas, on the nearby slopes of Mount Cadmus. Final destruction came with the Turkish invasion in the 12th cent. The site is at present unoccupied. It lies 10 mi. from the town of Denizli. Archaeological investigation has located the site of a church there. (See W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2 vols. [1895 – 97]; G. E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Maeander*, 2nd ed. [1980], ch. 21; E. M. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* [1980], ch. 12.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Colossians, Epistle to the kuh-losh'uhnz. A letter of PAUL to the church at COLOSSE.

I. Background and destination. The city of Colosse lay in the valley of the Lycus river, a tributary of the Maeander, in the southern part of ancient PHRYGIA, which would be located in the W of modern

Turkey. As the city was situated on a main trade route from EPHESUS to the E, it is not surprising that ancient historians refer to it in their descriptions of military movements of generals, such as XERXES and CYRUS. HERODOTUS, in the 5th cent. B.C., calls it "a great city" (*Hist.* 7.30), while a century later the chronicler Xenophon describes it as "a populous city, both wealthy and large" (*Anab.* 1.2.6). Its commercial importance was due also to its place as an emporium of the wool and weaving industries. The importance of Colosse, however, became diminished in Roman times largely because the city's neighboring centers, LAODICEA and HIERAPOLIS, had expanded and grown more prosperous. At the beginning of the Christian era, the geographer Strabo seemed to regard it as only a small town (*Geogr.* 12.8.13). The present-day site is uninhabited.

When Paul wrote to the Christians living at Colosse, the city's population consisted of indigenous Phrygian and Greek settlers, but JOSEPHUS (*Ant*. 12.149) records the fact that ANTIOCHUS III in the early part of the 2nd cent. had brought several thousand Jews from Mesopotamia and Babylon and settled them in Lydia and Phrygia. Colosse was thus a cosmopolitan city in which diverse cultural and religious elements met and mingled—a fact that is important to remember when seeking the origins of the "Colossian heresy" (as J. B. Lightfoot called the false teaching that had made an inroad into the infant church in the city; see *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1879], 73).

The Christian gospel was introduced to Colosse during Paul's Ephesian ministry (Acts 19:10). The letter itself indicates that Paul was not personally responsible for this evangelistic work in the Lycus valley, for Col. 1:4 and 2:1 mention that he had not, at the time of writing, visited the church. His hope to meet them personally may have been realized later (Phlm. 22). The most likely person to have carried the message of Christ to Colosse was EPAPHRAS, who was a native of the city (Col. 4:12) and stood in a special relation to the believers there as well as to the apostle (1:7). Other members of the Colossian church included PHILEMON (Phlm. 1) and his slave ONESIMUS (Col. 4:9; Phlm. 10).

II. Occasion and purpose. During one of Paul's imprisonments (see section III below), news came to him of a threat to the Colossian church. The bearer of this news was evidently Epaphras, who reported on the church's life (Col. 1:8) and vitality (1:6). Perhaps quite unconsciously, the church was exposed to a false teaching that Paul regarded as both subversive of and inimical to the faith. The occasion of the letter may be traced to this threatened danger and the need to rebut the error that lay at the heart of the strange doctrine. The letter to the Colossians is thus "Paul's vigorous reaction to the news of the strange teaching which was being inculcated at Colossae" (F. F. Bruce [and E. K. Simpson], *Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians*, NICNT [1957], 165); but as H. Chadwick has shown (in *NTS* 1 [1954 – 55]: 270ff.), Paul's defense of the faith goes hand in hand with an apologetic statement of that faith to the intellectual world of his day. In this sense his letter to the Colossians is one of the earliest Christian "apologies" extant.

What was the exact nature of the error Paul combats? Nowhere in the letter does Paul give a formal definition of it, and its thrust only can be inferred. There are some clear pointers and guidelines, and the main elements of the false teaching are such as to show that it was a fusion of pagan and Judaic speculation, which resulted in a syncretism. The features of this religious amalgam were forms of ascetic practice and discipline, the cult of angelic worship and a pride in superior wisdom and knowledge (Greek *gnōsis* ***G1194***). It was this last named characteristic that was to give its name to the full flowering of the heresy in 2nd-cent. GNOSTICISM, against which IRENAEUS and TERTULLIAN wrote. On its Christological side, the "Colossian heresy"

Paul's letter to the Colossians was sent to Colosse, a city situated in the valley of the Lycus River. (View to the SE.)

implied that there were spirit-powers that controlled the natural world and that were to be revered as mediators between God and his creation. Both the person and work of Christ were underrated by this system of angelic mediators, and his sole office as Lord of creation and all-sufficient Redeemer of the church seriously imperiled. For this reason Paul vehemently and without compromise branded the false teaching a mortal danger to be resisted and rejected (Col. 2:8, 16) and subversive of the apostolic teaching which alone could confirm the readers in their security in Christ (see 2:5 – 6).

The nature of the erroneous teaching may be described in the following way. Much was made of ASTROLOGY, which centered on the importance accorded to "the rudiments of the world" (Col. 2:8 and 20 KJV; NIV, "the basic principles of this world"). This phrase is rendered by NRSV "the elemental spirits of the universe" and most likely refers (as in Gal. 4:3, 9) to angelic powers that were thought of, in ancient cosmological systems, as the rulers of the heavenly bodies and so in control of human destiny upon earth (see ELEMENTS). These star-gods were held to exercise power over men and women who were victims gripped by a pitiless fate and helpless to break free. The Hellenistic mystery religions *did* offer some escape, however, along the path of mysticism, occultism, and ascetic practices (all these features appear in this letter as part of the false cult opposed by Paul; see Col. 2:18, 21 – 23). But a special way to "salvation" was promised by seeking fellowship with some angelic power that might raise its protégés above the hopeless round of fate and determinism and above the region controlled by the powerful astral deities.

The details of this "way of salvation" for which the 1st-cent. world yearned are given in R. P. Martin (*Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5 – 11*, rev. ed. [1983], 306 – 9). To a situation of pessimism and despair these esoteric teachings offered hope by promising an access to God by spanning the gulf between the universe and his presence. This interstellar space called the "fullness" (*plērōma* ***G4445***) could be bridged only by a recognition of and reverence paid to these "elemental spirits." Only in this way could a person hope for union with God as he learned the "wisdom" and the "mystery" of what the false teachers offered to their initiates, who were always a select group, specially favored.

Paul roundly brands these notions as "self-imposed worship" (Col. 2:23) and as a species of human wisdom (2:8), essentially man-devised just as the claim to visions (2:18) is a piece of self-

deception. (On the apocalyptic visions alluded to in Colossians, see C. Rowland in *JSNT* 19 [1983]: 73 – 83.) Positively he declares that all the fullness dwells in Christ, not in the angels (1:19; 2:9). Indeed, outside of Christ no intermediary agency exists. All creation, including the angels, came into being through the cosmic Christ and serves his purpose as he upholds all the universe, which finds its meaning in him alone (1:16 – 17). Against the false claim to wisdom and knowledge, Paul protests that there is no higher mystery than Christ (2:2 – 3), who may be known not to a spiritual élite but to all (1:26 – 28). The conclusion Paul enforces is irresistible: you died with Christ (at conversion-baptism, 2:12) "from out of" (*apo* ***G608***) the control of the elemental spirits (2:20).

Another tenet of the Colossian errorists was DUALISM, according to which the high God was thought of as remote from matter, which in turn was considered to be alien to him. To attain to God, people must be delivered from the evil influences of material things; and this "liberation" was achieved along two quite diverse routes. One path to Gnostic salvation was ASCETICISM, which summoned the devotee to a life of abstinence and self-punishment. Paul preserves the actual wording of the slogans that were being advocated at Colosse (2:21, 23), and retorts that such denials are of no value to counter "the indulgence of the flesh," that is, they are powerless (as he himself found according to Rom. 7:13 – 25) to check the "evil impulse"—a rabbinic phrase that describes the tendency to evil in the human heart and that leads to immoral living. The term *sarx* ***G4922*** ("flesh") in v. 23 refers to this "evil impulse" rather than to human appetite or instinct.

Coupled with these ascetic practices advocated to the Colossian Christians was a code clearly influenced by Jewish legalism, especially in the observances of the SABBATH, feast days, and new moon celebrations (2:16), the practice of CIRCUMCISION (2:11), and possibly Jewish dietary laws (2:16, 21 – 22). Lightfoot (*Colossians*, 81 – 98) drew a comparison between these restrictions and taboos and the practices of the ESSENES; and recently the QUMRAN texts from the Dead Sea area have shown that similar calendar details were highly regarded among the Essene monks in that community (see J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* [1959]). See DEAD SEA SCROLLS. It is doubtful if Essenism had penetrated to the Lycus valley. More interesting is the suggestion of a connection between the prohibitions in Colossians and the type of heresy countered in Hebrews (see T. W. Manson in *BJRL* 32 [1949]: 3ff.), for which also parallels in the DSS have been cited (see F. F. Bruce in *NTS* 9 [1962 – 1963]: 217ff.).

The other direction in which practice stemming from a Gnostic dualism flowed was toward libertinism. If matter had no relation to God (the argument ran), then the material body has no relation to religion. Therefore man can indulge his body without restraint or conscience. To be sure, there is no explicit reference in this epistle to an antinomian tendency, but it may well have called forth Paul's vehement and stringent moral warnings (Col. 3:5 – 8) as well as underlie the cryptic allusions to the "fleshly mind" (2:18 KJV). One may compare a similar phrase in Rom. 8:6 – 7. That the word "mind" in Colossians (*nous* ***G3808***) is virtually synonymous with the corresponding term in Rom. 8 (*phronēma* ***G5859***) seems to be shown by reference to Rom. 7:25.

"The Colossian heresy represented a form of Jewish Gnosticism combined with Christianity" (W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* [1966], 240); and the soil of Phrygia was fertile ground for the growth of this strange combination. But whatever its precise origin, Paul views this syncretism as a deadly danger to the incipient church and clearly exposes it. (See C. E. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colossae* [1996].)

III. Place of origin. Paul writes the letter as a prisoner (Col. 4:3, 10, 18), and Acts tells of three places where Paul was detained for some length of time: at JERUSALEM (Acts 21:33), at CAESAREA

(23:23, 35; 24:27), and at ROME (28:16, 30 – 31). The first place is hardly a viable possibility for the origin of this letter, as Paul had no opportunity for writing. The choice seems then to be a straightforward alternative: Caesarea or Rome. A third place name, however, is that of EPHESUS or somewhere near the capital city of proconsular ASIA, where according to Acts 19 – 20 Paul underwent a series of trials. Incidental allusions to this hypothetical Ephesian captivity are discovered in 1 Cor. 15:32 and a graphic description in 2 Cor. 1:8 – 10. (The present writer has stated the case for an Ephesian imprisonment in the Tyndale commentary, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians* [1959], 26 – 36, and noted its chief weakness, viz., that it is unsupported by any explicit documentary evidence. For a favorable statement see C. R. Bowen in *AJT* 24 [1920]: 112 – 35, 277 – 87, which was followed by the full-scale treatment of G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* [1929].) The sole datum we have is the MARCIONITE PROLOGUE to Colossians: "After he had been arrested he wrote to them [the Colossians] from Ephesus." But this comment is rightly regarded as of doubtful value, as are the local tradition of a watchtower in Ephesus that is known as "Paul's prison," and the apocryphal story of Paul and the lion in the Ephesian amphitheater (see M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1953], 292).

The submission that Paul wrote to the Colossians from Caesarea has never been strongly advocated, although Kümmel (*Introduction*, 245) lends it the weight of his support. He grants, however, that such a small city as Caesarea could hardly have been the home of active missionary work requiring the presence of a number of Paul's helpers of Gentile origin (Col. 4:11), and J. Moffatt's objection (*An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* , 3rd ed. [1918], 169: Caesarea "cannot be said to have been the center of vigorous Christian propaganda") tells strongly against this view.

The traditional placing of the letter (a view that goes back to CHRYSOSTOM) during the time of Paul's custody at Rome (Acts 28) has many points to commend it. Not least is the intimate association of the letter with Ephesians, which also is best placed at the end of Paul's life as "the crown of Paulinism." But the present writer has argued for an Ephesian origin of Colossians (see R. P. Martin, *Colossians: The Church's Lord and the Christian's Liberty* [1973], 154 – 60).

IV. Authorship and date. If, as is usually believed, Colossians was dispatched from Rome, it may be dated in the two-year period of A.D. 58 – 60. Clearly this view assumes that Paul was the author, as both the internal evidence of the letter (Col. 1:1; 2:1; 4:18) and the external attestation in the church confirm. (The Pauline authorship is stoutly defended by E. Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosserund Epheserbriefe* [1946].)

The first denial of Pauline authorship came in 1838 with the publication of T. Mayerhoff's *Der Brief an die Kolosser*, which rejected the letter mainly because of its non-Pauline ideas and its dependence on Ephesians (a view ventilated by F. C. Synge, *Philippians and Colossians* [1951], 51 – 57, who takes Ephesians to be genuine but Colossians a pale and inadequate imitation). F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school discredited the Pauline authorship in the belief that Colossians reflected acquaintance with 2nd-cent. Gnosticism. Both these arguments are to be questioned. The relationship of Ephesians and Colossians does not warrant Synge's theory (see, however, J. Coutts in *NTS* 4 [1957 – 1958]: 201ff.); and the heresy combated in the letter is not the fully developed Gnosticism of the 2nd cent. but a protognostic syncretism (the term is J. Munck's) that may well have arisen in the apostolic age and for which there are early parallels in nonconformist Judaism.

Attempts have also been made to drive a wedge between Colossians and the Pauline "capital epistles" (*Hauptbriefe*) because of some postulated differences of terminology (e.g., it is argued that

the term BODY OF CHRIST is used differently in 1 Corinthians and Romans, where its usage is figurative of the church, from Colossians, in which the author speaks of the body as a cosmic reality [Col. 1:18, 24; 2:19; 3:15] of which Christ is the Head) and because of some traits which suggest that the Colossian letter belongs to the era of "early Catholicism" (*Frühkatholizismus*; one such feature detected by W. Marxsen is the status of Epaphras, who in 4:12 is treated as a successor to Paul and so represents the apostolic succession; see his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* [1963], 160). These interpretations are open to serious doubt, and R. H. Fuller (*Critical Introduction to the New Testament* [1966], 62) rightly concludes: "All of the doctrinal differences can be adequately accounted for on the supposition that Colossians represents a later development of Paul's thinking in response to a more developed situation."

An intermediate position on the question of authorship is taken by Ch. Masson (*Épître aux Colossiens* [1950], 86), who postulates an authentic Pauline letter that has been interpolated with additional material by the author of Ephesians. He concludes: "in its actual form [Colossians] is a revision and development of the primitive epistle of Paul to the Colossians by the author of Ephesians who, publishing both letters under Paul's name, has related them closely together one to the other." A similar view is maintained by P. N. Harrison (in *AThR* 32 [1950]: 268 – 94), but Kümmel (*Introduction*, 244) shows how flimsy these views are and endorses the traditional view that goes back to MARCION'S canon, IRENAEUS, and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA that the letter is "doubtless Pauline."

V. Theology. The one section of the epistle that may be treated as non-Pauline—in the sense that Paul has taken it over and embodied it in the letter—is the rich Christological passage of Col. 1:15 – 20, which embodies "an early Christian tribute, set in hymnic form, to the church's Lord, which the writer borrows from the liturgical praxis which was familiar both to himself and his readers" (R. P. Martin in *EvQ* 36 [1964]: 200). This hymn contains an unusual vocabulary and a number of unique stylistic traits. Its purpose is both polemical (in opposing the false teaching; see section II above) and positive (in setting forth the true doctrine of the person and place of the cosmic Christ who is both Lord of creation and author of reconciliation).

It follows that Christ is uniquely related to God as the divine mystery (Col. 2:2) and the embodiment of full deity (1:19; 2:9). He is the Ruler over all created powers, especially the angels whose evil influence over human beings is neutralized by his victory on the cross (2:15). In the fullness which is Christ's his people have a share (2:10), so there is no need for them to seek enlightenment and spiritual satisfaction in any source outside of him (2:6, 10). This is the great and undying message of Colossians: "Christ is all, and is in all" (3:11). CHRISTOLOGY for Paul is linked with Christian ETHICS, and the bridge is the call of 2:20 and 3:1 – 3. It is the ethical appeal of death to the old world of sin and self, with resurrection to a new life in Christ. The ramifications of this new life are seen in the practical relationships of the home and family (3:18 – 21), masters and slaves (3:22—4:1), and the believers' conduct in the world (4:5 – 6).

VI. Content. Much of the content of the letter has been mentioned above. A threefold division seems obvious: (1) Christ's person and his work of creation and reconciliation, Col. 1:3—2:7; (2) a statement by inference of the false teaching and Paul's antidote, both Christological and practical, 2:8—3:4; (3) the Christian life, 3:5—4:6. There are opening salutations (1:1 – 2) and concluding personal memoranda (4:7 – 17), with Paul's own personal interest (4:18).

VII. Text and canonicity. Little comment is required on the textual interest of this epistle, and the reader is referred to J. N. Sanders's note on textual criticism appended to C. F. D. Moule's commentary (*The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, CGTC [1957], 37 – 42). The chief characteristic is that throughout the document there is a doubt as to whether the plural personal pronoun is first or second person; but this is a minor matter, and only rarely does it affect a large question (e.g., Col. 1:7, on which cf. Moule, 27 n. 1). Certain key verses are unfortunately a little obscure both textually and exegetically. Indeed, the text sometimes determines the true exegesis, as in 2:18, where many MSS insert a negative before the verb and so read, "what he has *not* seen." The canonical status of the epistle was recognized early (e.g., it appears in Marcion's 2nd-cent. list) and is not in dispute.

(In addition to the commentaries mentioned above, see E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, Hermeneia [1971]; P. T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC 44 [1982]; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT, rev. ed. [1984]; P. Pokorný, *Colossians: A Commentary* [1987]; M. J. Harris, *Colossians and Philemon* [1991]; R. R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*, NAC 32 [1991]; M. Barth and H. Blanke, *Colossians*, AB 34B [1994]; J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC [1996]; M. Y. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, SP 17 [2000]. Among important monographs, see R. E. DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy: Wisdom in Dispute at Colossae* [1994]; A. R. Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance: Identity and the Moral Life in Colossians* [2003]; G. H. van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology in Paul and the Pauline School: Colossians and Ephesians in the Context of Graeco-Roman Cosmology, with a New Synopsis of the Greek Texts* [2003]; O. Leppä, *The Making of Colossians: A Study in the Formation and Purpose of a Deutero-Pauline Letter* [2003]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Colossians* [1999].)

R. P. MARTIN

colt. The English term *colt* (Heb. ʿ*ayir* ***H6555***; Gk. *pōlos* ***G4798***) is normally applied only to a young male HORSE, but Bible versions use it several times with reference to a young donkey (see ASS, DONKEY) and once it is applied to young CAMELS (Gen. 32:15 NRSV). When JACOB blessed his sons, he said regarding JUDAH: "He will tether his donkey to a vine, / his colt to the choicest branch" (Gen. 49:11). JAIR, one of the judges, is said to have had thirty sons who rode on thirty ass colts (Jdg. 10:4 KJV). Job speaks of "a wild donkey's colt" (Job 11:12; cf. also Isa. 30:6, 24 KJV).

The most important reference to the colt is in Zech. 9:9, which predicts the coming of Israel's king to Jerusalem riding "on a colt, the foal of a

Jesus rode the young colt of a donkey during his triumphal entry into Jerusalem in order to fulfill the prophecy of Zech. 9:9.

donkey." This Scripture is quoted by both Matthew and John in their accounts of Jesus' TRIUMPHAL ENTRY into Jerusalem. All four Gospels record this important event and the fact that Jesus rode on a colt on that occasion (Matt. 21:1 – 11; Mk. 11:1 – 10; Lk. 19:28 – 40; Jn. 12:12 – 19). The Synoptic Gospels tell how Jesus directed two of his disciples to obtain the colt. Matthew alone records that they brought both the colt and its mother (Matt. 21:7). Jesus' actions seem to be a deliberate fulfillment on his part of the messianic prophecy. The choice of a donkey rather than a horse seems to have been because the former was regarded as an animal of peace, while the latter was used for war. Furthermore, in Palestine the donkey was the domestic animal most frequently used for riding. Hence Jesus' use of it was also an evidence of his humility.

G. H. WATERMAN

column. See PILLAR.

comfort. The common Hebrew word for "comfort" is the verb *nāḥam* ***H5714*** (never in the qal stem, however; the niphal and piel both have the form *niḥam*), from which such names as NAHUM and NEHEMIAH are derived. Comfort in suffering comes through the life-giving power of God's word or promise (Ps. 119:50). The idea of comfort is often that of a change of situation or condition which turns sorrow into rejoicing (cf. Isa. 40:1 – 2; 49:13; 51:3, 12, 19; 61:2; 66:13). The KJV uses "comfort" also to render *sāʿad* ***H6184***, "to strengthen," in contexts that speak of physical refreshment (Gen. 18:5; Jdg. 19:5, 8).

In the NT the Greek words most frequently used for "comfort" are the verb *parakaleō* ***G4151*** and the cognate noun *paraklēsis* ***G4155***, which can also be translated respectively "to encourage" (e.g., 1 Cor. 14:31) and "encouragement" (e.g., Rom. 15:4). These terms are especially frequent in the "Epistle of Comfort," 2 Corinthians; see especially the well-known passage 2 Cor. 1:3 – 7 as well as 7:6 – 7. (Another cognate, *paraklētos* ***G4156***, is used as a title of the HOLY SPIRIT; see PARACLETE.) Less common are the verb *paramytheomai* ***G4170*** and its cognates. The notion of comfort, which can be expressed with other words and phrases, has a personal and wide application

in the NT. Christ not only saves from sin but gives relief from present troubles and from distraction about the future (cf. Jn. 14:1 – 2; 1 Jn. 4:18). Comfort describes the blessedness of those who mourn (Matt. 5:4), and the blessed state of the one in ABRAHAM'S BOSOM (Lk. 16:22, 25 KJV).

The ministry of comfort involves each Person in the TRINITY. The Holy Spirit (Acts 9:31); God the Father (2 Cor. 1:3 – 4); Christ the Son (2 Cor. 1:5; Phil. 2:1). Christ is abundantly qualified to comfort human beings. His OMNISCIENCE gives knowledge of man's deepest needs, and his humanity acquaints him with our grief. He knows what best meets those needs (cf. Lk. 7:13; Heb. 2:17 – 18; 4:15). Comfort means more than patient endurance; it means also to be strengthened by the "upholding power" of the Holy Spirit.

The methods by which comfort is given are not always the same, nor are they always apparent. Comfort may involve the removal of an affliction or deliverance from some terrible experience, thus producing joy because of relief (cf. Acts 20:12; 1 Thess. 4:18). It may come about by seeing progress despite discouraging situations (Acts 9:31) or by recognizing what God has done for his children, who are to comfort others whether it be by exhortation, consolation, edification, inspiration, or the alleviation of grief or of acute physical needs (cf. Col. 4:11; 1 Thess. 2:11; 5:11). See also CONSOLATION.

R. S. NICHOLSON

Comforter. See HOLY SPIRIT; PARACLETE.

coming of Christ. See SECOND COMING.

Commagene. An ancient country in SE ASIA MINOR, between CAPPADOCIA and the upper EUPHRATES, with roots going back to the neo-Hittite kingdom of Kummukh. Commagene was part of the Assyrian empire during the 7th cent. B.C. By the early 2nd cent. B.C. it had been incorporated into the SELEUCID empire, but regained its independence after a few decades. Eventually, Commagene became a federation within the Roman province of SYRIA. Its capital was Samosata, which lay on the W bank of the Euphrates and controlled a very important crossing of the river. Although not mentioned in the Bible, Commagene was a rich and influential country that played a significant role in the political, economic, and military history of the Hellenistic world. (See A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Province*, 2nd [1971], ch. 10; F. K. Dörner, ed., *Kommagene: Geschichte und Kultur einer antiken Landschaft* [1975].)

Comma Johanneum. This Latin phrase (meaning, "the Johannine clause") is applied to 1 Jn. 5:7b – 8a ("…in heaven: the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three who bear witness in earth:…"). These words are found in very few late Greek MSS (none earlier than the 14th cent.), in no ancient versions (except for some recensions of the Latin), and in no patristic quotations. Because the variant occurs in the Clementine edition of the VULGATE, it found its way into the Greek Textus Receptus and thus was included in the KJV. Almost all modern editions and translations omit the words. (See B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. [1994], 647 – 49.) See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT) IV.

commandment. This term can be used to render several Hebrew words, including *dābār* ***H1821***, "word, speech" (used for the TEN COMMANDMENTS in Exod. 34:28; Deut. 4:13; cf. also Josh. 24:26), and especially *miṣwâ* ***H5184*** (e.g., Exod. 20:6; 24:12). Even the word *peh* ***H7023***, "mouth," can be

so translated (cf. Exod. 17:1 KJV). Several interesting synonyms are used in Ps. 19:7 – 9. See also LAW (OT).

In the NT too there are various words for "commandment" (e.g., *entalma* ***G1945***, Matt. 15:9 KJV; *epitagē* ***G2198***, Rom. 16:26; 1 Tim. 1:1), but the term most commonly used for this concept is *entolē* ***G1953*** (e.g., Lk. 23:56; Matt. 5:19), which is the standard SEPTUAGINT rendering of *miṣwâ*. The Ten Commandments are alluded to when Jesus gives his summary of "the Law and the Prophets" (Matt. 22:37 – 40; Mk. 12:29 – 31; Lk. 10:27). They are also referred to with the word *entolē* by Paul (Rom. 13:8 – 10). See also COMMANDMENT, THE NEW.

W. H. MARE

commandment, the new. That command given in the NT which emphasizes the substance and spiritual power of LOVE involved in the moral law (the TEN COMMANDMENTS). Although not stated formally as the new commandment, the message of Jesus to the rich young man that he should sell all his goods, give to the poor, and follow Jesus (Matt. 19:16 – 22; Mk. 10:17 – 22; Lk. 18:18 – 23) stresses this distinctive principle of love toward God and men. The kernel of this thought is also imbedded in Matt. 22:37 – 40 in Jesus' summary of the Ten Commandments as teaching love to God and to one's neighbor.

The actual NT references where the term "new commandment" (*entolē kainē* [***G1953*** + ***G2785***]; NIV, "new command") is found are Jn. 13:34 – 35; 1 Jn. 2:7 – 8; 2 Jn. 5. In the context of Jn. 13:34 – 35, Jesus had been teaching his disciples the principle of humility and concern for one another in human relations (i.e., in the illustration of foot washing, Jn. 13:4 – 17). Also the disciples had just been confronted with the Savior's statement regarding the greedy and traitorous act that was going to be performed by JUDAS ISCARIOT (Jn. 13:21 – 30). So Jesus said to his disciples, "A new command I give you: Love one another" (13:34). It had been stated in the OT that God's people should love their neighbors. Jesus puts new emphasis on this concept found in the law. "You who are My disciples," he says in effect, "must really show love *to one another, as I* have shown love *to you.* This will be a new thing for the world to see, that you, My disciples, have love for one another."

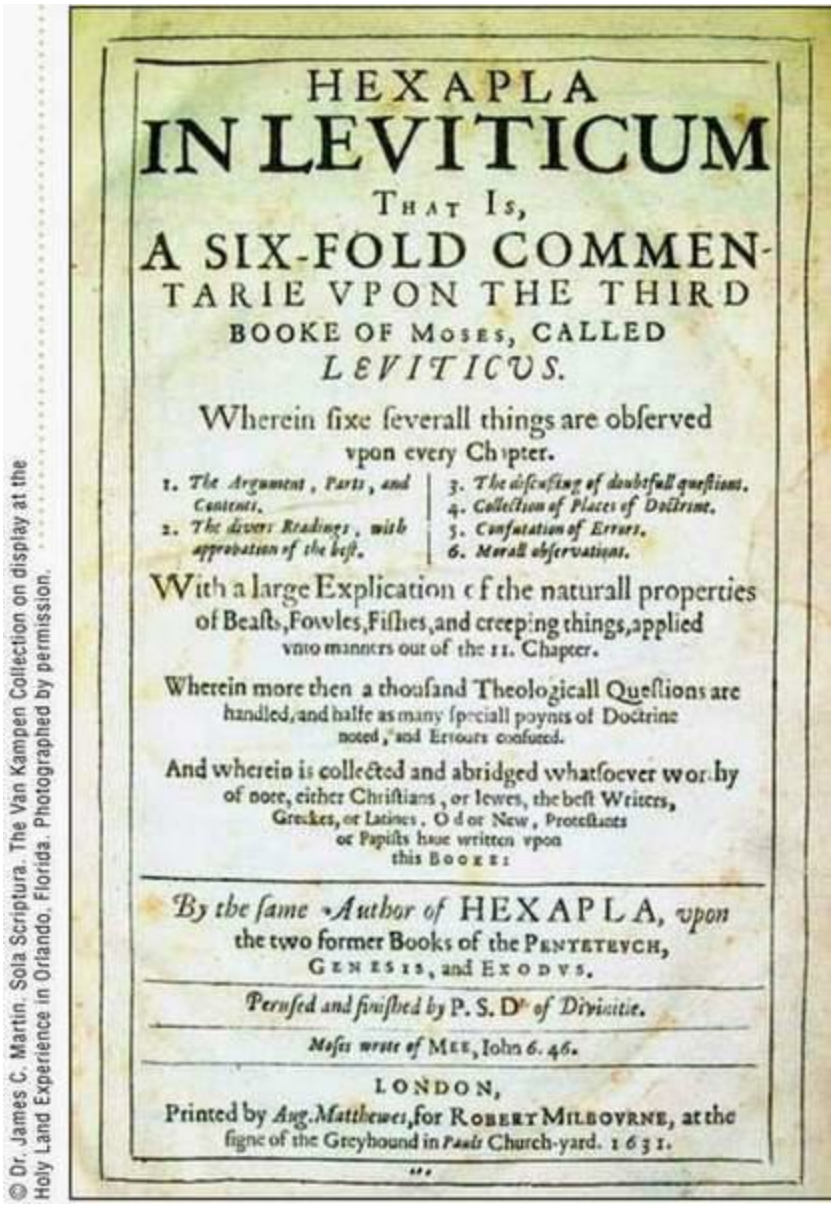
This is certainly the idea of "new" in the commandment referred to here: that which is remarkable and distinctive, rather than something unknown or strange (as in Acts 17:19). This commandment is new in that the disciples' love should follow his divine example of love for them and should demonstrate a uniqueness in love for fellow Christians. In 1 Jn. 2:5 – 10 the commandment is called old in that the readers knew from the OT and from John's presentation of Jesus' teaching that they should love one another (cf. Jn. 15:12), but it was new in that there was renewed and continual emphasis to be placed on the Christian loving his brother through the power of God's own love (cf. the same message in 2 Jn. 5 – 6).

W. H. MARE

Commandments, Ten. See TEN COMMANDMENTS.

commentaries. Every great work that is included in world literature has given birth to an extensive list of commentaries, but no book has produced anything like the vast amount of expository material on SCRIPTURE. Even an extensive series of homilies, such as those of John CHRYSOSTOM, may approximate a commentary. The actual nature of a commentary depends on a number of factors, such as the attitude of the writer toward the Scriptures, his knowledge of the original languages, the purpose of his writing the commentary, and the subjects of his major interest. Commentaries vary

radically in purpose and in kind. Some, like that of John Skinner on Genesis (in the ICC series), are devoted almost entirely to the discussion of grammatical and critical matters in the original text; others, like that of



HEXAPLA
IN LEVITICUM
THAT IS,
A SIX-FOLD COMMENTARIE VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF MOSES, CALLED
LEVITICVS.

Wherein sixe severall things are observed vpon every Chapter.

1. *The Argument, Parts, and Contents.*
2. *The divers Readings, with approbation of the best.*
3. *The discussing of doubtfull questions.*
4. *Collection of Places of Doctrine.*
5. *Confutation of Errors.*
6. *Morall observations.*

With a large Explication of the naturall properties of Beasts, Fowles, Fishes, and creeping things, applied vnto manners out of the 11. Chapter.

Wherein more then a thousand Theologicall Questions are handled, and halfe as many speciall poynts of Doctrine noted, and Errours confuted.

And wherein is collected and abridged whatsoever worthy of note, either Christians, or Iewes, the best Writers, Greekes, or Latines, Old or New, Protestants or Papists haue written vpon this BOOKE:

By the same Author of HEXAPLA, *vpon* the two former Books of the PENTETEVCH, GENESIS, and EXODVS.

Perused and finished by P. S. D^r *of Diuinitie.*

Moses wrote of ME, Iohn 6. 46.

LONDON,
Printed by *Aug. Matthewes*, for ROBERT MILBOVRNE, at the signe of the Greyhound in *Paules* Church-yard. 1631.

The work *Hexapla in Leviticum*, published in 1631, is so titled because it comments on each chapter of Leviticus in six sections (argument and content, textual variants, doubtful questions, doctrine, confutation of errors, and moral observations). The name of the author, Andrew Willet (1562 – 1621), is not included on the title page.

Marcus Dods on Genesis (in the *Expositor's Bible*) are practical and inspirational.

No attempt has been made to estimate the number of commentaries that have been written on the Bible. In Calmet's *Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (1722) at least 1400 titles are listed, some of them extending to many volumes. In addition, there are hundreds of titles on related subjects, which occupy thirty-two columns of text. A century and a half later, in an article on "Commentary," McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia* (1867 – 81) contains a "chronological conspectus of professed commentaries on the whole canonical Scriptures," listing 165 commentaries covering the entire Bible. In the article on the NT, 114 more are listed. There are also separate lists of commentaries on all the books of the Bible (e.g., 105 commentaries on the book of Daniel). About that time Charles H. Spurgeon published his famous *Commenting and Commentaries* (1876) in which he listed 1,437 titles. Nearly a century later Donald Guthrie in his *New Testament Introduction* listed more than 800 titles, most of which

were published since the lists of McClintock and Strong and of Spurgeon.

Ancient commentaries were numerous also. C. H. Turner, in a lengthy article on "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles" (*HDB*, 5:484 – 531), lists 115 titles down to the 8th cent., and there were others on the Gospels, Acts, and General Epistles.

I. The church fathers. The earliest Christian commentary is that on the Gospel of St. John by the heretic Heracleon, a follower of VALENTINUS; the latter founded an influential Gnostic sect in the early part of the 2nd cent. (see GNOSTICISM). The content of this book is known only by some quotations from it in ORIGEN'S commentary on John. Early in the 3rd cent. an important commentary on Daniel was written by Hippolytus (c. A.D. 204), which is recognized as the earliest extant exegetical treatise of the Christian church. It has survived only in fragments, in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, etc. Hippolytus wrote about forty different works, including commentaries on Genesis, Psalms, the Song of Solomon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Revelation, and others. E. J. Goodspeed refers to him as "the foremost figure of Greek Christianity in the West" (*A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. R. N. Grant [1966], 143).

In the same period (185 – 274) lived the greatest biblical scholar of the early church, Origen. This prolific writer believed that the Bible was written under the direct inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT, and held to the unity of the Scriptures (see BIBLE IX), taking every part of the Bible as a word from God. He emphasized the threefold method of interpreting the Scriptures: "The individual ought to portray the ideas of Holy Scripture in a threefold manner upon his own soul…for as man consists of a body and soul and spirit, so in the same way does Scripture, which has been arranged to be given by God for the salvation of man" (*On First Principles* 4.2.4). Origen wrote more extensively on the Bible than any other writer in the early centuries of the Christian church. Of the works he composed, the greater part have been lost, as Quasten indicates: "Origen also composed thirteen books on Genesis, forty-six on forty-one Psalms, thirty on Isaias, five that Eusebius knew of (*Hist. Eccl.* VI, xxiv, 2), fifteen on Luke, five on Galatians, three on Ephesians, besides others on Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Hebrews, Titus and Philemon. Of all these only small fragments have survived in *catenae*, Biblical manuscripts and quotations by later ecclesiastical authors. Out of 291 commentaries 275 have been lost in Greek and very little is preserved in Latin. Fragments of a Greek commentary on the Books of Kings were found at Tours in 1941. A commentary on Job attributed to Origen and extant in a Latin translation in three books is not authentic" (J. Quasten: *Patrology* [1950 – 60], 2:51).

At times Origen dictated to seven amanuenses who relieved each other in successive periods. JEROME said of his writings, "Which of us can read all that he has written?" In spite of Origen's belief in the full INSPIRATION of Scripture, in some instances he dogmatically rejected the historic literalness of a certain passage; for example, he insisted that the gospel report of the cleansing of the temple could not be believed. His allegorical treatment of Scripture had an enormous influence over subsequent commentators, and without any guidelines, as a recent scholar has said, "This method has become so flexible that by many virtually any conclusion could be drawn from any passage in the Bible." See ALLEGORY; INTERPRETATION II.D.

Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 264) wrote a commentary on the book of Revelation, not now extant, in which he confessed that he could not interpret the book literally, and stated that it most probably should be interpreted allegorically. Of the many commentaries written by Victorinus (d. 304), the only one that has survived is his work on the Apocalypse, which became very popular in the early church. Eschatological subjects greatly appealed to the early commentators.

The great church historian EUSEBIUS (260 – 340), late in his life, wrote a huge commentary on the book of Isaiah, based on the LXX and deriving much material from Origen, a work that extends to some 450 columns in Migne' edition (PG 24:77 – 526). Jerome translated this work almost verbatim without any acknowledgment of the source. Of Eusebius's commentary on the Psalms only excerpts remain, though J. B. Lightfoot says that this volume "stands in the first rank of patristic commentaries" (*A Dictionary of Christian Biography*..., ed. W. Smith and H. Wace [1880], 2:337). There are also remaining fragments of his works on Luke, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Daniel, et al. Since the majority of the church fathers used the method of allegorical interpretation, the warning of an authority on Eusebius may be pertinent: "If the Scriptures are so treated, the words of the sacred writers are in themselves not necessarily important or even true, and may be disregarded after the Holy Ghost, leading the reader into all truth, has revealed to him the true meaning of what he has read, which may not have been present in the mind of the author when he wrote. Scripture thus treated is a fairy story with a moral, and such exegesis is the death of history" (D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* [1960], 73).

In the middle of the 4th cent., an excellent commentary on the Psalms, surviving only in fragments, was written by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (296 – 374). The passion of Athanasius was to indicate the deity of Jesus Christ, and consequently he found types and prophecies of Christ and the church everywhere in the Psalms. In the last half of the 4th cent. appeared the exegetical works of Didymus the Blind (313 – 398), "the last great teacher of the Alexandrian Catechetical School." Nothing survives but fragments of his commentaries on Matthew, John, Job, Proverbs, some Pauline letters, and the Catholic Epistles, and extensive portions of his commentary on Isa. 40 – 66.

The earliest gospel commentary in the Western church in Latin was the work on Matthew by Hilary of Poitiers, which was frequently quoted both by Jerome and Augustine. Hilary's Commentary on the Psalms shows that he was a follower of Origen. Basil the Great (A.D. 330 – 379) wrote commentaries on almost all the Scriptures. His most celebrated work was his commentary on the Hexameron, which was extensively used by later writers. Ambrose (339 – 397) borrowed heavily from Basil; his work on the Psalms covers about 500 columns in Migne, and there are extant also extensive portions of his work on Luke. Also within the 4th cent. was Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus (d. 390), champion of the Nicene faith and the head of the theological school in Antioch. Most of his numerous works have perished, leaving only parts of his writings on Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. At this same time the influential commentary on Revelation by Tyconius (d. 400) was written, in which he claimed that the first resurrection (Rev. 20:4 – 5) was the experience of regeneration.

During the first thirty years of the 5th cent., biblical interpretation reached its greatest heights for that age. The great orator Chrysostom (A.D. 347 – 407) wrote the oldest complete commentary on the first gospel that has survived the patristic age. Fifty-eight of his homilies on the Psalms and fifty-five sermons on the book of Acts have survived. Of the latter, Quasten says that it is the "only complete commentary on Acts that has survived from the first centuries." About half of his extant homilies are devoted to the epistles of Paul, and his thirty-two homilies on the epistle to the Romans have been called "the most outstanding patristic commentary on this Epistle and the finest of all his works." Chrysostom knew no Hebrew and often was inaccurate in his historical references, but as Professor Riddle has said, "Where the exegesis deals with the human heart, its motives, its weakness, or with the grace and love of Jesus Christ, there Chrysostom rises and remains the Master in Israel."

If Chrysostom was the great commentator for the Greek church, Jerome was the supreme commentator for the Latin church and ultimately for the church universal. He has rightly been called

Doctor Maximus sacris Scripturis explanandis. His first commentary on Obadiah has not been preserved. His important commentary on Daniel, with many references to works now lost, has been translated into English (1958) by Gleason L. Archer. Of the Gospels, Jerome interpreted only Matthew; of Paul's epistles he commented only on Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon. His last work was on the book of Ezekiel (see the complete list of Jerome's works in P. C. de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius* [1924], 537). The great bibliographic work by Jerome on the lives of biblical commentators, in which he enumerates the writings of 134 authors, has never been translated into English.

Approximately at the same time, but less famous as a commentator, was Theodore of Mopsuestia (350 – 428). Theodore was careful to make a minute study of the context and paid a great deal of attention to grammar and punctuation and to the aim of the writer he was considering. He shunned the allegorical method. He believed that all of the Psalms were written by David, which forced him into some peculiar interpretations. His commentary on the shorter epistles of Paul have been preserved complete in Latin, as well as his works on the minor prophets and on John's gospel, of which the latter appeared in translation only in 1940. (For a valuable discussion of his works, see *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd et al., 3 vols. [1963 – 70], 1:491 – 92, 497 – 510.)

AUGUSTINE, the greatest of all the church fathers (354 – 430), exercised a greater influence through his theological works, especially *The City of God*, than through his commentaries. His first book, written at the age of forty, was a commentary on the early chapters of Genesis. Probably his greatest work of this type, apart from his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, was on the Psalms. He wrote 121 homilies on the Gospel of John and an unfinished commentary on Romans. His attitude to the Scriptures was revealed in a letter to his son: "Such is the depth of the Christian Scriptures that even if I were attempting to study them and nothing else from early boyhood to decrepit old age, with the utmost leisure, the most unwearied zeal, and talents greater than I have, I would still daily be making progress in discovering their treasures."

Gregory Nazianzus (370 – 390), Bishop of Sasima and Constantinople, wrote on the creation narrative of Genesis, two books on the superscriptions of the Psalms, homilies on Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, and other minor pieces, none of which evince much originality. Fragments of Polychrenius (d. 430) dealing with Job and Ezekiel have come down to us, but there are no traces of his commentaries on Daniel or on the books of the NT. The great Archbishop Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) wrote an extensive commentary on Isaiah and a large commentary on the minor prophets (edited by E. B. Pusey), and a commentary on John. There are also remains of some of his commentaries on the Psalms and on the epistles of Paul. Theodoret (A.D. 393 – 458) wrote on the Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, on the twelve Minor Prophets, on the fourteen epistles of Paul, and some works on Kings and Chronicles. J. B. Lightfoot (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* , 10th ed. [1890], 230) said that Theodoret's "commentaries on St Paul have been assigned the palm over all patristic expositions of Scripture."

The oldest Greek commentary on Revelation was written by Oecumenius in the 6th cent. "Ambrosiaster," the author of a number of commentaries on the epistles of Paul, has not yet been identified. The last of the traditional doctors of the church was Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 540 – 604), whose commentary on Job exercised a great influence through the Middle Ages. His homilies on the Gospels and his other commentaries have not survived.

The commentaries of the fathers of the church down to the beginning of the 7th cent. evince a total belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. As a corollary, they recognized that their own writings

were definitely inferior in authority and penetration to the NT. Again, they insisted that the entire Bible belongs to Christian believers, even though the OT is primarily Jewish and concerns Jewish history and law. The writings of the church fathers were uniformly Christocentric. There was a heavy emphasis on allegory, and a deep interest in eschatological themes. Although there were commentaries now lost that included almost all the books of the Bible, those most frequently considered were Genesis, Psalms, the Song of Solomon, the prophetic books, the Gospels of Matthew and John, the epistles of Paul, and Revelation. The existence of these commentaries indicates a great passion in the early church for biblical study which exceeded even that for the defense of the Christian faith in the numerous controversies of that period.

II. The Middle Ages. The commentators of the Middle Ages were for the most part not gifted with great originality. Undoubtedly the most important of them between Augustine and the beginning of the 12th cent. was the Venerable Bede (673 – 735). He devoted his entire life to the study of the Scriptures, and though his works have been carefully studied by numerous scholars, many of them still remain untranslated from the Latin. His commentary on Genesis was taken largely from Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine. He wrote other commentaries on Samuel, Ezra and Nehemiah, Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, Habakkuk, Mark, Luke, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

As a commentator in the first half of the 12th cent., St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 – 1153) had an extraordinarily intimate knowledge of the Scriptures and has been designated by some as the last of the church fathers. F. W. Farrar (*History of Interpretation* [1886], 256) has well said, "There was one book of the Bible which left scope for imagination to revel in thoughts which seemed to be innocent because they were supposed to be Scriptural and which gratified those yearnings of the human heart which are too strong and too sacred to be permanently crushed. It was the Song of Solomon." This was true both for Jewish exegetes and these medieval mystics. Bernard published eighty-six sermons on the Song of Solomon with the threefold interpretation of historical, moral, and mystical.

The monastery at St. Victor was the chief home of medieval mysticism. There Hugo of St. Victor (1097 – 1141) and Andrew of St. Victor (d. 1175) wrote their mystical interpretations of parts of the Scriptures. The work of Andrew has been rescued from undeserved oblivion by B. Smalley in her notable *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1941). Andrew wrote extensive commentaries on the Octateuch, frequently quoting from Origen, Augustine, and Jerome, and extensively from his predecessor, Hugo. He wrote also on the major prophetical volumes, the Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes.

At the end of the 12th cent. appeared the first biblical commentator in Britain since the Venerable Bede. Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote glosses on the Octateuch in which he referred frequently to Andrew of St. Victor, the result of lectures given in the schools at Paris. He wrote also on most of the prophets and on the Song of Solomon.

The most famous of all biblical writers in the Middle Ages was Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274), though his theological works were far more extensive, and certainly more influential, than his commentaries. It has been estimated that in his *Catena aurea* ("Golden Chain," an exposition of the Gospels based on the fathers) he quoted from twenty-two Greek and twenty Latin writers. He wrote commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Psalms, Job, and especially the Pauline epistles, a work extending to more than 700 pages. Because he was under the domination of the idea that all Scriptures had four different meanings, he did not advance an understanding of them despite all of his vast learning.

Nicolas of Lyra was called by Farrar "the Jerome of the fourteenth century." Of this writer Luther said, "I prefer him to almost all interpreters of the Scriptures," presumably because Nicolas adhered to a literal interpretation. He was fully acquainted with Jewish expositors. His famous work, *Postillae perpetuae in universam S. Scripturam*, which was the first biblical commentary to be printed, had a wide influence. It is generally acknowledged that after the death of Nicholas of Lyra "There was no important addition to the study of Scripture till the dawn of the Reformation."

III. The Reformation. With the coming of the Reformation, this important area of Christian literature underwent an enormous change. Martin Luther and John Calvin made a revolutionary return to the study and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures based on their literal meaning and emphasizing the preeminent theme of Christ in both the OT and NT.

Martin Luther (1483 – 1546) once said, "My conscience is captive to the Word of God." In his famous *Table Talk* he said that at least beginning with the year 1532 he read through the Bible twice every year. Luther insisted on the necessity for grammatical knowledge and on a serious consideration of the times and circumstances in which a book was composed, on the need of faith for understanding the Scriptures, and on the preeminence of Christ throughout the Bible. "The literal sense of Scripture alone is the whole essence of faith and of Christian theology." Strangely enough, the only book of the NT on which Luther wrote a complete commentary was the epistle to the Galatians, which became the most frequently reprinted of all Luther's exegetical works. His commentaries on Genesis and the Psalms are classics. G. H. Gilbert (*Interpretation of the Bible: A Short History* [1908]) is no doubt right in saying, "Although Luther as an expositor was more largely occupied with the Old Testament than with the New, it is obvious that the spirit of the New was more deeply grasped by him than was that of the Old." Luther's printed works also include his lectures on part of Romans and part of the epistle to the Hebrews. Luther rejected the authority of the Latin version and worked from the Hebrew and the Greek texts.

The greatest commentator of the Reformation and in some ways the greatest commentator of modern times was John Calvin (1509 – 64). Calvin published his first commentary on the epistle to the Romans when he was barely thirty years of age in 1540. Isaiah appeared in 1551; Acts, the following year; Genesis, in 1554. English translations of Calvin began to appear as early as 1578. Calvin's works in the *Corpus Reformatorum* embrace vols. 23 – 55. In the epochal 53-volume set published by the Calvin Translation Society (1843 – 55), all but ten of the volumes were taken up with his commentaries. Calvin did not write commentaries on 2 Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ruth, Esther, Nehemiah, Ezra, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and Revelation. His weakest area of interpretation was eschatology. In his two volumes on Daniel, his long exposition of Daniel's self-discipline (Dan. 1) is no doubt the finest interpretation of this one passage that has ever been written. His discussion of the difficult chronological prophecies of Dan. 8 – 9 involves some strange interpretations that no one today, whatever his eschatological views, would think of accepting.

IV. The seventeenth century. Only one commentary from the first half of the 17th cent. deserves mention, that of Joseph Hall (1574 – 1656). In 1612 he issued his widely used *Contemplations on the Old Testament*, followed in 1633 by his *Contemplations on the New Testament.* Later in the same century appeared the famous *Critical Commentary* by Patrick Lowth in six volumes. The prophetic books, as well as Revelation, were treated by Lowth, and most of the NT by Whitby. In this century there was a concentration of what might be called Synoptical Commentaries, beginning with *Critici sacri*, a work in nine volumes published in 1660. It had been preceded in 1655 – 57 by the

lesser known work of B. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, in six volumes. In the same generation appeared the most famous of all commentaries of this type, *Synopsis criticorum bibliorum*, in five folio volumes (1669 – 76), by Matthew Poole (1624 – 79). It contained the opinions of about 150 scholars. Poole later published *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683). The work by Poole himself extended only to Isa. 58. These volumes of Poole were extensively used and recommended by John Wesley, Cotton Mather, Doddridge, Bishop Tomline, and others. It is said that 3,800 sets of the *Synopsis* were sold. In 1642 Hugo Grotius, the Dutch theologian, published his *Annotations*. He put great emphasis on philological matters with close adherence to the ecclesiastical tradition, but with a varying repudiation of the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

V. The eighteenth century. The most widely used of all English commentaries appeared first at the beginning of the 18th cent. when Matthew Henry published his *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1708 – 10). Matthew Henry probably did not write beyond the book of Acts; the rest of the work was done by men of similar convictions. This commentary has continued to be published for almost three hundred years, and a one-volume edition of nearly 2,000 pages was issued in 1968 (repetitions have been removed, but everything that seems essential has been retained in the commentator's own words).

Also at the beginning of the 18th cent. appeared the *Family Expositor* by Philip Doddridge (1702 – 51) in five volumes. The first edition in six volumes was published in London (1760 – 62), and many editions following included a one-volume edition, super-royal size (1825). In 1778 Thomas Scott (1747 – 1821) published his *Holy Bible with Explanatory Notes*, which went through many editions, the fifth appearing in 1822. It was the first large commentary to be reprinted in the United States (1808 – 19). A famous Calvinistic Baptist preacher, John Gill (1697 – 1771), published his *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, nine folio volumes, in 1763. Two outstanding commentaries of that era were published on the continent of Europe: A. A. Calmet's *Commentaire literal sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, in twenty-three quarto volumes (1707 – 16), and the *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* of J. A. Bengel (1742; English trans. 1857).

VI. The early nineteenth century. Although limited to only one portion of Scripture, a valuable work, now almost forgotten, was produced by Edward Greswell: *An Exposition of the Parables and of the Other Parts of the Gospels* (6 vols., 1834 – 35). It contains the profoundest study of Matt. 13 that has probably ever appeared in English. Toward the middle of the century began to appear the still valuable commentaries by Henry Alford (1810 – 71). His *Greek Testament with Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (1853 – 61) was issued in five volumes; within ten years it passed through six editions.

In the last half of the century, the commentaries multiplied. The works of John Eadie (d. 1876) on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Thessalonians are still valuable. An entire series of massive commentaries were published by Macmillan: Bishop Lightfoot (1828 – 89) on Galatians, Philippians, and Colossians and Philemon; Bishop Westcott (1825 – 1901) on John, Ephesians, Hebrews, and the Johannine Epistles. C. J. Ellicott (1819 – 1905) produced the *New Testament Commentary for English Readers* in eight volumes, and later the corresponding Old Testament Commentary. Albert Barnes (1798 – 1870) contributed his *Notes* in twelve volumes, published in America, which have had a circulation of more than a million copies. It was written progressively from 1832 to 1851, and in 1868 was revised by the author. It has been translated into a number of languages and reprinted several times.

The most widely used and frequently published commentary of this period was the *Commentary Critical, Experimental, and Practical on the Old and New Testaments* by Robert Jamieson (1802 – 80), A. R. Fausset (1821 – 1910), and David Brown (1803 – 97). Fausset and Brown were prolific authors of books that are still valuable. This work was published in 1864 – 70 in six volumes, and contains approximately three million words. It has been republished in numerous editions. The work by Fausset was especially valuable.

Several series of commentaries appeared late in the century. The so-called "Speaker's Commentary," edited by F. C. Cook, was published in ten volumes between 1871 and 1881. Parts of it were contributed by some of the leading biblical scholars of the day, such as R. Payne Smith on Jeremiah, W. Alexander on the epistles of John, Lee on Revelation, and Westcott on John. It was the outcome of the consultation with several bishops to produce a commentary that would defend the Scriptures against the attacks of prevailing skepticism.

In 1877, under the editorship of Bishop Perowne and A. F. Kirkpatrick, was begun the production of the series Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. The Cambridge Greek Testament, under the editorship of Bishop Perowne, was begun in 1888, and publication continued into the next century (parts of it were later rewritten). Both contained work by experts, and have been widely used. The 48-volume Expositor's Bible was begun in 1887. Many of the outstanding divines of the period contributed to it: Dods on Genesis, Chadwick on Exodus, Kellogg on Leviticus, Maclaren on Psalms, George Adam Smith on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, Dods on John, and Plummer on the pastoral epistles.

The International Critical Commentary, begun in 1895, has never been completed. Most of these volumes are highly technical, but a few of them have proved to be milestones of biblical interpretation, such as A. Plummer on Luke, R. H. Charles on Revelation, and especially Sanday and Headlam on Romans. A work that never received due recognition was entitled *A Popular Commentary on the New Testament*, edited by Philip Schaff in four volumes (1879 – 83). The widely used series known as the Pulpit Commentary in 49 volumes, edited by H. D. M. Spence and J. S. Exell (1880 – 96), was largely homiletical in purpose; it contains numerous excellent individual works by noted scholars, and some of the introductions are superb. The *Expositor's Greek Testament* (1897 – 1907) was launched at the end of the century under the editorship of Robertson Nicoll. It was designed to succeed Alford's work. A series of short but rich commentaries (and other Bible helps) was issued under the direction of Marcus Dods and Alexander Whyte entitled Handbooks for Bible Classes. The volumes on Hebrews by Davidson, Acts by Lindsay, and John by Keith are especially valuable.

Apart from these excellent and widely differing series, there were innumerable individual commentaries on separate books of the Bible issued in the 19th century. A few of these deserve special mention: on Genesis, R. S. Candlish (1852) and J. G. Murphy (1864); on Leviticus, A. A. Bonar (5th ed., 1866); on Judges, the rare but valuable work by A. R. Fausset; on Job, Samuel Cox (1886); on Ecclesiastes, C. H. Wright (1883); on Isaiah, T. R. Birks (1873); on Ezekiel, A. B. Davidson (1892); and on the Minor Prophets, a three-volume work by G. C. Findlay (1896).

In the field of the NT we have Bishop Ryle's *Notes on the Gospels*, J. A. Broadus on Matthew, H. B. Swete on Mark, and Godet on Luke, John, Romans, and 1 Corinthians. Westcott's two-volume work on the Greek text of John was published posthumously. Charles Hodge published an important commentary on Romans (1889); F. J. Delitzsch wrote on Hebrews (1857), and J. B. Mayor's very thorough commentary on the Greek text of James appeared in 1893 (3rd ed., 1913). Especially valuable on the epistles of John were the lectures by R. S. Candlish (1866).

In the last half of the 19th century appeared three series of German commentaries that exercised a strong influence in Europe, Great Britain, and America. The first was edited by John Peter Lange (1802 – 84). Publication began in 1864 and continued in 22 volumes, bearing the title, Theologisch-homiletisches Biblewerk. Lange himself wrote Genesis to Numbers, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Matthew, Mark, John, Romans, and Revelation. It was translated into English (A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures) by a number of scholars and edited by Philip Schaff. The notes of some of the American editors are as valuable as the original text (e.g., the notes on John by Schaff and on Revelation by E. R. Craven). The second was a commentary on the OT by C. F. Keil (1807 – 88) and Franz Delitzsch (1813 – 90), two of the greatest Semitic scholars of their generation; in some respects it has never been completely superseded. Finally, in 1829 began the publication of the monumental work by H. A. W. Meyer (1800 – 73) and some collaborators: the Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, containing sixteen volumes, and completed in 1852. It appeared in an English translation in twenty volumes in 1873, and has been frequently revised. Its treatment of the biblical text was exhaustive.

VII. The twentieth century. In the 20th cent. the proliferation of commentaries on the Bible presents an almost bewildering array of material. The Westminster Press published an excellent series of handbooks by Charles R. Erdman that covered the devotional study of the text. On a larger scale was the 11-volume work by the late R. C. H. Lenski, written from the Lutheran point of view. The Moffatt New Testament Commentary in 17 volumes was published from 1926 to 1950. The Westminster Commentary Series included some distinguished scholars, represented by S. R. Driver's commentary on Genesis (1926) and R. B. Rackham's superb work on Acts (1906), which was one of the best in its field. The series was never completed for the entire Bible.

The largest cooperative venture in this type of

literature was the *Interpreter's Bible* in 12 quarto volumes under the general editorship of G. A. Buttrick, with the assistance of 126 consulting editors and 36 contributing editors, though some served in both capacities. On each book of the Bible is an extensive commentary, accompanied by an expository interpretation of the text. The early volumes were quite liberal in theology and criticism, but some volumes of the NT were in places comparatively conservative.

Other editions of Bible commentaries have been so numerous that probably the best way to list them is in alphabetical order. One of the most extensive works is the Anchor Bible under the general editorship of the late W. F. Albright and David N. Freedman. Albright states in its introduction: "Its method is to arrive at the meaning of Biblical literature through exact translation and extended exposition and to reconstruct the ancient setting of the Biblical story as well as the circumstances of its transcription and the characteristics of its transcribers." In 1962 the Lutterworth Press began their publication of Bible Guides to extend through 22 volumes under the general editorship of William Barclay and F. F. Bruce. The series of 13 volumes known as Black's New Testament Commentary is identical with the Harper's New Testament Commentary, published in America beginning in 1957. Oxford University Press began the publication of the Clarendon Bible in 1929. Moody Press issued a small series under the title of Everyman's Bible Commentary. The John Knox Press began publishing the Layman's Bible Commentary, with contributors such as Fritsch of Princeton and Filson of McCormick. The Westminster Press inaugurated a learned series with the title, the Old Testament Library. The *Seventh-Day Adventist Bible Commentary* is a 7-volume work (1953 – 57) with thirty-four contributors, a work that emphasizes archaeological studies and that carries the comments of Ellen G. White at the end of each chapter.

Also worthy of mention are such series as the Torch Commentaries of Macmillan, the Shield Bible Study of Baker Book House, and the Tyndale Bible Commentaries of Eerdmans.

VIII. One-volume commentaries. A large number of useful one-volume commentaries were made available during the 20th cent. One of the most widely used works of this kind was the *Commentary on the Holy Bible* by J. R. Dummelow (1909). A. S. Peake, with a number of contributors, issued his *Commentary on the Bible* in 1920 with the aid of such men as Moffatt, Oesterley, and the Moultons. The SPCK published in 1928 a volume that was highly approved in Anglican circles, *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, edited by Bishop Gore. The *Abingdon Bible Commentary* was published in 1929. Harper produced in 1932 a *Twentieth Century Bible Commentary*, revised in 1955. The SPCK in 1952 issued *A Concise Bible Commentary* of one thousand pages, written entirely by one author, W. K. L. Clarke. The best conservative Bible commentary of the century, *The New Bible Commentary*, with 140 contributors under the editorship of J. D. Douglas, was sponsored by InterVarsity and appeared first in 1953 (the 4th, completely revised ed. was published in 1994).

The most important Catholic commentary of this type is the large volume, *A Catholic Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* (1969). Moody Press issued in 1962 the *Wycliffe Bible Commentary* under the editorship of C. F. Pfeiffer and Everett F. Harrison. In 1971 Abingdon Press produced the *Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible* with the assistance of some seventy contributors, including two eminent archaeological authorities, G. Ernest Wright and J. B. Pritchard.

A number of commentaries were written during the 20th cent. on separate books of the Bible. The list here can be only selective, and the titles are merely listed: on Genesis, H. C. Leupold (1942) and W. H. Griffith-Thomas (n.d.); on Deuteronomy, the volume by George Adam Smith in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; on Psalms, the work of J. J. S. Perowne (1910), the Roman Catholic work in two volumes by E. J. Kissani (1953 – 54), and that of H. C. Leupold (1959); on Daniel, in addition to J. A. Montgomery (ICC) there are important volumes by R. H. Charles (1929), E. J. Young (1947), and H. C. Leupold (1949); on the twelve Minor Prophets, George Adam Smith (1927), and especially the work of T. Laetsch (1956). The work on Zechariah by David Baron (1908) is a classic. In the field of the NT, on Matthew, by Plummer (1909) and by G. Campbell Morgan (1929); on Mark, by Vincent Taylor (1955); on Luke, G. Campbell Morgan's work is among his best, and Geldenhuys's volume in the NICNT is excellent. Commentaries on the Gospel of John are both numerous and important. Among the best are the two volumes by J. C. Bernard (ICC, 1928), C. K. Barrett (1955), C. H. Dodd (1953), William Hendriksen (1953), and the NICNT volume by Leon Morris (1970), a massive volume of 936 pp. that is both comprehensive and conservative.

The best of modern works on Acts is the volume in the NICNT by F. F. Bruce. On Romans, the work by Karl Barth, frequently rewritten, was the introduction to his theology (1933); the 3-volume work of W. H. Griffith-Thomas (1946) is one of his finest products, and the book on Romans by A. Nygren (1952) represents the Swedish school of theology; on James, the work of H. Maynard Smith (1914) is almost unknown, but worthy of reading; and on the Johannine epistles Robert Law (1909) and G. C. Findlay (1955) are useful. Commentaries on Revelation are endless. Probably the two most extensive in this century are those of H. B. Swete (1911) and of I. T. Beckwith (1919). A very thorough work is that of John Walvoord (1969).

Supplement. Since the first edition of the *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, numerous works have appeared. New and important volumes have been published in such series as the Anchor Bible, the International Critical Commentary, and the New International Commentary

(both OT and NT). Among new multivolume publications, worthy of note are the *Expositor's Bible Commentary* and the *New Interpreter's Bible*, both aimed at the general reader. Important new series include the Word Biblical Commentary (more technical); Hermeneia (a critical series, consisting mainly of German commentaries in English translation); the New International Greek Testament Commentary (technical and conservative); and the Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (based on the Greek text but aimed primarily at the pastor). See further the commentaries listed at the end of separate articles on individual books of the Bible.

(In addition to some of the bibliographical works mentioned in the body of this article, note James Darling, *Cyclopedia Bibliographica* [1854 – 59], which contains in vol. 1 an alphabetical list of authors and in vol. 2 a topical list of subjects. W. E. Sonnenschein's *Best Books*, 2nd ed. [1891], includes a valuable catalog of commentaries on pp. 80 – 114. For the early period of the church see *The History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius* [1925]. There are also valuable discussions of commentaries in various chapters of the scholarly *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 3 vols. [1963 – 70]. For a list of Jewish works see W. Resenau, *Jewish Biblical Commentaries* [1906]. Among recent bibliographical tools, see T. Longman III, *Old Testament Commentary Survey*, 3rd ed. [2003], and D. A. Carson, *New Testament Commentary Survey*, 5th ed. [2001].)

W. M. SMITH (ED. M.C.T.)

commerce. See TRADE.

Commission, Great. The common designation of Jesus' words to the disciples after his resurrection: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age" (Matt. 28:18 – 20).

The Great Commission is linked with two great historic events: the RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST, which provides both message (1 Cor. 15:3 – 4) and motive (Matt. 28:6 – 7); and PENTECOST, which insures both power (Acts 1:8) and wisdom (Acts 6:5, 10). The Great Commission is rooted in the Lordship of Christ as demonstrated by his triumphant death (Col. 2:14 – 15), his victorious resurrection (Eph. 1:20 – 23), and his glorious ascension (Phil. 2:9 – 11). As the "author of life" (Acts 3:15) and the "Lord of glory" (1 Cor. 2:8), he possesses all power in heaven and in earth (Matt. 28:18), including power to forgive sins (Mk. 2:10), to bestow life (Josh. 17:2), and to execute judgment (Jn. 5:27).

As conceived by Christ, the Great Commission linked the missionary activity of the CHURCH with that of Christ himself (Jn. 14:12). As the first and greatest missionary (Heb. 3:1), he came to seek and to save the lost (Lk. 19:10). The church's mission was to be patterned after his (Jn. 20:21). As his ministry included teaching, preaching, and healing (Matt. 4:23), so would theirs (Acts 4:2; 5:12 – 16).

Beginning at Jerusalem, the mission was to extend, via Judea and Samaria, to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). Historically the gospel was first preached to the Jews (Rom. 1:16); when they rejected it, the apostles turned to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46). The Christian mission would continue to the end of time (Matt. 24:14). Not everyone would be saved, not even many who professed allegiance (Matt. 7:21 – 23). Indeed, the majority would be unresponsive (7:13 – 14).

To accomplish this formidable task, the church would require (Lk. 24:49) and receive (Acts 1:8)

the aid of the HOLY SPIRIT. Only as he worked in and through the apostles (Phil. 2:13), issuing their call (Acts 13:2), energizing their wills (Col. 1:29), controlling their movements (Acts 16:6 – 7), inspiring their message (Matt. 10:20), could they hope to fulfill their mission. The Holy Spirit was to work in the world as well, producing conviction (Jn. 16:8) and creating faith (1 Cor. 12:3). In carrying out the Great Commission the disciples would encounter opposition (Matt. 10:16 – 17) and persecution (Jn. 15:20). Some would suffer martyrdom (Jn. 16:2; Acts 7:58 – 60). None of these things was to deter them (Matt. 10:28; Acts 21:13).

The gospel preached was to include not only the historic facts of Christ's death and resurrection (1 Cor. 15:1 – 4) but his teachings as well (Matt. 28:20). Only by embracing the latter could anyone achieve genuine discipleship (Lk. 14:25 – 33), the seal of which is baptism (Matt. 28:19), the badge of which is love (Jn. 13:35). (See H. W. Frost, *The Great Commission* [1934]; H. R. Boer, *Pentecost and Missions* [1961], 15 – 47; G. H. Anderson, *The Theology of the Christian Mission* [1961], 55 – 71; J. H. Bavinck, *An Introduction to the Science of Missions* [1961]; M. J. Wilkins, *Discipleship in the Ancient World and Matthew's Gospel* [1995].)

J. H. KANE

common. This English term is used in Bible versions with various meanings ("shared, ordinary, public"). Of special interest is its use to render Hebrew *ḥōl* ***H2687***, "profane, ritually neutral" (contrasted with *qōdeš* ***H7731***, "holy"; see Lev. 10:10; 1 Sam. 21:4 – 5; Ezek. 22:26; 42:20; 44:23; 48:14 – 15). In the NT, the phrase "in common" renders the Greek adjective *koinos* ***G3123***, used to describe the early Christian practice of sharing possessions (Acts 2:44; 4:32; see COMMUNITY OF GOODS). It is also used to describe the faith and salvation shared by God's people (Tit. 1:4; Jude 3). However, this Greek adjective can also refer to that which is ritually "unclean" (Mk. 7:2, 5; Acts 10:14 – 15, 28; 11:8 – 9; Rom. 14:14; Heb. 10:29; Rev. 21:27). See CLEAN; HOLINESS; PURITY.

commonwealth. This English term (meaning "nation, state") is used in some Bible translations to render Greek *politeia* ***G4486*** in Eph. 2:12 and *politeuma* ***G4487*** in Phil. 3:20. In both of these cases, the reference is probably to CITIZENSHIP (in a metaphorical sense), although the meanings "colony" and "homeland" have also been suggested for the latter passage.

communication. See TRAVEL.

communion. This English term occurs seldom in modern versions (only at 2 Cor. 13:13 in NRSV; not at all in NIV), but the idea is prevalent in the NT. The corresponding Greek noun, *koinōnia* ***G3126*** (along with its cognates), which appears many times, is usually rendered with such terms as "contribution," "fellowship," "participation," "partnership," and "sharing." The concept of communion in its traditional sense primarily bears a Christian connotation, beginning with Jesus and the Twelve. Its precursors may be seen, however, in the family life, tribal life, and religious life of Israel, particularly in feasts like the PASSOVER. Among early Christians there were many acts of communion, most of which became cherished heritage in the church.

I. Festal communion. Feasting is an old and universal function of fellowship, from primitive boards to palatial banquets. To dine with family and friends, partaking of the same bread, meat, and beverage, is a person's most intimate means of promoting fellowship. Also dreams, experiences, emotions, hopes, and news are shared, and personalities nurtured.

In tribal custom an invitation to dine was a gesture of good will, and the eating of a meal together was an act of fellowship. At times social intercourse alone was the objective; at other times matters of

Stone carving of a banquet scene from the temple of Athena in Assos (mid-7th cent. B.C.).

great importance were discussed. When ABRAHAM in customary hospitality invited three strangers to dinner, he "entertained angels without knowing it" (Gen. 18:1 – 8; Heb. 13:2). Moreover, they were on the serious mission of destroying SODOM and GOMORRAH, and had stopped by to share the matter with Abraham.

The Passover was of unique origin, born out of an emergency for necessary nutrition. Soon afterward MOSES converted it into an institution of communal activity whereby a great act of God was memorialized (Exod. 23:15). The act of delivering Israel from Egyptian bondage was also prophetic of Jesus' delivering men and women from the bondage of sin; therefore, the full significance of the Passover was completed in the redemptive act. Logically, the LORD'S SUPPER, the Communion, superseded the Passover, and is permanent in Christendom.

The sect at QUMRAN ritually ate communal meals, which could be partaken of only by full members who had successfully completed three years of probation. The communal meals did not require the assembly of the whole community, but could be held wherever ten members were gathered, provided one of them was a priest who must say grace, and provided that one member be continuously reading the holy law. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

Also, among early Christians there was a common meal that came to be known as the *Agape* or Love Feast, which took place in connection with the Lord's Supper. Unfortunately, true Christian fellowship and sacred communion could thereby be disrupted. In this connection, both Paul and Jude pointed out abuses sometimes made of the Lord's Supper by heretics or unscrupulous Christians with gluttonous appetites (1 Cor. 11:20 – 22; Jude 12). Eventually, the love feasts were discontinued in deference to the Lord's Supper.

To most Christians the Lord's Supper and Communion are synonymous. This celebration was instituted by Jesus while eating his last Passover supper with his disciples (Matt. 26:26 – 28; cf. Mk. 14:22 – 24; Lk. 22:14 – 19). Paul reports in essence the same incident, which he "received from the Lord." To this he adds Jesus' command and purpose: "'do this, whenever you drink it, in remembrance of me.' For whenever you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:23 – 26). This feast then is "a living sermon," containing both memorial and prophecy. It is a dramatic means of keeping alive the sacred memory of Jesus' supreme love on the cross and the blessed hope of his glorious return. It is a beautiful act in which Christians are drawn together and in common partake of the essence of Christ. "Is not the cup of thanksgiving for

which we give thanks a participation [communion] in the blood of Christ? And is not the bread that we break a participation in the body of Christ? Because there is one loaf, we, who are many, are one body, for we all partake of the one loaf" (1 Cor. 10:16 – 17).

II. Fiscal communion. Common hardship and common purpose encourage the pooling of financial resources. POVERTY was a major factor in compelling the community at Qumran to practice communal support, and the early church to practice it temporarily. The Qumranites had a communal fund into which all property and earnings of full members went. It was mandatory, and any deception relating thereto was considered a serious matter and dealt with by stern measures. The communal fund of the Jerusalem church was spontaneous and voluntary, prompted by a common urge to care for the poor saints. Following Pentecost, "All the believers were together and had everything in common. Selling their possessions and goods, they gave to anyone as he had need" (Acts 2:44 – 45). Barnabas "sold a field he owned and brought the money and put it at the apostles' feet" (4:37). Contrarily, "a man named Ananias, together with his wife Sapphira, also sold a piece of property," but "he kept back part of the money for himself," then "brought the rest and put it at the apostles' feet" (Acts 5:1 – 2); because of their deception both were miraculously stricken dead. See COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

These early Christians experienced the joy of giving. Not only were the poor and needy helped, but all were drawn closer together. Giving to a common cause enhanced common interest (see Matt. 6:21). Voluntary almsgiving, tithes, and offerings were all an essential part of early Christian fellowship. Paul himself raised great collections among the Gentile converts for the poor saints at Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26; 2 Cor. 8:4; 9:13). From the start Paul was eager to do this (Gal. 2:10), and he instructed his churches to "Share [*koinōneō* ***G3125***] with God's people who are in need" (Rom. 12:13). From the infancy of the church the voluntary offering has been an important part of worship. The active Christian gives, and in turn enjoys Christian communion. See CONTRIBUTION.

III. Church communion. The church expresses its fellowship through many avenues, such as assembling, offering, praying, praising, and working together. An essential nature of the church is growth, breaking over old boundaries and founding new missions and churches, which is done by cooperative effort. Paul explained the means of bringing former aliens into the church fellowship. "James, Peter and John, those reputed to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship when they recognized the grace given to me. They agreed that we should go to the Gentiles, and they to the Jews. All they asked was that we should continue to remember the poor, the very thing I was eager to do" (Gal. 2:9-10). Each new church became a partner in promoting the kingdom. To the Philippians Paul wrote that he was thankful "because of your partnership in the gospel from the first day until now" (Phil. 1:5).

Whether mother church or mission church, the life and effectiveness of the local church is dependent on the strength of its fellowship. It is said of the early church in Jerusalem that those who had separated themselves "from this corrupt generation," after being "baptized" and "added" to the church, "devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and to the fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to prayers" (Acts 2:40 – 42). The fellowship of the church is exclusive, admitting only the regenerated. Long ago a psalmist sang, "I am a friend to all who fear you, / to all who follow your precepts" (Ps. 119:63). Another grieved over the alienation of a friend "with whom I once enjoyed sweet fellowship [*sôd* ***H6051***] / as we walked with the throng at the house of God" (Ps. 55:14). Paul warned, "Do not be yoked together with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? Or what fellowship can light have with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ

and Belial? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever? What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols?" (2 Cor. 6:14 – 15). "Have nothing to do [*synkoinōneō* ***G5170***] with the fruitless deeds of darkness" (Eph. 5:11).

IV. Spiritual communion. The heart of Christian communion is spiritual. By the Spirit a believer communes with God and Christ, as well as with saints. The mystical tie of the Spirit permeates and unifies the church. Jesus said to his disciples, "you have only one Master and you are all brothers" (Matt. 23:8). Just as disciples are fellow students, those who partake of the Communion are fellow worshipers. "Consider the people of Israel: Do not those who eat the sacrifices participate in the altar?" (1 Cor. 10:18). Paul admonished worthiness of fellowship: "Be completely humble and gentle; be patient, bearing with one another in love. Make every effort to keep the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace," to which he adds, "one body and one Spirit…one hope…one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all" (Eph. 4:1 – 6). Leaders of the new church continually encouraged fellowship, spelling out practical means of doing so: "teach and admonish one another with all wisdom," singing together with thanksgiving (Col. 3:16). "Encourage each other" (1 Thess. 4:18); "encourage one another and build each other up" (5:11); "warn those who are idle, encourage the timid, help the weak, be patient with everyone" (5:14). "But encourage one another daily" (Heb. 3:13) and "spur one another on toward love and good deeds. Let us not give up meeting together, as some are in the habit of doing, but let us encourage one another" (10:24 – 25).

Spiritual fellowship originates with God and Christ. "We proclaim to you what we have seen and heard, so that you also may have fellowship with us. And our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ" (1 Jn. 1:3). In the allegory of the vine, Jesus portrayed the mystical union between himself and God and his disciples: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the gardener…I am the vine; you are the branches" (Jn. 15:1, 5). By this union one bears much fruit. See UNION WITH CHRIST.

Finally, the Holy Spirit is the mediator of communion in the present dispensation. Through him man communes with God and sustains universal fellowship with the saints. Jesus' consoling promise to his disciples was, "I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Counselor to be with you forever—the Spirit of truth. The world cannot accept him, because it neither sees him nor knows him. But you know him, for he lives with you and will be in you" (Jn. 14:16 – 17). Paul said, "Because you are sons, God sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts" (Gal. 4:6). Then he writes to the Philippians about Christ, love, joy, and "fellowship with the Spirit" (Phil. 2:1 – 2). Paul summarizes the triune relations in his benediction: "May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all" (2 Cor. 13:14). See also FELLOWSHIP.

G. B. FUNDERBURK

community. See BODY OF CHRIST; CHURCH; COMMUNION; SOCIETY.

Community, Rule of the. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS IV.

community of goods. An expression not found in the NT but referring to Christian LOVE as expressed in the free sharing of material goods, as recorded in Acts 2:44 and 4:34—5:11. Problems to be faced in these passages concern how complete this community of goods was and whether there was any compulsion involved in the sharing of private property set forth here. The two passages in Acts make clear that the social structure of the church at Jerusalem was not a communal program in the modern

sense of the word, for the emphasis is placed first upon the sharing of *spiritual* blessings in Christ (Acts 2:42 – 43; 4:31 – 33). In addition, the Christians were willing to share their material goods, so that none of the saints at Jerusalem was impoverished (4:34).

Furthermore, the Acts texts indicate that the properties of Christians were not automatically considered to be the possession of the corporate visible church. Rather, the picture is that these properties were sold from time to time (a nuance possibly reflected in the imperfect tense *epipraskon*, Acts 2:45); the monetary value was then brought to the apostles (4:34), and the distribution was made (again imperfect, *diemerizon*, 2:45; cf. 4:35), all in the degree that (*kathoti*, 2:45; 4:35) anyone developed a material need. That the disciples were not forced to sell their property nor give it to the church is shown by the example of ANANIAS and SAPPHIRA, who were condemned not for failing to give their property (5:4), but for pretending to contribute more than they actually had given (5:1 – 3).

Even this modified voluntary community of goods seems to have been practiced only in the Jerusalem church and for a limited time. Later this Christian community received gifts from non-Judean churches (Acts 11:27 – 30; 2 Cor. 8:1 – 5), one such church being instructed to lay aside offerings for the Lord's work each week (1 Cor. 16:1 – 2), with no suggestion of any community of goods. (See CONTRIBUTION.) Paul's teaching is that individual Christians are to be responsible stewards of what God has entrusted to them (1 Cor. 4:1 – 2). Such a principle of private ownership is also set forth in the OT, where the respect for, and the sanctity of, another's private person and property are taught (Exod. 20:15; 21:26—22:13).

W. H. MARE

company. This English term is used variously in the Bible versions to render a large variety of Hebrew words, especially *maḥăneh* ***H4722***, "camp, army" (e.g., Gen. 32:8 NRSV; 50:9 NIV, NRSV) and *qāhāl* ***H7736***, "assembly, convocation" (e.g., Gen. 28:3 NRSV; Ezra 2:64 NIV). The expression *bĕnê-hannĕbîʾîm*, "sons of the prophets" (2 Ki. 2:3 et al.), is rightly translated "company of the prophets" by the NIV and other modern versions. In the NT the KJV uses "company" to render Greek *ochlos* ***G4063***, "crowd" (Lk. 5:29 and elsewhere in this gospel, but not in the other synoptics); otherwise it occurs rarely.

compass. In the NIV and other modern versions, this term occurs only once, being used to render the Hebrew noun *mĕḥûgâ* ***H4684*** (Isa. 44:13). It refers to some kind of circle instrument used by the carpenter or wood carver. The prophet satirizes the skilled craftsman who traces the pattern of an idol on a piece of timber with chalk or pencil and a compass to draw the curved portions of the outline, then carves it out, and finally bows down to worship what he has made. The KJV (which uses this English term as a noun, not always accurately, to render a few other Hebrew words, e.g., Exod. 27:5; 1 Ki. 7:35) employs "compass" as a verb frequently. Modern versions prefer other renderings, such as "go around" (e.g., Num. 21:4), "encircle" (1 Ki. 7:15 NRSV), and "surround" (Ps. 5:12).

J. REA

compassion. Compassion or pity is one of God's virtues, made evident through his mighty acts in history on behalf of the covenant people. That God is compassionate is one of the essential marks of the biblical faith (Exod. 3:7; Deut. 30:3; 2 Chr. 36:15 – 16; Pss. 78:38; 86:13; Jer. 12:15; Hos. 11:4). God's pity goes out toward both the good and the evil, the deserving and the wasteful. It is need alone which stirs him.

The basic principle of Christian personal ethics is that those virtues which have characterized God's dealings with mankind are to be internalized and become descriptive of the life of the believer. Therefore, compassion or pity should characterize the life of the Christian. Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan is the classic presentation of this truth (Lk. 10:33 – 34; see also the parable of the unforgiving steward Matt. 18:23 – 35). The lesson is that Christians must respond compassionately to human need, not allowing their hearts to be hardened. Further, in Jesus' description of the judgment (Matt. 25:31 – 46) the prime criterion for division of the just from the unjust is whether or not their lives have been characterized by acts of compassion.

How does compassion work? It begins with the cultivation of a sensitivity to human need—material, psychological, social, and spiritual. The compassionate Christian is committed to using his resources to meet these needs. He acts instinctively, not stopping to count the cost, not questioning if the one in need is "deserving." However, he is realistic enough to know he will often misinterpret the need, be rebuffed by the object of his compassion, be rebuked by a secular society, and never attain the goals of his culture. It is evident that compassion, like other Christian virtues, is a high goal. Few consistently attain it.

Interestingly, the primary indictment brought against the church by its contemporary young critics is its failure to display compassion toward the POOR or toward those who are different. Modern urbanization has resulted in homogenization of neighborhoods, insulating many from confrontation with human need. The goals of materialism are seldom compatible with those of compassion. The church is learning once again the impossibility of successfully institutionalizing compassion. Certainly one of the essential tasks of contemporary Christianity is to reappraise the meaning and application of compassion for today. See MERCY for a fuller discussion.

G. E. FARLEY

Conaniah kon'uh-n*i*'uh (כְּנַנְיָהוּ ***H4042*** [*Ketib* כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ], possibly "Yahweh sustains"; cf. also KENANAIAH). TNIV Konaniah. **(1)** A Levite who, with the help of his brother Shimei, was in charge of administering the collections under King HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 31:12 – 13; KJV, "Cononiah").

(2) A leader of the Levites during the reign of King JOSIAH; along with his brothers Shemaiah and Nethanel, Conaniah provided five thousand offerings (lambs) and five head of cattle for the renewed celebration of the Passover (2 Chr. 35:9; called Jeconiah in 1 Esd. 1:9). He is thought by some to be a descendant of #1 above.

Concept of Our Great Power, The. A Gnostic apocalyptic document included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC VI, 4). Combining Jewish, Greek, and Christian ideas, it summarizes the history of salvation, from creation to consummation, presented as three dispensations (the age of the flesh, the psychic age, and the age to come). Originally composed in Greek (perhaps c. A.D. 350), it is preserved only in one Coptic MS. (For an English translation, see *NHL*, 311 – 17.)

concision. The KJV uses this English term once to render Greek *katatomē* ***G2961***, "incision, cutting" (Phil. 3:2; NIV, "those mutilators of the flesh"). With a play on words, Paul is referring to CIRCUMCISION (*peritomē* ***G4364***), which the Judaizers sought to impose on Gentiles. His use of this unusual term, however, evokes pagan practices (cf. Gal. 5:12). In contrast, he insists that the true circumcision is spiritual (Phil. 3:3).

concordance. A reference book defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "an alphabetical arrangement of the principal words contained in a book, with citations of the passages in which they occur." There are concordances for many important writers, both ancient and modern, but concordances relating to the Bible are very numerous. The first significant work was that of Rabbi Isaac Nathan, who labored on a concordance to the Hebrew Bible for ten years, 1438 – 1448. This was printed in Venice in 1524, and translated into Latin in 1556. It was with this work as a foundation that the learned Hebraist John Buxtorf (1564 – 1629) published in Basel his *Concordantia bibliorum ebraicae* (1632).

The first concordance of the English Bible included only the NT: *The Concordance of the New Testament Most Necessary to be Had*…by Thomas Gybson (d. 1562), first appearing before 1540, and reprinted in London with the date 1550. The first concordance of the entire English Bible was produced by a most interesting individual, John Marbeck (d. 1585), published in 1550 under the title, *A Concordance, that is to saie, a Worke Wherein by the Order of the Letters of the A.* B.C. *ye maie redely find any Worde Conteigned in the Whole Bible, so often as it is There Expressed or Mentioned.* Extending to 766 folio pages, three columns to a page, or 2,300 columns, this was no small accomplishment for one man. Originally, he relates in the preface, he had drawn up a concordance that included the entire sentence in which any one word appeared, "which made a greate and a houge volume." Just as he finished the work Marbeck was apprehended at Windsor, arrested under the so-called Statute of Six Articles, and condemned to death, though later this sentence was rescinded. His arrest was in part due to the writing of the concordance, which was destroyed, and "for copying out of a worke, made by the greate Clerke Master John Calvin, written against the same five articles." This would seem to indicate that the concordance that appeared in 1550 was the second one he had compiled.

A concordance that seemingly has escaped the notice of all who have attempted to write on this subject is a *Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*, compiled by Samuel Newman (d. 1663), an Oxford graduate, later moving to New England, so that on the title page of his work we have the clause, "one of the Puritans at Rehoboth, England." The second edition, corrected and enlarged, appeared in 1672; later, with improvements, it was published in Cambridge, 1720, and reprinted in London in 1889, a large folio work of nearly 800 double column pages, generally known as the *Cambridge Concordance.*

Probably the most famous, most widely used, and most frequently reprinted concordance of all is the one by Alexander Cruden (1701 – 70), entitled *A Complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* (1737). Of course, it was not really "complete," as the later works of Strong and Young would be, but it remained the most extensive of them all for 150 years. How many editions have been printed is not known; but the *American Catalogue* for 1876 lists twelve different publishing firms in America who were each issuing Cruden in some form, and Scribners was offering five different editions at that time, nearly a hundred years ago! As witness to the fact that Cruden eclipsed all preceding similar works, of the fifteen concordances published between 1610 and 1820 (cf. H. Malcom, *Index to…Religious Literature*, 2nd ed. [1870], 119), not one has been reprinted for the last one hundred years.

It was in the last decade of the nineteenth century that the two most complete concordances were issued (though these were preceded by two smaller but valuable works, one by the distinguished Bible scholar John Eadie [1810 – 1876], *An Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* [1857]). In 1873 appeared the first edition of the largest concordance of the Bible that had thus far been published, by Robert Young (1822 – 88): *The Analytical Concordance to the Bible on an*

entirely new plan, containing every word in alphabetical order, arranged under its Hebrew or Greek original, with the literal meaning of each, and its pronunciation, with the latest information on Biblical Geography, Antiquities. This work of 311,000 references often has been revised and reprinted. Six editions were called for within twenty years. An equally comprehensive concordance was published in 1890 by James Strong (1822 – 94), with the following title, *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible, showing every word of the text of the common English Version, together with a Comparative Concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions.* Strong's concordance also is supplied "with brief dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek words of the original." Strong was a professor at Drew Theological Seminary, and the co-editor of the McClintock-Strong *Cyclopedia.*

In Young's concordance the occurrences of any one English word are classified according to the words of the original, whereas in Strong's concordance all the occurrences of the English word are given in succession, each followed by a number. For example, the occurrences of the English word *word* in Strong are followed by numbers 3056, 4487. One must then turn to the end of the concordance to discover the Greek word to which these numbers refer. In the Young concordance, however, the Greek words are already classified.

It will surprise many to know that the extremely useful *Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament*, compiled by George V. Wigram (1805 – 79), appeared as early as 1839 and is still in print. In this volume of 1,000 pages the Greek vocabulary of the NT is arranged alphabetically, with all the occurrences of each word. This is followed by a complete index of the words of the English text, with the Greek words from which they are translated. The word *word* is said to be the translation of two Greek words, and the index states that a complete list of all the passages in which these two Greek words occur may be found on pp. 462 and 677 respectively. The concordance is worked out with great detail; for example, under the little preposition *with* are listed the thirteen different Greek words that are so translated in all versions. There is also an index of Greek and English words; for example, under the Greek word *logos* ***G3364*** twenty-seven different English renderings are listed, such as "doctrine," "preaching," "rumor," "speech," "truth," "word," etc.

There are also numerous modern concordances of the Greek and Hebrew text. In 1870 Charles F. Hudson published his *Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament*, which reached an eighth edition, revised by Ezra Abbot (1882). This lists all of the passages where each Greek word occurs but it does not quote them. In the preface to the seventh edition, signed "H.L.H.," it is asserted that "there is probably no one book in existence which points out so many of the facts and considerations which influenced the Revisers in a large proportion of the changes made."

A more technical work that has won great approval was published in 1897 as the combined labor of two famous English scholars, William F. Moulton (1835 – 98) and A. S. Geden (1857 – 1936), the *Concordance to the Greek Testament according to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers* (3rd ed., 1950; 6th ed. rev. by I. H. Marshall, 2002). The quotations are from the Greek text. A work widely used in England and America, though published in Germany, is the *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament* by Alfred (Otto) Schmoller, first published in 1869 but revised continually. It is alphabetically arranged, with each Greek word given its Latin equivalent. In some places the material is arranged under major headings. Another work of this kind was done by the late Jacob B. Smith, *A Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament* (1955). This lists 5,524 Greek words giving the various renderings of each in the KJV with the number of times each occurs. In 1963 there was published a work compiled by J. Stegenga, *The Greek-English Analytical Concordance of the Greek-English New Testament.* For a work based on NA^{26}, see *Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece*, under the direction of H.

Bachmann and W. A. Slaby (3rd ed., 1987).

In 1896, Solomon Madelkern published an exhaustive concordance of the Hebrew Bible, *Veteris Testamenti concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (7th ed. rev. by M. H. Goshen-Gottstein and P. Margolin, 1967), in which each Hebrew (or Aramaic) word is subdivided according to form. Although this format can prove inconvenient if the user is interested in all forms of the word, it greatly facilitates searches that involve grammatical differences. Easier to use are the *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament* of G. Lisowsky (1958) and especially the *Konkordantsyah hadashah* of A. Even-Shoshan (2nd ed., 1989).

There began to appear at Oxford in 1897 that monumental work in two folio volumes, with a supplement, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament Including the Apocryphal Books* by Edwin Hatch (1835 – 89) and Henry A. Redpath (1848 – 1908). This indispensable work for the study of the Greek OT also gives the Hebrew equivalent of every Greek word in each passage in which it occurs. A very useful supplement to this work is T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/ Aramaic Index to the Septuagint: Keyed to the Hatch-Redpath Concordance* [1998], which makes it possible to find out quickly all the Greek words used in the SEPTUAGINT to translate a specific Hebrew or Aramaic term.

Over a hundred years ago, John Taylor published a work now seldom seen, *A Hebrew Concordance Adapted to the English Bible*, somewhat after the manner of Buxtorf, a revised edition appearing in 1876. A valuable work, in compact format, was the *English and Hebrew Bible Student's Concordance*, by Aaron Pick, professor of Hebrew in the University of Prague. It was arranged alphabetically according to the English word, for which the Hebrew word or words are then given. This was subscribed to by a number of bishops, by T. H. Horne, J. Pye Smith, E. H. Bickersteth, and others. In 1874 there appeared the *Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament*.

In 1883, edited by John Alexander Ross, appeared *A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament*, "published under the authorization of Oxford and Cambridge Universities." It mainly follows the lines laid down by Cruden. In 1922, when he was eighty-two years of age, M. C. Hazard (1839 – 1929) published his *Complete Concordance to the American Standard Version of the Holy Bible.* This work is said to contain 300,000 references under 16,000 headings. The classification of these words is wonderfully helpful in spite of the fact that there are many errors in the volume. Thus for *word* there are two columns of references under that single term, followed by all the verses where such phrases as "word again," "word of Jehovah came," "word of God," "word of Jehovah," "my word," "word of truth," et al.—twenty different headings. In addition there are some encyclopedic notes prefacing many of the words. For the first word, *Aaron*, its probable meaning is given, then six lines of a summary of his life.

In 1894 appeared the work by J. B. R. Walker (1821 – 85), *A Comprehensive Concordance*, later reprinted in 1945 with an introduction by M. C. Hazard. This is based on Cruden, but is said to contain 50,000 more references. In 1957 appeared Nelson's *Complete Concordance of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible*, compiled by John W. Ellison. Finally, in 1964, appeared the *Concordance to the New English Bible: New Testament*, compiled by E. Elder. The editor defines this work as "a concordance of words not in [the KJV], or not in the same verses as the KJV. A supplement to existing concordances of other Versions." Many attempts have been made to construct concordances to the Douay version, but the definitive work, which will not have to be done again, is the *Complete Concordance to the Bible* (*Douay Version*), published in 1953, a work by Newton Thompson and Raymond Stock.

The Computer Bible began to appear in 1970 with a critical concordance of the Synoptic Gospels prepared by J. A. Baird. Since then numerous specialized volumes by various editors have been published as part of this project. The availability of computers has also made it easier to produce complete concordances of many English versions that have appeared since the 1970s. J. R. Kohlenberger III in particular has produced a large number of concordances, including *The NIV Exhaustive Concordance*, with E. W. Goodrick (1990), *The NRSV Concordance Unabridged: Including the Apocryphal/ Deuterocanonical Books* (1991), *The Greek English Concordance to the New Testament*, with E. W. Goodrick and J. A. Swanson (1997), *The Hebrew English Concordance to the Old Testament*, with J. A. Swanson (1998), and *The Analytical Concordance to the New Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* , with R. E. Whitaker (2000). (See further D. G. Miller in *Int* 1 [1947]: 52 – 62; F. W. Danker, *Multipurpose Tools for Bible Study*, rev. ed. [1993], ch. 1.)

W. M. SMITH

concubine. A secondary wife who was the legal chattel of her master. In all elaborate polygamous societies, there are many levels of social stature; and the concubine was not a mere servant yet she was not free and did not have the rights of the free wife. The Hebrew term for this type of female slave, *pilegeš* ***H7108*** (var. *pîlegeš*), is of non-Semitic origin with no known etymology. It refers to the ancient form of marriage in which the bride stayed in her father's house while the groom was permitted to spend the night with her as he chose, until he would raise her station to full wife and keep her in another domicile. The concubine held a place of honor, and her children, especially sons, could become coheirs with the children of the wife. Concubines from Gentile nations were as despised as any mixed marriages in Israel.

The passages where concubines are mentioned belong primarily to the period of the PATRIARCHS (Gen. 22:24; 25:6; 35:22; 36:12) and the time of the judges (Jdg. 8:31; 19:1; et al.). During the early kingdom, concubines appear to have been a royal prerogative (2 Sam. 21:10 – 14; 1 Ki. 11:3; et al.; cf. also Cant. 6:8 – 9; Esth. 2:14). In addition, the Aramaic term *lĕḥēnâ* ***H10390*** occurs in the scenes of the Babylonian court narrated in Daniel (Dan. 5:2 – 3, 23). The antagonism between concubines and wives as recorded in the OT is paralleled by texts from other similar cultures (e.g., the Japanese *Genji Monogatari*, by the 11th-cent. poetess Mura-saki Shikibu). The story of the wives and concubines of Jacob and the subsequent ill will between the brothers indicates that concubinage was never a happy state of affairs. See also FAMILY; MARRIAGE.

W. WHITE, JR.

concupiscence. This English term (from Lat. *concupiscere*, "to desire intensely") is used in the KJV to render Greek *epithymia* ***G2123***, "desire," in three passages where the context is negative (Rom. 7:8; Col. 3:5; 1 Thess. 4:5). In the Christian ethical tradition concupiscence (which often connotes inordinate sexual desire) is generally considered to be a sinful disposition either because it is abnormally intense or (more often) because it is wrongly directed. See DESIRE; LUST.

H. STOB

condemn. This English verb is used most frequently to render Hebrew *rāšaʿ* ***H8399*** ("be guilty"; hiphil, "declare [someone] guilty") and Greek *katakrinō* ***G2891*** (cf. also *krinō* ***G3212*** and *katadikazō* ***G2868***). There are slight differences of meaning and usage between the words, but

essentially they all involve the thought of giving judgment against a person or treating him as guilty. Sometimes, but by no means always, the sentence or penalty for the guilt or supposed guilt is expressed.

Condemnation may be that of one person by another without any legal procedure—a person is simply reckoned guilty, and perhaps made to suffer as guilty. Men often "condemn the innocent" in their judgments (Ps. 94:21; Prov. 17:15), but in the end God reverses all such judgments (1 Ki. 8:32; Ps. 109:31; Isa. 50:9). Christ's injunction, moreover, is against all such judging: "Do not condemn, and you will not be condemned" (Lk. 6:37; cf. Rom. 2:1).

It may be said, in a different spirit, that the integrity and God-fearing quality of one person's life condemns another: NOAH by his faith and action "condemned the world" (Heb. 11:7; cf. Matt. 12:41 – 42). Closely associated with this is the way that Scripture often says that people are condemned by their own words and actions, since these show the kind of person they are, even though they have not come under actual judgment (Job 9:20; 15:6; Tit. 3:11). John goes further in speaking of a person's own heart as being self-condemning (1 Jn. 3:20).

Scripture speaks also of the condemnation of a human magistrate, which may be perfectly just (Lk. 23:40), or—as in the case of Jesus' trial—completely unjust (Mk. 14:64). Earthly magistrates are considered God's ministers (Rom. 13:1 – 5), responsible to him for "acquitting the innocent and condemning the guilty" (Deut. 25:1). In cases of disputed ownership, according to Exod. 22:9, "both parties are to bring their cases before" *)ēlōhîm* ***H466*** (NRSV, "God"; NIV, "the judges"). The meaning appears to be that they come before the judges as God's representatives. Ultimately all judgment is God's. He has judged and condemned men for their sin in the past (2 Pet. 2:6); all sin comes under his righteous condemnation (Rom. 5:16, 18); and in the end this will be perfectly manifest (Ps. 34:21; Matt. 12:37; Jude 4).

It is made clear, however, that God's purpose in sending Jesus Christ was not "to condemn the world, but to save the world through him" (Jn. 3:17). Christ made this salvation possible by bearing the sin of men and women, because thus he "condemned sin" (Rom. 8:3); that is, he showed the guilt of sin and bore its consequences, so that "there is now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" (8:1). Paul in this context implies what Jn. 3:18 states concerning the alternatives of salvation and condemnation: "Whoever believes in him is not condemned, but whoever does not believe stands condemned already because he has not believed in the name of God's one and only Son." See also JUDGMENT.

F. FOULKES

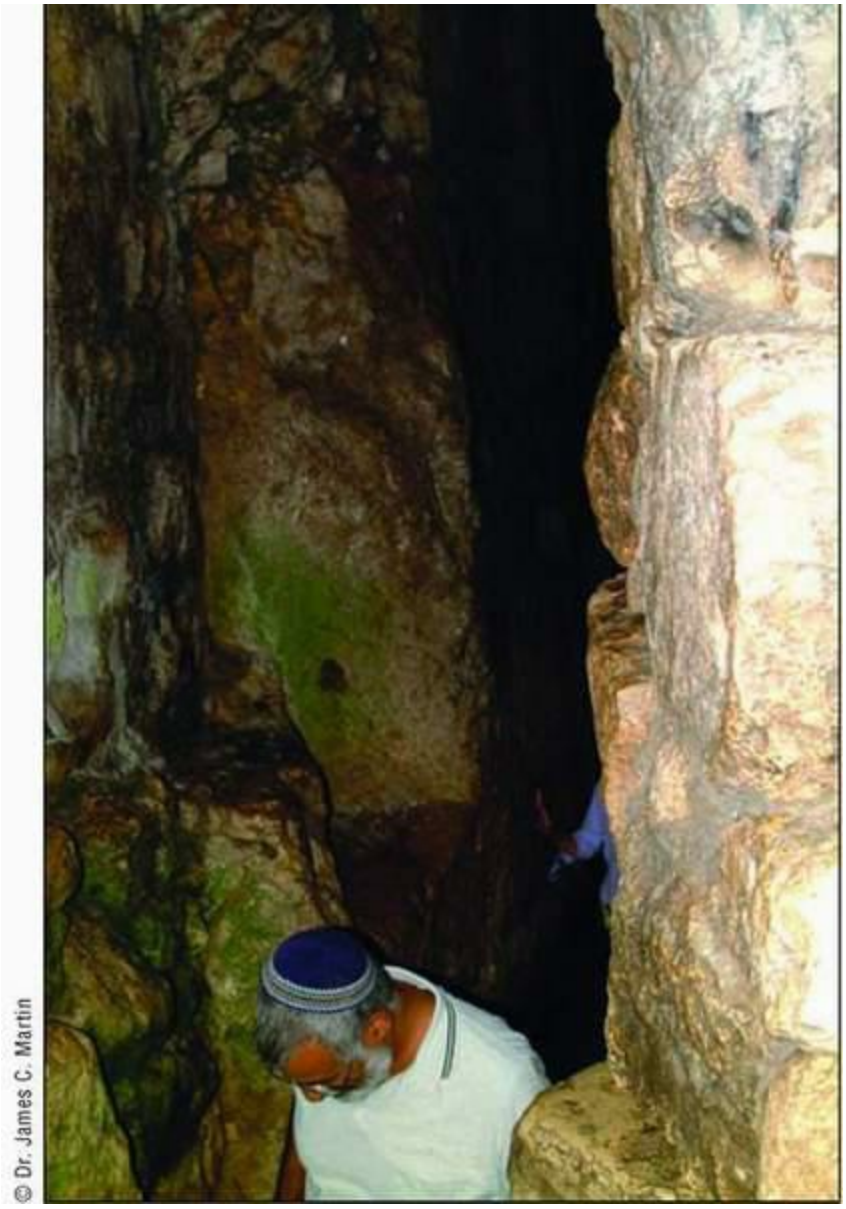
conduct. See ETHICS.

conduit. The city of JERUSALEM, like other fortified towns founded close to springs in Bronze and Iron Age Palestine (e.g., GEZER, GIBEON, LACHISH, MEGIDDO), had a system of channels and tunnels to supply water to its citizens. The Jebusites had dug farther into the hill on which Jerusalem stood to permit water from the GIHON SPRING to flow back into a storage pool. They could lower buckets down a 40-ft. shaft (2 Sam. 5:8) to fetch water, and then return through a sloping rock-cut tunnel to their houses inside the city wall.

In more peaceful times SOLOMON and his successors constructed two conduits, the older an open rock-cut channel, the other built partly of masonry and covered with flagstones. They led the overflow of Gihon from its reservoir, now with higher walls to raise its water level, called the Upper Pool, about 1,300 ft. down along the side of the KIDRON valley to the lower or old pool (Isa. 22:9, 11; also

"King's Pool," Neh. 2:14) in the king's garden (2 Ki. 25:4) at the S end of the city. Along this conduit or AQUEDUCT (*tĕʿālâ* ***H9498***), where ISAIAH met King AHAZ (Isa. 7:3) and where SENNACHERIB'S officials stood to taunt HEZEKIAH (2 Ki. 18:17; Isa. 36:2), ran a road through the Kidron valley past the Fuller's or Washerman's Field, probably near EN ROGEL. The aqueduct was called SHILOAH (Isa. 8:6), meaning the "sender" of water, and openings on its E side enabled it to irrigate the terraced gardens below it.

When Sennacherib invaded Judah and the siege of Jerusalem seemed imminent, Hezekiah stopped up all the fountains outside the city wall, by which seem to be meant the apertures in the Shiloah conduit, and the Brook Kidron that ran through the fields below the city (2 Chr. 32:1 – 4). In place of the old system he ordered a winding tunnel or conduit (2 Ki. 20:20) dug under the city hill to bring the water of Gihon to a new pool built at the end of the Tyropoeon Valley on the W side of the city of David (2 Chr. 32:30; Sir. 48:17; cf. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* [1952], 175 – 79). See SILOAM. Later on (but before the times of HEROD the Great and Pontius PILATE, for they repaired it), a 15-mi. long aqueduct was constructed to bring water to the temple from three great reservoirs S of



Walking through some of the taller sections of Hezekiah's tunnel.

Bethlehem. (Sennacherib had built an aqueduct to supply water to NINEVEH from a river above Jerwan, over 30 mi. away.) See also WATER.

J. REA

coney. The Hebrew term *šāpān* ***H9176*** is sometimes rendered "badger" or "rock badger," but there is nothing to confirm this meaning. The word refers rather to the Syrian rock hyrax (*Procavia syriacus*), known frequently and correctly as the coney; the

A coney sitting on a rock at En Gedi.

former is preferred, for the latter has had various meanings. *Coney* is an old term for "rabbit" and is still used for the fur and in heraldry. Before the end of the 16th cent., when merchants began calling at S Africa on the way from India, it was being applied to the Cape dassie or hyrax. It is just possible that the KJV translators intended *coney* to refer to the hyrax; more probably its true identity was unknown.

Each of the biblical contexts is of interest. Two passages say of the coney that "it chews the cud" but "does not have a split hoof" (Lev. 11:5; Deut. 14:7). The hyrax spends much time chewing with a cross-wise movement of the jaws, suggestive of ruminating, but its feet are unique, with soft pads ideal for jumping on rock (Ps. 104:18, "the crags are a refuge for the coneys"; Prov. 30:26, "they make their home in the crags"). They are properly called rock hyraxes, for they are unwilling to venture far from a safe crevice into which they can dash at the least alarm. They are members of a small family found only in Africa and some parts of SW Asia; apart from one species that has taken to the trees in the tropical forest, all are rock dwellers, where they are amazingly agile and sure-footed.

Although rabbit-sized, they are quite unlike rabbits in anatomy and are classified near the elephants. The species often seen in zoos is the Syrian rock hyrax that Solomon clearly knew well. The general color is gray-brown, with a yellowish patch on the back surrounding a surface gland. These hyraxes live in loose colonies that feed at intervals during the day, taking a range of vegetable matter but mostly leaves. It is not clear why they are forbidden as food, for although the Arabs consider the meat tough and dry, these animals are eagerly hunted in parts of Africa. With the increase in human population, the Syrian hyrax is less co mmon than it was but there are still places in Upper Galilee where it can be seen regularly from the road. (See E. P. Walker, *Mammals of the World*, vol.

2 [1964]; *FFB*, 69 – 70.)

G. S. CANSDALE

confection, confectionary. Terms used by the KJV to render, respectively, the Hebrew words *rōqaḥ* ***H8381*** ("spice-mixture, incense-blend," Exod. 30:35) and *raqqāḥâ* ***H8384*** ("ointment mixer, perfumer," 1 Sam. 8:13). See PERFUME.

confession. The biblical teaching on confession possesses a richness of meaning that goes far beyond its secular understanding. Such concepts as promise, admission, concession, declaration, and witness are all English equivalents of biblical confession, with varying shades of signification. Biblical confession, however, involves one or more of three elements: God is praised, or sin is acknowledged, or faith is declared. To understand this multidimensional concept scripturally one must view it from a number of perspectives.

To start with, confession can be viewed *antithetically*. As a testimony, an affirmative word or act, it is the opposite of denial. It is the believing "Yes," which stands over against every unbelieving "No." John argues in his first epistle that the denial of Jesus as the Christ is incompatible with the confession of the gospel (1 Jn. 2:19 – 20; 4:1 – 3). Again, the Lord asserts that confession is the antithesis of denial (Matt. 10:32 – 33; Lk. 12:8). Since confession is an attestation verbally or liturgically or existentially (cf. the equation of terms in Jn. 1:7, 15, 19 – 20), we grasp its import by considering it as the opposite of denial, whether denial is silent or vociferous.

Confession may also be viewed *doxologically*, as a testimony to God's goodness and mercy, an expression of thanksgiving for his deliverance or help, a celebration of unmerited faithfulness (see DOXOLOGY). The Hebrew word *tôdâ* ***H9343***, usually rendered "thanksgiving, praise," can also mean "confession" (Josh. 7:19; Ezra 10:11). The relationship between confession and an adoring gratitude appears also elsewhere (2 Chr. 30:21 – 22; Rom. 15:9; cf. also *exomologeō* ***G2018*** in Matt. 11:25). Confession, therefore, may include a doxologica l component.

Confession, moreover, can be viewed *soteriologically*, in conjunction with the experience of SIN and FORGIVENESS. In the OT the confession of sin frequently occurs (e.g., Josh. 7:20; 1 Sam. 15:24; 1 Ki. 8:33; Dan. 9:3 – 20, especially vv. 4 and 20). In Ps. 32:5 the conjunction of sin and forgiveness is strikingly brought out; note also the praise that follows confession, vv. 1 – 2 and 11—and all this gratefully proclaimed. The soteriological substratum thus supports any doxological superstructure.

In the NT, similarly, the confession of sin is regarded as the indispensable prelude to an experience of God's forgiveness. Notice the conjunction of confession and forgiveness as repentant Jews responded to the message of our Lord's forerunner (Matt. 3:6), and the explicit teaching of 1 Jn. 1:9. Understandably, therefore, Jesus regarded open acknowledgment of personal disobedience and failure as the condition for restoration to the Father's fellowship (Lk. 15:7). In the NT, however, soteriology is never viewed apart from Christology. That is why the Lord's atoning death forms the heart of evangelical confession. He himself is portrayed as the supreme Confessor who, in Paul's words, "before Pontius Pilate made the good confession" (1 Tim. 6:13), attesting perfect obedience to and dependence on his Father in heaven, and so becoming our model of conviction, commitment, and confidence, the pattern of courageous allegiance to the invisible King (cf. Heb. 3:1 – 2).

As his disciples, consequently, we join in Simon Peter's confession of our Master's messiahship and deity (Matt. 16:13 – 20). We confess him before the world, assured that he will confess us before his Father as believing and obedient confessors (Matt. 10:32). In addition, we confess the efficacy of his cross, the reality of his resurrection, and the universality of his Lordship, for in him alone is our

hope of salvation (Rom. 10:9 – 10; Phil. 2:11). As members of the New Israel, Christians too utter their "Shema" (see SHEMA, THE), except that in the NT confession the name of Yahweh has rightly been metamorphosed into the name of Jesus.

Confession, still further, can be viewed *pneumatologically*. It is the HOLY SPIRIT who reveals Jesus Christ and produces faith in his person and work. It is the Spirit who really elicits the confession of all that the Savior is and has done (1 Jn. 4:2). The Johannine emphasis is identical with that of Paul in 1 Cor. 12:3. Both apostles attribute the acknowledgment of Jesus as Messiah and Lord to the Spirit's inner witness.

Confession can also be viewed *eschatologically*, from the perspective of the future, the standpoint of eternity and its unending issues (see ESCHATOLOGY). On the one hand, the Savior promised to confess believing confessors, and, on the other hand, warned that disobedient deniers will be denied (Matt. 10:32). That promise is reasserted in Rev. 3:5. Paul echoed that warning in 2 Tim. 2:12, a warning that Jesus Christ personally highlighted in two great discourses (Matt. 7:23; 25:12). Failure to profess him today in the loving obedience that faith generates will compel him in that day to render a negative verdict: "I never knew you."

Confession, once more, can be viewed *ecclesiologically*. It is the corporate and public attestation of the Christian community. It may be borne in kerygmatic proclamation as doctrine is expounded and the evangel preached. Confession in the CHURCH is inseparable from an affirmation of and adherence to crystallized teaching, the sum of saving doctrine, centering, to be sure, in Jesus Christ (Heb. 4:14; 10:23; cf. Acts 23:8). Confession may be made in the church by BAPTISM as the central truths of dogma are dramatically acted out (Acts 8:36 – 37; 10:44 – 48; cf. Matt. 3:16 – 17). Or perhaps as in 1 Tim. 6:12 (the allusion here is quite problematical), ecclesiastical confession is made as a person is ordained to the ministry. In any event, the community unitedly attests that its faith is not a matter of idiosyncratic opinion but historic deposit and shared conviction. At this junction one ought to observe that the church may employ confession defensively as a criterion of belief and a protection against the inroad of heresy (1 Jn. 4:1 – 4; 2:18 – 23).

But confession, biblically, is not merely intellectual assent to and verbal affirmation of doctrine. It is t hat, of course (2 Jn. 7); but it is not merely that. On the contrary, NT confession involves self-commitment and must be viewed *existentially*. It necessitates agreement between profession and practice, assertion and action, conduct and creed (Tit. 1:16). It demands far more than consistency: it necessitates identification and cross-bearing with the Christ who is confessed (Jn. 9:22; 12:42).

Finally, confession can also be viewed *therapeutically*. Healing is a fruit of verbalizing our sins to fellow-believers (Jas. 5:16). No specific instructions are given; care and caution are, accordingly, imperative. Protestants, for example, find no biblical warrant for the Roman Catholic sacrament of penance, that complicated system which requires a would-be communicant to divulge his transgressions in detail to a priest. Protestants ought to bear in mind that John Calvin had this to say in his famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (3.4.12 – 13): "Let every believer remember that, if he be privately troubled and afflicted with a sense of sins, so that without outside help he is unable to free himself from them, it is a part of his duty not to neglect what the Lord has offered him by way of remedy. Namely, that, for his relief, he should use private confession to his own pastor; and for his solace, he should beg the private help of him whose duty it is, both publicly and privately to comfort the people of God by gospel teaching."

In the light of what the Holy Spirit has written through James, Protestants ought not be surprised at Paul Tournier's testimony: "What astonishes me…is the prodigious effect a real confession can have. Very often it is not only the decisive religious experience of freedom from guilt, but…the

sudden cure of the physical or psychological illness. Sometimes in less than an hour there occurs in a patient I am seeing for the first time and to whom I have spoken but a few words, a release from psychological tension which I should have been proud to obtain after months of therapy" (*Guilt and Grace* [1962], 203). It may be that, when confession is audibly made to God *with a fellow-believer as witness*, there occurs a retreat from sinful isolation and, in D. Bonhoeffer's phrase, "a break-through to community." It occurs because God has sovereignly so ordained. (Cf. G. W. Bowman III, *The Dynamics of Confession* [1969].) See also REPENTANCE.

V. C. GROUNDS

confidence. See ASSURANCE; FAITH; HOPE.

confirm, confirmation. Various verbs in the Bible can be rendered "to confirm," especially Hebrew *qûm* ***H7756*** (in the piel stem, "fulfill, support," e.g., Esth. 9:29; more often hiphil, "make stand, establish," e.g., Deut. 8:18) and Greek *bebaioō* ***G1011*** ("establish, verify," e.g., Heb. 2:3; cf. the noun *bebaiōsis* ***G1012***, "confirmation," only in Phil. 1:7; Heb. 6:16). These verbs and others are used in a variety of contexts, such as strengthening persons, ratifying covenants, fulfilling promises, and verifying claims.

In some communions the word *confirmation* is used to refer to the ecclesiastical rite of the laying on of hands by a bishop or other church officer at BAPTISM, or at a later confirmatory ceremony (see HANDS, LAYING ON OF). This practice is patterned after Acts 8:12 – 17. When PHILIP preached in Samaria, many believed and were baptized; later the apostles from Jerusalem sent PETER and John (see JOHN THE APOSTLE), who prayed for them and laid hands on them, at which time they received the HOLY SPIRIT. However, the delay in receiving the Spirit would seem in this case to be for the special purpose of indicating the oneness of the new Samaritan church with Jerusalem. Elsewhere the reception of the Holy Spirit is directly linked with repentance and baptism (Acts 2:38; 10:44 – 48; 19:1 – 7). The references to PAUL and his companions confirming the disciples (Acts 14:22; 15:32; 18:23) do not imply any ecclesiastical rite, but the inner strengthening of believers' faith. (See A. C. A. Hall, *Confirmation* [1900]; L. S. Thornton, *Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery* [1954].)

D. G. STEWART

confiscation. The seizure of private property for public or governmental use. Confiscation is not treated in the Mosaic law but its practice in Israel began with the rise of the monarchy. SAMUEL predicted that with the institution of the monarchy the king had the privilege of confiscating private property for his and his subordinates' use (1 Sam. 8:14 – 16). Before SAUL became king, his family was small (9:21; 11:5), but during his reign he was able to distribute land to his officers (22:7) and at his death he left much property (2 Sam. 9:7 – 10; cf. *b. Yoma* 22b). It seems that some laws were later introduced regarding a king's right to confiscate private property, as seen in the stories of NABOTH (1 Ki. 21:15 – 16; cf. *b. Sanh*. 48b) and of the Shunammite (2 Ki. 4:12, 25 – 36; see SHUNEM). It was not until after the EXILE that property could be confiscated for disobeying the laws of God and of the king (Ezra 7:26; 10:8). During the Roman domination there was the confiscation of property by HEROD (Jos. *Ant*. 17.307) and Roman authorities (ibid. 17.345; 18.253 – 55; *War* 2.3). (See Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 124 – 26.)

H. W. HOEHNER

conflation. The combining of two (or more) elements into one whole. The term is used primarily in textual criticism and refers to MS readings that appear to blend together two distinct variant texts. In Acts 20:28, for example, the readings "the church of the Lord" and "the church of God," each of which appears in ancient MSS, were conflated in the course of transmission, so that the majority of late MSS read "the church of the Lord and God." The term is similarly used in literary criticism to account for what appear to be "double readings" in the text. For instance, some scholars argue that 1 Sam. 4:21 – 22 sounds repetitive and may reflect an editorial conflation.

confusion of tongues. See BABEL.

congregation, assembly. English renderings of several Hebrew and Greek words. (1) The Hebrew term *ʿēdâ* ***H6337*** (from the verb *yāʿad* ***H3585***, "assign, appoint") occurs about 150 times in the OT and most frequently in the PENTATEUCH (78 times in the book of Numbers alone, but not at all in Genesis and Deuteronomy). In later literature it almost disappears from use, occurring but once in Chronicles (2 Chr. 5:6) and a few times in the Psalms (Pss. 1:5; 22:22; 82:1; 107:32) and in the prophets (Jer. 6:18; 30:20; Hos. 7:12). This word can legitimately describe any form of gathering (even a swarm of bees, Jdg. 14:8). In Num. 16:4 – 9 it is applied to KORAH'S rebellious company as well as to the congregation of Israel; see also Ps. 22:16, "a band of evil men," and Job 15:34, "company of the godless." The main application of the word, however, is to the people of Israel. Occasionally the special character of Israel's relationship with God is brought out in the phrase "congregation of the LORD" (Num. 27:17 NRSV). In the majority of cases, however, it is sufficient to say simply "the congregation" (*hāʿēdâ*) as descriptive enough of the body of Israel, whether assembled or not (e.g., Num. 10:2 – 3). At the head during the wilderness journeys was MOSES, and below him in rank were the "leaders of the congregation" (Exod. 34:31), who were chosen representatives of the tribes of Israel (Num. 1:16). When JOSHUA assumed the leadership from Moses, his role was explicitly described as shepherd of the congregation (Num 27:16 – 18). (See *NIDOTTE*, 3:326 – 28.)

(2) Another important Hebrew noun is *qāhāl* ***H7736***, of uncertain etymology (the verb *qāhal* ***H7735***, "to assemble" [nifal and hiphil], is thought to have derived from the noun). This term appears far less frequently, but it is the only term for "assembly" or "congregation" in Genesis and Deuteronomy; moreover, it is favored by later writers, the Chronicler, Ezra, Nehemiah, the psalmists, and Ezekiel. In JACOB'S blessing upon JOSEPH (Gen. 48:4), it is used of a community of peoples. It can also be used of gatherings for wicked purposes (Gen. 49:6; Prov. 5:14; Ps. 26:5). This word can denote a company assembled for war (1 Sam. 17:47; Ezek. 16:40) or an assembly of returning exiles (Jer. 31:8), and it is applied to the restored community in Jerusalem (Ezra 10:12, 14). If one can detect any difference in meaning between the two Hebrew words, it may be that *ʿēdâ* denotes Israel as the society itself, while *qāhāl* designates the actual meeting together of that company; thus, Exod. 12:6 may be rendered, "the whole assembly [*qāhāl*] of the congregation [*ʿēdâ*] of Israel" (see also Num. 14:5). It is freely admitted, however, that in the majority of cases these terms appear to be virtually interchangeable. Since neither occurs before Exod. 12:3 (apart from Gen. 28:3 and 48:4 where *qāhāl* is used prophetically), we may say that the decisive events of the Red Sea and the giving of the Law constituted the Israelites as a congregation. It may be that the frequency of *qāhāl* in postexilic literature, especially in Ezra and Nehemiah, suggests that this term came to combine the shades of meanings belonging to both words. (See *NIDOTTE*, 3:888 – 92.)

(3) The SEPTUAGINT translators generally used the Greek term *ekklēsia* ***G1711*** to render *qāhāl* (the similarity in sound between the two words may have influenced their choice), and they almost always used *synagōgē* ***G5252*** (never *ekklēsia*) as the translation of *ʿēdâ*. There are exceptions, however. In the Pentateuch, apart from Deuteronomy, *qāhāl* is always translated by *synagōgē* instead of the more usual *ekklēsia*. The reason for this choice may have been a desire for uniformity: the translators perhaps simply decided on a common rendering for both Hebrew words, especially since there seems to be little distinction between them (cf. Ps. 40:9 – 10, where *qāhāl* is first translated *ekklēsia* and in the next verse *synagōgē*). It would seem, therefore, that no distinction in meaning is to be detected in the LXX'S use of the two Greek words. Differences in translation depended mainly upon the particular literary tendencies of the individual translator. That neither had come to have a technical sense is shown by the wide use of terms; for instance, if *ekklēsia* had become fixed to denote a holy assembly, it would hardly have been used of a company of evildoers (Ps. 26:5). "So closely connected in original use are the terms Synagogue and Ecclesia, which afterwards came to be fixed in deep antagonism!" (F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia: A Course of Lectures* [1897], 4).

(4) Passing to the NT, one finds that the Greek term *ekklēsia* is in the process of becoming a technical term for a definite group of people who meet for religious purposes (Acts 5:11; 8:3; 1 Cor. 14:23). It can describe the church universal to which all Christians belong (Matt. 16:18; Acts 9:31; 1 Cor. 12:28), or a body of Christians in a particular place (Acts 8:1; Rom. 16:1). The word is used in the singular (1 Cor. 14:23) or in the plural (1 Cor. 14:34). It is to be noted that in some references the word is not restricted to the Christian community, and to this extent shows affinities to the usage of the LXX. For instance, in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:38) *ekklēsia* is used of Israel, and elsewhere (Acts 19:32, 39, 41) it is used of a secular assembly. The term *synagōgē* also could still be used to describe a Jewish-Christian assembly place (Jas. 2:2), although its main reference in the NT is to the place of Jewish assembly (Lk. 4:16; Acts 13:5). The references to "synagogue of Satan" (Rev. 2:9; 3:9) may indicate the increasing antagonism between the Christian church and the Jewish SYNAGOGUE. At the end of

The Western Wall of the temple mount in Jerusalem is a popular assembly place for prayer. Ten Jewish men gathered for worship constitutes a synagogue.

the 1st cent. these two Greek terms, which had hitherto been interchangeable and not in any sense

confined to religious assemblies, had become fixed to denote rival religions. (See J. Y. Campbell in *JTS* 19 [1948]:130 – 42; *TDNT*, 3:501 – 36; *NIDNTT*, 1:291 – 307.)

(5) There are a number of other terms that sometimes indicate a "gathering" in the OT. The word *môʿēd* ***H4595*** (also derived from *yāʿad*) means "appointed place" or "appointed time" and has a wide variety of uses, such as "season" or "feast." Most frequently, however, it is found in the combination ʾōhel mōʿēd, "Tent of Meeting," referring to the TABERNACLE (that is, the appointed place where God and his congregation were brought together, Exod. 35:20 – 21). Another term, *miqrāʾ* ***H5246*** (from *qārāʾ* ***H7924***, "to call"), appears about twenty times in the OT (usually with *qōdeš* ***H7731***, "holy") to indicate a sacred gathering (KJV, "holy convocation"; e.g., Exod. 12:16; Lev. 23:2 – 8; et al.). Additional Hebrew words include *ʿāṣārâ* ***H6809*** (KJV, "solemn assembly"; e.g., Deut. 16:8), *môšāb* ***H4632*** (e.g., Ps. 107:32, in parallel to *qāhāl*), and *sôd* ***H6051*** (e.g., Ps. 89:7, "council"). In the NT, note also *panēgyris* ***G4108*** (Heb. 12:22).

G. L. CAREY

congregation, mount of the. KJV rendering of Hebrew *har-môʿēd* (***H2215*** + ***H4595***), which occurs only once (Isa. 14:13; NIV and NRSV, "mount of assembly"). This phrase is widely thought to be an allusion to the mythological "assembly of the gods" mentioned especially in Ugaritic texts (*ANET*, 132; cf. Ps. 82:1), according to which the Assembled Body meets on the Mount of Lala (*ANET*, 130; see UGARIT). A similar conception is thought to be found in the next phrase, which can be translated either "the remote parts of Zaphon [the north]" (cf. TNIV) or, as in the NIV, "the utmost heights of the sacred mountain" (cf. *ANET*, 133b, "Baal leaves for Zaphon's summit"; see ZAPHON #2). The OT sometimes uses the language of ANE MYTH (which would have been familiar to the Israelites) for various purposes, such as polemics and conceptual analogies. There is no reason to think, however, that the present passage had its origins in a pagan Canaanite setting. The term does seem to be some kind of literary allusion and cannot be identified with any known place name.

W. WHITE, JR.

Coniah koh-n*i*'uh (כָּנְיָהוּ ***H4037***, shortened form of יְכָנְיָהוּ ***H3527***, "Yahweh supports" or "may Yahweh establish"; see JECONIAH). Alternate name of JEHOIACHIN (Jer. 22:24, 28; 37:1).

Cononiah kon'uh-n*i*'uh. KJV alternate form of CONANIAH (1 Chr. 31:12 – 13).

Conquest of Canaan. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF IV.

conscience. This term (from Latin *conscientia*, after the analogy of Greek *syneidēsis* ***G5287***, lit., "joint knowledge," thus "self-awareness") is rarely found in English translations of the OT (e.g., 1 Sam. 25:31 NIV and NRSV) but occurs over twenty times in the NT. Conscience is understood as a second level of awareness accompanying awareness of an impulse, thought, or act. The Scriptures view human beings in moral perspective. They are creatures who can and must answer to God for what they become. To assist them he has given them both the capacity and the inclination to judge their own behavior on the basis of a standard of right and wrong.

Conscience is the indicator of the measure of agreement between our conduct and the values to which we are committed (G. W. Allport, *The Individual and His Religion* [1950], 90). It aids in discerning what is right and good from what is inferior, wrong, and bad; and encourages decisions

that are right and good or, where there is a conflict, that follow the higher norm. It is characterized by a sense of obligation. When its promptings are ignored or set aside, the person feels guilty, a complex experience including a sense of judgment, unworthiness, self-depreciation, and estrangement from God, others, and self (Ps. 32:4); and which is relieved only by forgiveness extended and accepted.

I. The Christian's conscience and the Christian community

A. Biblical Teaching

1. Old Testament. No Hebrew word corresponds precisely to English *conscience*. The functions of conscience are ascribed to the "heart" (e.g., "David was stricken to the heart because he had cut off a corner of Saul's cloak," 1 Sam. 24:5 NRSV). Adam and Eve hid themselves from one another (with fig leaves) and from the presence of God (Gen. 3:7 – 8), indicating a frightening, separating, painful sense of guilt operating at the very outset. "Heart" (Heb. *lēb* ***H4213*** and *lēbāb* ***H4222***) is not a well-differentiated term in the OT. It is used in connection with a diversity of intellectual and emotional as well as moral functions, although moral qualities assume central importance in the Bible's treatment of human beings (see *HDB*, 1:468 – 75).

The absence of an explicit OT doctrine of conscience is ascribed in part to the fact that the moral standard was external, the Mosaic code, and in part because the sense of individuality was not well-developed. People tended first to think of themselves as members of a family, clan, and tribe. Moral responsibility was shared, perhaps because it inhered in the group. Instances abound of a household, clan, or tribe being punished for the offense of one or a few of its members (e.g., Josh. 7:1), or spared or rewarded through the well-doing of a member (e.g., Josh. 6:17, 22 – 24). See COPORATE PERSONALITY.

Personal responsibility for wrongdoing and the obligation to make restitution is clear in the law (e.g., Exod. 21; 22) but, as seems persistent in the history of mankind, even the people of God willingly settled for a tribal morality sufficient to keep one in the good graces of his neighbors. Ezekiel sternly called Israel back to a sense of individual moral responsibility (Ezek. 18:20). Israel's failure to grasp and act on this warning cannot be ascribed solely to perversity. Neither in Israel nor

Greece nor Babylonia nor Medo-Persia was the sense of individualism well developed in OT times. (See H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* [1974].)

2. New Testament. The term *syneidēsis* appears mostly in the writings of PAUL. The word does not occur in the teachings of Jesus, although he aimed at awakening a tender conscience in his hearers and at focusing their attention on motive as well as act. Jesus called men and women to moral wholeness. The inside as well as the outside of the cup must be clean (Matt. 23:26). Simply to avoid killing or committing adultery does not suffice: to be angry with a brother makes one liable to judgment (5:22), and to look lustfully at a woman is to commit adultery in one's heart (5:28). God lays claim to our wishes and intentions as well as our acts, Jesus said. He did not belittle the overweening moral earnestness of the SCRIBES and PHARISEES. He merely made it clear that even this attitude was not enough to enable a man to stand before God: "For I tell you that unless your righteousness surpasses that of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (5:20). But through the cross Christ would effect RECONCILIATION between men and God (2 Cor. 5:18), and sinners would be reckoned righteous through faith (Gal. 3:6).

Paul's education had saturated him in Hellenistic culture as well as rabbinical teachings. He knew that the early Greeks and Romans externalized and personified their consciences in the form of fiendish, avenging female demons (the Erinyes or Furies). He also knew that the crumbling of the Hellenic Age had left groups and nations divided, rootless, anxious, cynical, and despairing. Gilbert Murray, the renowned classicist, speaks of it as an age of failure of nerve. In that time of change individualism heightened, and rising self-consciousness helped give rise to the concept of "conscience." It is found in such authors as Cicero and Menander, whose writings were doubtless known to Paul.

Paul regarded conscience as one evidence of the validity and universality of the moral law. He argued that all people are responsible for what they do; the Gentiles, who were not given the law, do what the law requires, thereby showing that their consciences are guided by universal, built-in moral premises ("written on their hearts," Rom. 2:15). Human beings have received a sufficient revelation of what is good to make them morally responsible (cf. T. B. Kilpatrick in *HDB*, 1:468 – 75). Paul speaks of having lived before God "in all good conscience" (Acts 23:1), which he lays claim to have maintained always, presumably even when he was persecuting the church.

This is consistent with his discussion of the weaker brother whose conscience will not let him eat meat offered to idols (see IDOLATRY III). He gives the stronger brother—i.e., the one who knows idols are unreal and is untroubled by eating such meat—stern warning not to encourage the weaker brother to go against his own conscience (1 Cor. 8:7 – 12; 10:25 – 29) however uninformed that conscience may be. Paul's reasoning seems to be that one assumes moral responsibility only for decisions related to one's own conscience; to disobey conscience is to be at war with one's deepest self (*HDB*); only a morally responsible attitude is likely to lead to contrition and repentance, which are necessary to bring about a needed change of mind. And since a person does not "by taking thought add a cubit to his stature," it is not enough simply to give him a quick explanation of the nonexistence of idols. This fact must become personal conviction before the conscience is truly altered. Good conscience begins with a person's heeding its urgings. It develops through bringing one's moral convictions under the scrutiny of God's will.

Paul speaks also of the corrupted conscience (Tit. 1:15), whereby a person's religious profession and ceremonial worship are divorced from his behavior so that his actions belie his words. The scorn Paul has for such people may be seen in his final thrust at them; he calls them

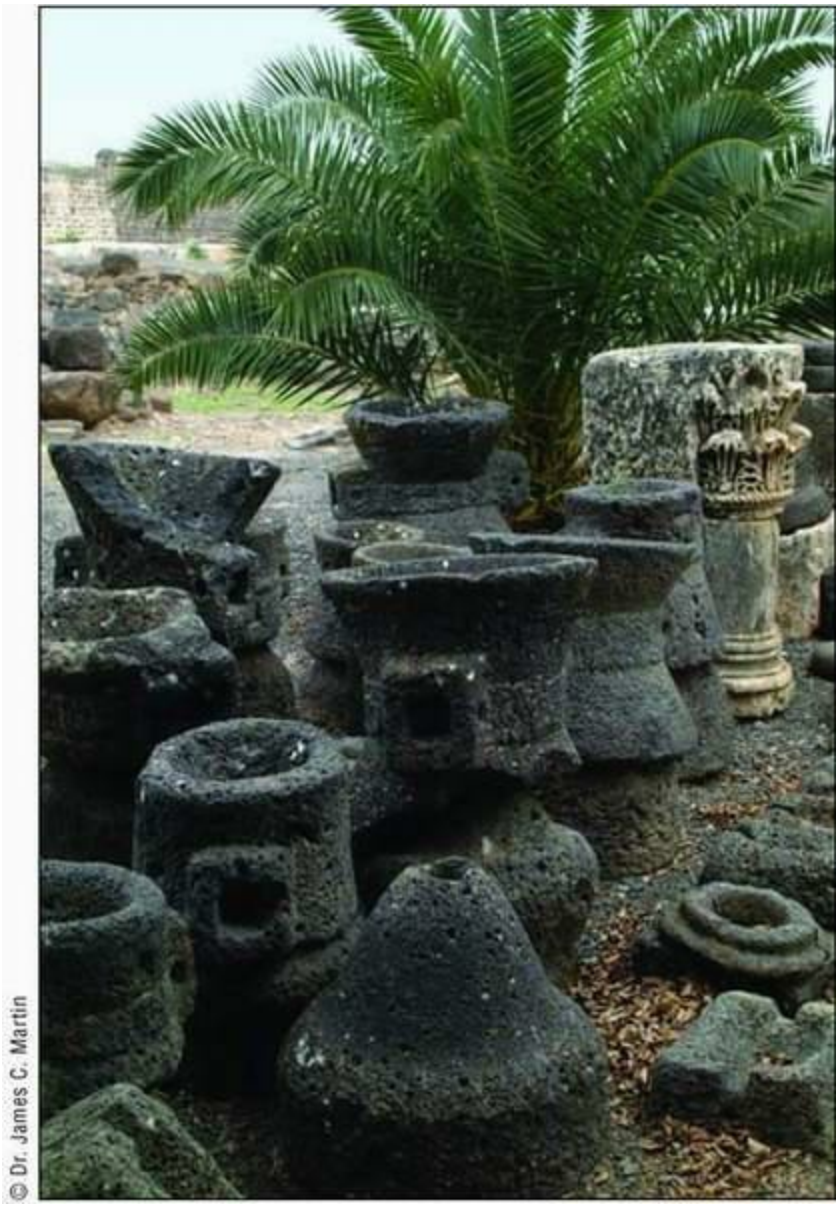
"detestable, disobedient and unfit for doing anything good" (1:16). Nor does he deal more kindly with those whose consciences he describes as "seared" (1 Tim. 4:2). Seared consciences are consciences that have lost their sensitivity through persistently embracing what is evil. In this instance, the evil consisted of a false ASCETICISM as the basis for spiritual pride. Paul wrote that they "forbid people to marry and order them to abstain from certain foods, which God created to be received with thanksgiving" (1 Tim. 4:3). This view of life probably had its roots in the Gnostic heresy that matter in itself is evil, for Paul is quick to point out that everything created by God is good (1 Tim. 4:4; see GNOSTICISM).

Similarly he reminded the Galatians that the life in Christ began with grace and, to remain authentic, must continue on that basis. The Christian's conscience must be rooted in his redemption through God's grace in Jesus Christ and not on works of the law (the flesh). People, however, prefer a prescriptive moral system, one with specific, clearly spelled-out rules. They want to know what to do and what not to do. As far as possible, they prefer to avoid or minimize moral decision. A conventional, external morality leaves them feeling more secure. Paul understood both the siren lure of a legalistic moral system and the moral shipwreck and spiritual death it brings. Therefore, he urged the Galatians to have the courage to live with a Christian's conscience, one that is free in Jesus Christ and that cultivates the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22 – 23).

Finally, there is the matter of *renewal of conscience* through FORGIVENESS, the constructive disposition of guilt. The sinner who seeks forgiveness is instructed to make CONFESSION (1 Jn. 1:9), to manifest contrition ("godly sorrow," 2 Cor. 7:10) and REPENTANCE, to forgive others (Matt. 18:35), and to have the trust, courage, and humility to accept God's forgiveness lest he fall into remorse, for "worldly sorrow brings death" (2 Cor. 7:10)—a point dramatically and tragically underscored by Judas's suicide (Acts 1:18). Ritual propitiation, much preferred by the sinner since it leaves him his pride, is ineffective, for it never reaches the springs of action and hence does not free the will and purge the conscience (*HDB*). Scripture teaches that while everything must be paid for, Christ's sacrificial ATONEMENT has fulfilled all righteousness. Through him there is cleansing of the conscience, for in him the demands of conscience are satisfied and God may be approached with confidence (Heb. 10:22). (For a general discussion, see C. A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament* [1955]; for Paul's treatment in 1 Corinthians, see P. W. Gooch in *NTS* 33 [1987]: 244 – 54.)

B. The development of conscience. Conscience is not implanted full-blown in the human personality. Moral development is subject to the same laws of learning and to the same hazards in learning as are other aspects of personality. Sound conscience-development is pivotal to spiritual growth and requires moral instruction in which attention is given not only to what is imparted but to how it is imparted, for both the content and the mood of conscience are important. "The Bible is the touchstone of conscience" (*HDB*). Familiarity with it and regular study are important in maintaining an informed Christian conscience and encouraging moral and spiritual maturity. But how one approaches the Bible and what one perceives therein is deeply affected by the emotional climate in which moral instruction takes place.

1. The child's conscience. Conscience begins largely through parental prohibitions and expectations that the child takes over indiscriminately; he or she internalizes them and they then serve as spontaneous checks on behavior. Small children tend to react on an all-or-nothing basis, so that these rules



These basalt millstones from Capernaum are a reminder of Jesus' warning to the conscience of those who might cause the little ones to stumble (Matt. 18:6).

and expectations take on absoluteness. They exist for themselves, calling for specific, regular response that has little to do with a person's intention or the effect of an act on others. This is the rudiment of legalism. It is an unavoidable step in developing the conscience in view of children's inexperience and their lack of skill in abstract thinking.

Whether or not a person progresses readily from this automatic, unreflective pattern of moral response depends greatly upon the emotional tone within which he or she is taught. Is obedience a good or bad bargain? How is one asked to make renunciations? In a climate of encouragement, or in one heavily steeped in disapproval? Grace preceded law in God's dealings with his people. ABRAHAM "believed the LORD, and he credited it to him as righteousness" (Gen. 15:6). First came the covenantal relationship: the Lord would be the God of Abraham's descendants, and they would be his people (17:1 – 8); then the explication of what it means to walk before God blamelessly. Moral and spiritual nurture in the individual follows the same sequence. Healthy, ongoing development is facilitated when the experience of grace precedes the demands of law. Where this is reversed, grace is always experienced as conditional, a factor lying at the root of many subsequent spiritual difficulties.

The ability to trust freely underlies Christian experience. Trust is essential for productively entering into relationship with God and one's fellow believers and for entering into the gospel realities of justification by faith, adoption as sons of God and joint-heirs with Christ, the forgiveness of sins, and the Christian hope for the future. Where parents are good models of the qualities they require of their children and where the climate of the home is predictable, warm, and supportive, putting greater emphasis on approval and encouraging success rather than upon disapproval and punishing failure, children find obedience a good bargain and develop a healthy sense of guilt. They experience true love ("love in spite of") and the reality of forgiveness.

But where the inevitable demands in child training are invoked without first establishing a relationship of trust, moral training becomes a punitive, fear-ridden process in which "goodness" is reduced to the avoidance of evil rather than the attainment of positive virtue. Children feel they must earn parental affection through external righteousness in this context of conditional love. Their consciences then become negative, inflexible, and unreflective, and their sense of guilt an unhealthy one. This is the conscience of the moralists who "tithe mint and dill and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law" (Matt. 23:23 NRSV). Just as the acceptance of the positional doctrines frees the Christian to fellowship with Christ and these doctrines mature in him, so the experience of trust prior to the invoking of demand lays a foundation of grace under moral instruction that frees the child to grow morally and spiritually. What is taught is important. The emotional climate in which it is taught is equally important. Either it is infused with the spirit of Christ or the spirit of moralism. Neglect of either right content or right spirit in moral instruction is detrimental.

2. The mature conscience. Infantile legalism and an automatic, "out there" experience of conscience is a necessary stage and one to be worked through. The maturing of conscience is a process of assimilating and making a part of oneself what has been the internalization of a pattern of external demands, goals, and practices. Mature behavior is rooted primarily in personal commitment to ideals and in moral conviction rather than in response to external demand. Mature conscience says, "I ought," rather than, "I must…or else." It is not a matter of ridding oneself of the childhood conscience, which usually contains much of real value. Parental instruction instills the practical morality of the family and society along with moral principles and ideals. Conscience maturity begins in earnest in adolescence and is furthered by a climate that encourages personal commitment to Christ and to his moral priorities as well as reflection upon one's experience and motives so as to build a personal hierarchy of Christian values and goals.

Reflection is stimulated when one's moral habits or values are challenged by competing values, provided the person is not fear-ridden and merely avoids the issue through automatic response. A spirit of self-recrimination retards maturing. Self-recrimination is rooted in chronic expectation of blame and is a person's effort to cope with this expectation by being the first and most severe to blame and to punish oneself. Maturing of the conscience also is related to the ability to see things from another's point of view and to empathize with others. These qualities form the basis of accurate assessment of the effect of one's behavior upon others.

A mature Christian conscience is furthered by sound instruction in the Bible, an open and supportive climate of inquiry that encourages honest expression of opinion and thoughtful appraisal of experience, good adult models after whom to pattern oneself, and a grasp of both the reality of forgiveness and the proper fruit of repentance: getting up and going on without wallowing in self recrimination—"Forgetting what is behind…I press on toward the goal…" (Phil. 3:13 – 14). The child's conscience and the mature conscience are not mutually exclusive. Everyone has both

ingredients operating in his or her moral functioning. Norms and ideals may be identical but the motivation is different. The child's conscience is driven largely by compulsion, "the magisterial authority of felt obligation" (P. A. Bertocci and R. M. Millard, *Personality and the Good* [1963], 219); the mature conscience operates on an inner imperative to will the best one knows in every situation affording choice. Personality differences require varied experiences and pedagogical approaches to bring persons to moral maturity (cf. R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality* [1949], 95 – 96, 115 – 75, 186 – 96).

3. Problem consciences. The most common problem conscience, and a significant source of mischief for personal growth and for maintaining harmony in the Christian fellowship, is the *prohibitive conscience.* The person with a prohibitive conscience has a rigidly fixed, negatively oriented child's conscience. The consciousness of such persons is dominated by an unbearable burden of guilt and by fear of reproof or punishment. Since they accept responsibility for achieving the impossible, or for being what God never intended them to be, they live in a chronic state of guilt-riddenness. They feel obligated to get results for which they have neither the necessary knowledge nor the requisite talent. Fear of vice and wrong-doing is stronger than love of virtue and doing right. Goodness is reduced to not doing anything wrong. Life is dominated by a need to appease and to propitiate God and human beings.

Such individuals feel surrounded by demand, disapproval, and anger over their imperfections. They tend to experience "guilt feelings" rather than guilt. "Guilt feelings" result from repression of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that hold out the threat of disapproval and punishment. Repression enables them to dissociate their experience of guilt from the thoughts or actions that induce the guilt. This leaves them with "free-floating" guilt which they can now attach to more innocuous experiences. They find these easier to deal with either because they are more readily avoided or because they are reassured by others that they need not feel guilty about such matters.

Guilt feelings dominate in a prohibitive conscience. Since they are free-floating they prevent real moral insight. And since they involve propitiatory self-punishment they prevent genuine contrition and repentance. Guilt feelings have little to do with sorrow for sin. They are signs of a preoccupation with a fear of consequences. If the person turns these feelings outward he is likely to adopt a critical disparaging life style, which dwells on the sins and shortcomings of others. If he turns them in on himself, he magnifies his sins, wallows self-punitively in them, and dominates others through his self-reproach and threats of self-destruction. In either case the person lives in a vicious circle virtually anesthetized against the counsel and spiritual ministrations of family, friends, and pastor. Not until he can be helped to reconnect the guilt feelings to the thoughts or actions that give rise to them is he likely to develop the contrition and repentance that open the way to genuine moral and spiritual insight and growth.

Acquiring courage to face oneself and to accept forgiveness involves for such a person turning his world topsy-turvy. His implicit major premise is that love is always conditional and is, at its root, a reward for perfection. From this he concludes that forgiveness is at best partial and temporary and is contingent on "not doing that again." Courage to trust that God's love is unconditional, rooted in his holy love and in the finished work of Jesus Christ freely extended to the penitent, and that forgiveness is real and abiding—that is, having the courage to make a radical shift of one's view of the universe at the very point where one is most skeptical, frightened, and vulnerable—rises partly out of desperation, but in greater degree from experiencing a measure of love from persons and from the community of believers.

Those who suffer from a prohibitive conscience require the major portion of a minister's pastoral ministrations. They also tend to be deeply involved in congregational misunderstandings and disputes. Other disorders of conscience include variations on the prohibitive conscience, such as the *literalistic conscience*, seen in those who remain largely fixed in a child's type of conscience that is rigid, unbending, and aggressively imposed on others as a way to dominate and to assert moral superiority (e.g. Simon the Pharisee, Lk. 7:39); and the *scrupulous conscience*: self-doubting, fearful of making moral decisions, and spending much time in second-guessing themselves. But there is also the *lax conscience*, schooled to allow a person to side-step moral obligation with ease. And many psychiatrists and social commentators express concern today over what they call *repression of conscience*, which is seen in the typical neurosis of our time, the character neurosis, as well as in the more radically pathological psychopathic reaction, which Lombroso called "moral imbecility."

C. Recurring issues

1. The nature and basis of conscience. The pivotal fact for the Christian is that behind conscience lies God, who is holy, personal, and the Creator of a moral universe that is to be judged by his righteousness. Man is made in the image of God (Gen. 1:26) and is answerable to him for what he makes of himself, how he exercises his obligation to be a neighbor (Lk. 10:37) and his dominion over

the created order. Conscience is "an intuition of the moral law" (J. Stalker in *ISBE* [1929], 2:701 – 3), that is, the Bible takes the stance of *ethical realism.* "Man is not adrift in a complex world without an inner monitor. In the midst of the conflicting demands and many impulses of his nature, surrounded by a world of imperfect sensible objects, he feels the lure of perfections that cannot have their source in the imperfections of human existence. No amount of imagining and reasoning can derive the imperfect from the perfect. Only the dim awareness of perfection guides his analysis of and movement from imperfection" (Bertocci and Millard, *Personality*, 237).

Paul appealed directly to manifestations of this intuition as the basis for his statement that all are without excuse before God (Rom. 2:14 – 15). Alternative views enjoying widespread popularity today ascribe ethical action and norms either to personal desire or social consensus. Both, however, make implicit appeals to certain universal moral principles intuitively apprehended. The *privatistic relativist* roots moral action in personal desire and rejects all standards that do not spring from a person's own preferences. Both social custom and universal moral standards are rejected on the basis of an implicit universal which demands that all individuality ought to be respected whether one prefers to or not. For all the privatist's emphasis on "bringing people together" there is no basis in his system for forming a genuine community.

His fellow moral relativist, the *social relativist*, differs with him in maintaining that a society is obligated to insist upon and even force certain conformities and norms on individuals as a basis for meaningful community (Bertocci and Millard, *Personality*, 276). Social relativism, which reduces morality to local or cultural mores and values, argues that people differ so extensively in what they regard as good and evil that any notion of universal values is out of the question. Bertocci points out that cross-cultural values have been discovered—e.g., disapproval of rape, lying, and stealing within the group and approval of mutuality, truth, and beauty—and he asks why, if people within a group can develop common values, this should be excluded in a priori fashion on a cross-cultural basis (ibid., 306). But social relativism also bootlegs into its system certain absolutes: survival is used as a basic standard for judging goodness or badness, and critical inquiry as *the* way in which persons ought to arrive at their search for truth and goodness. Allport, to the contrary, comments, "In spite of differing tabus and imperatives it seems that all people prize kindness to children, loyalty to the in-group…and have a not wholly capricious sense of justice" (*Individual*, 87), a thesis more extensively documented in the appendix of C. S. Lewis's *The Abolition of Man.*

2. Conscience and the koinonia (community). The individual needs other persons and social institutions in order to discover himself and develop his moral potential (1 Cor. 12). Here the Christian COMMUNITY is said to be for the individual an ongoing source of intimacy, of norms, of moral and emotional support, of correction and forgiveness, and opportunity for service. The *koinonia* supplies him with an undergirding structure, but it needs his imagination and his loyalty for significant viability. Therefore the *koinonia* must be careful to avoid the totalitarian trap of an organic view of unity, in which the individual derives his meaning from and exists for the benefit of the whole group and persons become means and not ends. In this view, persons are reduced to categories principally designed to subordinate them to the whole: "Aryans," "proletariat," etc. As indicated in the discussion on Galatianism, this has a fatal fascination for people, since it promises security and relieves from responsibility.

The Western world is sufficiently "Christianized" that it is all too easy for the *koinonia* to substitute conventional morality for personal Christian conviction, which will on occasion require that one stand against conventional morality in the manner of Amos and Hosea. The *koinonia* must

likewise be on guard against the counterculture's uncritically applied "man against society" stance. This anti-institutional stance reduces community to an aggregate of persons whose relationships cannot but be transient and shallow. The community, as indicated above, has characteristics that the individual needs in order for his conscience to mature. For its effective functioning, however, it needs to see itself as the body, whose Head is Christ and whose individual members have been given their identity and their gifts by the Spirit—individual members who need each other to develop as persons through serving God and neighbor, and who need the individual's conscience to guard it against entrapment in conventional morality. See BODY OF CHRIST; CHURCH.

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II. Conscience in social philosophy and science

A. Popular usage. In popular usage, when people do wrong they suffer the "pangs of conscience." They may seek to "salve their conscience" with works of benevolence. In evangelical theology a "guilty conscience" often is considered the prerequisite to conversion. A "good or clear conscience" describes the feeling people experience when they believe they have done what they should. A "seared conscience" is identified by some with the UNPARDONABLE SIN. In rationalistic theology the conscience was identified as the internal repository of natural law. It sat in judgment on human actions, declaring them good or bad. The cry for "liberty of conscience" also arose among the rationalists. They believed the conscience to be an infallible guide to conduct. To force people to act contrary to their conscience was to force them to sin.

This is the origin of the rights of "conscientious objectors." Contemporary relativism has raised disturbing questions about the role of the conscience as a trustworthy guide to conduct. Anthropologists have found significant diversity among cultures in those acts they define as good and as bad. Culture, not innate knowledge, appears to have provided the content of conscience. Since most systems of ETHICS have depended heavily on the conscience as a guide, the relativism of the content of conscience has dealt them a heavy blow. Finally, "social conscience" means that a person is actively concerned about social problems.

It is time to rethink the subject of conscience. What can contemporary social philosophy and science tell us about the conscience? What is the biblical understanding of conscience? Can these be harmonized? What is the role of conscience in the Christian ethic?

B. Rationalist. Many of the understandings and misunderstandings of conscience appearing in popular thought are derived from the rationalistic model of HUMAN NATURE. Human beings are considered to be very reasonable, responsible, and detached from the world. Their decision-making process is not unlike that of a computer. All the facts are fed into their mind. They logically consider the information, then decide what would be the reasonable course of action. The conscience is a moral governor. It flashes a red warning light when his logic is faulty. It also flashes a green light when rational persons may proceed. The content of the conscience is innate moral law, refined, and expanded by the truths of moral philosophy and the precepts of culture.

C. Marxist. Marxism presents a different model: human beings as creatures of their social environment, particularly the economy. They are corrupted by a corrupt society. The hope of humankind is the working class. This class has the right values because it lives the productive life.

People accept the values of their class. Their conscience is a creature of these values. Their actions are a response to the stimulus of events in society. People follow, they do not create. Consequently, conscience is but the internalized values of one's social class. Such a theory cannot explain Marx's own conscience, which motivated him to cry out against the social injustice of his day.

D. Freudian. Freud's model of human nature speaks of the id, the ego, and the super-ego. The super-ego is a kind of automatic conscience. It is a psychic policeman detailing what one should and should not do. Its content is drawn from the prohibitions of parents and society. The super-ego is the culprit in psychosis. The goal of psychoanalysis is to strengthen the ego so that it may override the conscience. Freud draws upon relativism to discount the authority of the conscience. He seeks to cure a guilty conscience by discrediting it.

E. Intentional. Gibson Winter (*Elements for a Social Ethic* [1966]) has developed the model of "intentional man." This approach draws upon the social sciences to comprehend the forces involved in human existence. Social psychology teaches that people function in many roles and statuses. This is not to suggest that life is essentially compartmentalized, because the same self can function as a son, father, husband, relative, friend, employee, teacher, customer, and so forth. Each of these roles places somewhat different demands upon a person and upon those with whom he is interacting. Consequently, people must play each role somewhat differently. Further, a particular role will need to be modified in various time-space situations. Often people will be confronted by conflicting demands being placed upon them because they function in so many different roles contemporaneously. This means that there is a very complex interrelationship between the actor and those with whom he is interacting. Here the conscience comes in for some hard knocks. For example, one's ideal of a good teacher may demand so much time that his ideal of a good father must be short-changed. His conscience condemns him. Adjustments are attempted. More pangs of conscience may result.

Social theory adds the insight that people play their roles within a number of different environments: family, community, groups, institutions and organizations, culture's norms and patterns of behavior, the person's own physical makeup, and the physical environment. Within this social framework people are busy acting. Their acting takes different forms. Often they are simply reacting to opportunities and difficulties that present themselves; at other times they are busy developing projects. A project is an activity pursuant of a person's goals. "Intentional man" is a planner. He seeks to achieve his goals by constructing a "game plan." One's goals, both immediate and long range, are grounded in one's values. Intentional man is an evaluating man. He has a basic core-orientation for his life. In terms of this core-orientation he has worked out a value system—a ranking of importance of the things, activities, and relationships that make up his life. Conscience applies this value system to a person's activities. It stirs guilt feelings when inconsistencies are found.

In our complex modern life, with so many demands upon us, conscience's job is not easy. Often we find ourselves pulled two or three ways simultaneously by conscience. Most people, like Paul (Rom. 7), do not find the conscience an infallible guide. At best, conscience is a monitor of the will, holding it in check as it develops projects.

F. Existentialist. A final model is that of existentialist J. P. Sartre, according to which human beings are flung into existence. Since all things are relative, people are counseled to embrace freedom. "Free man" is authentic man. "Inauthentic man" cowardly chooses to subscribe to ready-made values of church or state, but he never finds a peaceful conscience. "Authentic man" rejects the hold upon

him by traditional values; he chooses his own values, and in this he finds meaning and a good conscience. The good is what is good for him. He rises above the "bad faith" or guilty conscience of the unfree man who seeks to escape freedom and salve his conscience in the crowd.

Perhaps this is the place for a small digression to consider the subject of cultural relativity as it relates to conscience. Clyde Kluckhohn, noted American anthropologist, has questioned the idea of total ethical relativity (*Culture and Behavior* [1962]). At one time this idea, first advanced by Auguste Comte, seemed to gather support from the findings of anthropologists. But, as Kluckhohn declares, mature reflection indicates that this is not the case. Prescriptions against murder, incest, and untruth; proscription concerning sexual excess, obligations of parents to children and vice versa—essentially the same topics as those covered in the second tablet of the Decalogue—are found in every culture. These he terms universals. Granted that laws and customs related to these topics will take different forms in the several cultures of the world, the fact remains that this basic core is present in them all. For example, cultures may have widely different patterns of family composition, but all cultures have found it necessary to establish normative regulations concerning which patterns are acceptable in their society.

Once this fact has been established, a case can be made for the Decalogue being God's revelation of his will concerning the essential issues of human society. (See TEN COMMANDMENTS.) Of course, the principles of the Decalogue are broad enough in scope that they can be adapted to particular cultural needs, and they have been. The books of Exodus and Deuteronomy are examples of this process of adaptation. A comparative study of other cultures reveals the same process. A case might also be made for these principles being the essence of "natural revelation," since they are present in all cultures. Further, they may be the categories of oughtness innate in all human beings awaiting specific content, which is drawn from one's culture and from one's unique experiences and formulation of values. Further study in these areas may prove quite fruitful. In any case, Christians must forcefully announce that the crass relativism of contemporary morality is without authoritative foundation as well as without historic precedents.

G. Summary. What can be learned from social philosophy and science? First, there has been a tendency to place great confidence in conscience as a guide and/or judge in moral and ethical decisions. Popular ethics has advanced the dictum, "let your conscience be your guide." However, anthropological studies have found great variety in the content of conscience, although some concerns are universal. This raises doubts about the reliability of conscience.

Second, it is evident that the values employed by conscience can be and are acquired. Further, there is much evidence that the conscience can be trained. How much is given and how much is acquired is subject to debate. Is it primarily intuited or associational, or mixed?

Third, what is the function of conscience? Some stress its antecedent role, providing guidance concerning the rightness or wrongness of a project and its means of achievement. Others limit conscience to a sequential role, stirring up feelings of guilt whenever one's actions fall short of or violate internalized values. If one subscribed to the intentional view of human nature, would he likely contend that conscience functions in the latter of these roles primarily? As a person is confronted by demands to act, conscience functions as a monitor calling forth the values of one's value system that are affected by this problem; as he proposes projects to deal with the problem, it continues this process of value analysis; as he reflects upon the successes and/or failures of projects once put into operation, conscience again evaluates, internalizes what was learned from the activity, and may effect changes in the value system.

Finally, the most basic question is whether the conscience is a starter, a brakeman, or a judge. Is conscience something down within a person, like a "still small voice" or guide? Or is conscience a capacity given to us, which monitors our past and projected actions, stirring up guilt feelings when we act contrary to values that are significant to us? Or is it an impartial jurist adjudging the rightness or wrongness of an act? Inspect examples of each: (1) One may believe that he is being guided by the Holy Spirit or some inner compulsion to perform a particular act and call this conscience. However, it may be that this feeling is not to be confused with the conscience; this feeling may be a direct command from God. Further, it may be that this feeling is simply the positive response to the negative, guilt-producing activity of the conscience. (2) If a person is placed in a situation where he must decide between exploiting a stranger or helping him, values of fair play, honesty, helpfulness, love, self-interest, and success among others may be involved. Either choice may issue in a mixture of feelings of guilt and satisfaction. If the actor is a Christian, likely the choice to help will maximize satisfaction and minimize guilt. The repetition of the process of making such decisions will reinforce the values of helpfulness so that in time the pangs of a guilty conscience when one cannot help will be heightened.

This is to say that the Christian can never achieve a "good" conscience. Faith in God's gracious forgiveness is what is required. If this example is true, then conscience is essentially capacity to feel guilt, a brake. (3) The judge model was presented in the discussion of rationalist man above. The second, or brakeman model, is perhaps the nearest to the biblical concept of human conscience. (In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see E. Fromm, *Man for Himself* [1947], 141 – 71; E. Bergler, *The Battle of the Conscience* [1948], chs. 7 – 8; J. G. McKenzie, *Nervous Disorders and Religion* [1951], 82 – 101; P. Tillich, *The Courage to Be* [1952], 3 – 172; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* [1955], 211 – 20, 260 – 69; R. Niebuhr, *The Self and the Dramas of History* [1956], 24 – 31, 246 – 56; W. Lillie, *Studies in New Testament Ethics* [1961], 45 – 56; J. G. McKenzie, *Guilt: Its Meaning and Significance* [1962], 21 – 54, 138 – 58; H. Thielicke, *Theological Ethics: Foundations* [1966], 298 – 358; M. S. Augsburger, *The Christ-Shaped Conscience* [1990]; J. F. MacArthur, Jr., *The Vanishing Conscience* [1994]; J. Hoose, ed., *Conscience in World Religions* [1999]; P. Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul: A Conceptual History of the Synoida Word Group* [2003]; C. E. Curran, ed., *Conscience* [2004].)

G. E. FARLEY

consciousness of Christ. A phrase used to describe how Christ in his life on earth thought of his own person and vocation. Can one obtain any dependable knowledge of Christ's self-consciousness? There are those who would say that this is concealed in the mystery of Jesus' relationship with the Father. But consciousness may be known through its expression in behavior. The record of the Gospels is that of a real man who by the whole course of his words and deeds revealed at least something of how he thought of himself. An attempt to discover this information from the record is both legitimate and essential to any valid understanding of the Person of Christ.

Others question whether one can recapture Jesus' words and deeds with sufficient accuracy for this task. We do not know for certain the *ipsissima verba* (the very words) spoken by the Lord. Variations between parallel accounts show that the evangelists can only be said to give us the gist of what Jesus said (prob. in ARAMAIC). But even the accuracy of their record as to essential meaning is questioned by the form critics, who regard the text as expressing the faith of the early church rather than the actual events that occurred or words that were spoken (see FORM CRITICISM). There is little doubt that the material was seen in relation to the life of the church when the evangelists wrote; but it

is fallacious to argue therefore that the words and deeds recorded do not give us an accurate picture of the historic Jesus. The impression of that life was indelibly etched on the memory of his young disciples; thirty or even fifty years would not erase it. Perhaps one cannot recapture the exact words of the Master, but the words may be trusted to give a true picture of his personality, and in particular of the way he thought of himself. This article focuses on the Synoptic Gospels, but includes at the end data from the Gospel of John.

I. His words and deeds. Central in Jesus' life and teaching was his proclamation of the KINGDOM OF GOD (called in Matthew, on most occasions, the kingdom of heaven). JOHN THE BAPTIST had called to the nation, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is near" (Matt. 3:2). Jesus took up the same message when he began his ministry (Matt. 4:17; Mk. 1:15). References to the kingdom recur constantly through the Gospels (50 in Matthew, 16 in Mark, 40 in Luke). The concept is not of a territory, but of a sovereignty: the rule of God over his people.

Jesus often spoke of the kingdom in eschatological terms: the reign of God to be established at the last day (Matt. 25:31, 34; see ESCHATOLOGY). His disciples should pray for the coming of the kingdom (Matt. 6:10; Lk. 11:2), which will be a time of reward for the faithful and of judgment for the wicked (Matt. 8:11 – 12; 13:24 – 30, 37 – 43, 47 – 50; 22:1 – 14; 25:1 – 13; Lk. 13:28). In other places, the Lord's words seem to view the kingdom as imminent (Matt. 10:23; 16:28; Mk. 9:1; Lk. 9:27; 10:1), or as already brought into existence (Matt. 11:12; Lk. 16:16; 17:21). Though John was before the kingdom (Matt. 11:11; Lk. 7:28; 16:16), yet Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and all the prophets will be found therein (Matt. 8:11; Lk. 13:28). Jesus evidently thought of the kingdom in eschatological terms, but at the same time as a kingdom which in him had already come. The use of the verbs *ēngiken* ("has drawn near," perfect of *engizō* ***G1581***, Matt. 10:7; Mk. 1:15) and *ephthasen* ("has come," aorist of *phthanō* ***G5777***, Matt. 12:28) makes this clear.

Jesus' teaching that the kingdom was not only a coming, but also a present, reality certainly involved consciousness of his own messianic function. The evidence that the kingdom of God had come was that Jesus cast out demons by the finger of God (Lk. 11:20). It was what his disciples saw and heard of him that brought to fulfillment the prophets' longings (Matt. 13:16 – 17). His words and works of mercy were themselves the answer to John's query concerning the MESSIAH (Matt. 11:2 – 6). He said that people determined their eternal destiny through their attitude to him (Matt. 10:32 – 33; Lk. 12:8 – 9) and to his disciples (Matt. 10:14 – 15, 42; 25:31 – 46). Therefore he demanded devotion to his own Person, not merely his words (Matt. 10:37 – 39; Mk. 8:35). That he was conscious of a divine authority resting upon him may be seen in his ethical teaching, as in the repeated phrase, "You have heard that it was said…but I tell you…" (Matt. 5:21 – 48), and in his public preaching, such as when he announced his mission in terms of the words of Isa. 61:1 – 2 (Lk. 4:18 – 21). See ETHICS OF JESUS.

Jesus also showed an inner awareness of divine purpose behind his death. He set his face to go to Jerusalem (Lk. 9:51) because, as he said, "no prophet can die outside Jerusalem" (13:33). But his going was not a mere resignation to death; it was through death that he would continue his eschatological ministry (Lk. 13:32 – 35). The form critics insist that the explicit soteriology of Mk. 10:45 and 14:24 (also Matt. 20:28; 26:28) comes from the thought of the early church, not from Jesus' words; but more probably the strangely perplexing, but clearly remembered words of the Lord led to the development of the thought of the early church. When he said he would give his life as a ransom for many, he showed an inner conviction that his death had a redemptive purpose, in some way substituting "for many" (*anti pollōn*), and that his blood would be shed on their behalf to ratify the

(new) covenant anticipated by Jer. 31:31 – 34. See COVENANT, THE NEW.

II. The titles applied to Christ. Whether applied by himself or accepted when used by others, the titles of Christ indicate much as to his consciousness of his own person and mission.

A. Prophet. Many who heard Jesus preach and saw him heal, including his disciples, regarded him as a prophet (Matt. 21:11, 46; Mk. 6:15; 8:27 – 28; Lk. 7:16; 24:19). See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY. But did Jesus think of himself as a prophet? He spoke of himself thus on two separate occasions (Mk. 6:4; cf. Lk. 4:24; 13:33) and certainly he fulfilled a prophet's role in telling forth God's message, the role of the authoritative final prophet ("but *I* tell you…"). Rudolf Bultmann speaks of Jesus' "prophetic self-consciousness" (*History of the Synoptic Tradition* [1963], 153). C. H. Dodd lists fifteen prophetic characteristics in Jesus' ministry (in *Mysterium Christi: Christological Studies by British and German Theologians* [1930], 57 – 65). R. H. Fuller finds the key to Jesus' self-understanding in the eschatological prophet (*The Foundations of New Testament Christology* [1965], 125 – 31). With Oscar Cullmann, however, we would think that the concept of the prophet expressed not so much what Jesus thought of his person and work as "an opinion about his person which was widespread among the people during his lifetime" (*Christology of the New Testament* [1959], 49). See also OFFICES OF CHRIST I.

B. Lord. It is evident that people called Jesus *kyrios* ***G3261***, "Lord," and that in his view such a title demanded implicit obedience (Matt. 7:21; Lk. 6:46). Once he used the term directly of himself (Mk. 11:3); on another occasion he referred to himself as Lord indirectly in quoting Ps. 110:1 with reference to the Messiah as son of David (Mk. 12:35 – 37 and parallels). While the word is sometimes little more than an honorific title ("sir"), our Lord's use of Ps. 110 suggests that he saw in this term something of his messianic dignity. See also LORD.

C. Servant of the Lord. This title (*ʿebed yhwh* [e.g., Josh. 1:1; Isa. 42:19]) relates to the four "Servant Songs" (Isa. 42:1 – 4; 49:1 – 7; 50:4 – 11; 52:13—53:12). While Jesus never used the term SERVANT OF THE LORD as a self-designation, it seems clear that from his baptism (when the voice from heaven cited Isa. 42:1, with reference also to Ps. 2:7) Jesus was conscious that he had to fulfill the role assigned to that figure. Matthew speaks of Isa. 42:1 – 4 as fulfilled in Christ's ministry (Matt. 12:18 – 21).

Although the first servant song makes no reference to the servant's suffering, it may well be from the other servant songs that the thought of the required suffering was added early to Jesus' consciousness of his work. Twice he spoke of baptism in connection with his coming death (Mk. 10:38 – 39; Lk. 12:50). His prophecy of coming days when the bridegroom would be violently taken away (Mk. 2:20) recalls Isa. 53:8. After PETER'S confession at CAESAREA PHILIPPI, Jesus prophesied his death three times (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:33 – 34); similarly in the parable of the wicked tenants (Mk. 12:1 – 12). His words in Mk. 10:45, discussed above, mirror the central theme of the servant songs, that of the servant representing and taking the place of the people, and make a clear allusion to Isa. 53:5. In the upper room he quoted Isa. 53:12, saying, "what is written about me is reaching its fulfillment" (Lk. 22:37). The Servant of the Lord was the one in whom God established a covenant to the people (Isa. 42:6; 49:8), and the one who "poured out his soul unto death…and bore the sin of many" (Isa. 53:12). Did Jesus not see himself in this role when he said (Mk. 14:24 and parallels), "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many"?

D. Messiah. Jesus rarely used the title "Christ" of himself (Matt. 23:10; Mk. 9:41), but two places where others used it of him are significant. The first is Peter's confession, "You are the Christ" (Mk. 8:29; cf. Matt. 16:16; Lk. 9:20). Jesus' reply, "this was not revealed to you by man, but my Father in heaven" (Matt. 16:17), lays his specific imprimatur upon Peter's words. Mark and Luke do not record this statement, but they join Matthew in Jesus' enjoinder to secrecy, which in itself implies acceptance. Immediately then he spoke of his sufferings and death. Peter, not understanding, rebuked Jesus (Matt. 16:22; Mk. 8:32), earning his rebuke, "Get behind me, Satan!" It seems specious to argue (as Fuller does, *Foundations*, 109) that the intervening command to silence, the PASSION prediction, and the mutual rebukes are later insertions not in the original narrative, thus changing these words into a vehement rejection of the messianic title Peter applied to him. Clearly Jesus accepted the title *Messiah*, but reinterpreted it in terms of the suffering servant.

A second occasion was when the high priest asked "Are you the Christ?" (Mk. 14:61; cf. Matt. 26:63; Lk. 22:67). In Matthew and Luke, Jesus' reply, "You have said so" (NRSV), may perhaps be interpreted as noncommittal (so Cullmann), but in Mark it is indisputably clear (*egō eimi*, "I am"). All three Gospels record that it was on this testimony of his own lips that he was condemned.

E. Son of David. Jesus never used this messianic title directly of himself, but it was proffered to him by blind BARTIMAEUS (Mk. 10:47 – 48) and by the Canaanite woman (Matt. 15:22); it was also implied in the cry of the crowd at the triumphal entry (Mk. 11:10). Probably its nationalistic overtones made it less acceptable in Jesus' own thought of his mission, and this underlies his questioning in Mk. 12:35 – 37.

F. Son of God. Jesus never called himself by this full title in the synoptics, and spoke of himself simply as "Son" rarely (Matt. 11:27; 24:36; Mk. 13:32). But he constantly called God his Father in a unique sense (e.g., Matt. 7:21; 10:32 – 33; 15:13; 16:17; 18:10, 19, 35; 20:23); only the Son fully knows the Father, and only the Father the Son (Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22). His words in the temple at the age of twelve, "Didn't you know that I had to be in my Father's house?" (Lk. 2:49), suggest that his filial consciousness dawned very early. See also SON OF GOD.

G. Son of Man. This was the title Jesus constantly applied to himself. Its significance is not merely "man" (as in Num. 23:19; Pss. 8:4; 146:3; Isa. 56:2) or "representative man" (as, possibly, in Ezekiel). The origin is rather from Daniel's vision of the messianic figure, "one like a son of man" (Dan. 7:13 – 14), a phrase popularized by *1 Enoch* (c. 70 B.C.), which speaks of the Son of Man as a divine, superhuman, preexistent figure hidden alongside God, but ready to march forth in powerful judgment against God's enemies and to exalt the righteous. Jesus used the title in three main connections: (1) general statements about his life and mission, (2) with reference to his sufferings and death, (3) with reference to his parousia and the coming judgment. Numerous examples of the third type demonstrate that the eschatological picture was part of Jesus' thought of the SON OF MAN, but his constant use of the phrase also with reference to sufferings and death shows that, for him, the Son of Man was also the Servant, who would attain his place of ultimate power through his self-sacrifice as representative of all mankind (Mk. 8:27 – 31).

III. Information from the Fourth Gospel. John's gospel was written with a specific Christological purpose, "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that by believing you may

have life in his name" (Jn. 20:31). For this reason, and on account of its late origin, many will not accept the words of Jesus recorded in it as authentic. Certainly the portrait of Jesus in this gospel is in many ways different from that in the synoptics, and it is probably true that the author desires to give the inner significance of Jesus' words rather than an exact verbal recollection. But allowing for that, in general John makes explicit and public only what is already implicit and private in Jesus' self-consciousness as shown by the synoptics.

Thus in place of the MESSIANIC SECRET of Mark, in John his disciples recognize him from the start as the Christ (Jn. 1:41). He reveals himself to the Samaritan woman as the Messiah (4:25 – 26), and there is continuous public questioning and controversy as to whether he is the Christ (7:26 – 31, 41 – 42; 9:22; 10:24; 12:34). But more central to the fourth gospel is the phrase "Son of God." Seventeen times Jesus calls himself "Son" or "Son of God"; thirty times he says, "my Father." Throughout his ministry there was an ever-present consciousness of a unique relationship with the Father (5:19 – 20; 6:57; 8:29; 12:49). His Sonship implied subordination (5:19 – 20; 12:49; 14:28); all that he did was in obedience to the Father (10:18; 14:31; 15:10); his supreme authority was the gift of his Father (5:26; 13:3). But it was more than a consciousness of close communion and dependence during the earthly life of Jesus; he was the preincarnate Son "whom the Father set apart as his very own and sent into the world" (10:36); he is the Son whom the Father will raise to share again in the eternal glory (17:1, 5). (For additional discussion and bibliography see CHRISTOLOGY; JESUS CHRIST.)

D. G. STEWART

consecration. The verb *consecrate* means "to induct a person into a sacral office by means of a religious rite" or "to declare a thing or object to be sacred." The noun *consecration* indicates an act by which a person or thing is set apart to a sacred cause or purpose. Involved is frequently the confirmation by religious ceremonies or rites; the word may also indicate an act by which a thing, event, or person becomes memorable or significant. The concept is especially prominent in the OT and in those portions of the NT that are most intimately related by content or symbolism to the Levitical system. In a few cases, particularly in the NT, the basic idea is carried by words other than those usually translated "consecrate" or "consecration."

I. OT usage. Among several Hebrew terms that convey the idea of consecration, the most common is the verb *qādaš* ***H7727*** and its cognates (e.g., Exod. 13:12; Lev. 8:10 – 12; 1 Ki. 8:64; Isa. 66:17; et al.). The basic meaning of these terms is that of separation from common or profane use, and dedication to a sacral purpose or use. Implied is the motif of solemnity, as well as an act of will or purpose. The application of "consecration" to objects includes, among other instances, the TABERNACLE and TEMPLE as well as their furnishings (Exod. 40:9 – 11; 2 Chr. 7:7; cf. also the term *ḥănukkâ* ***H2853*** in v. 9). The booty taken at the conquest of Jericho was so set apart (Josh. 6:19; see ANATHEMA).

When applied to individuals, the terms suggest not only the motif of setting apart for a sacred service but also the acceptance by the subject of such a dedication. Thus AARON and his sons accept as

Reconstruction of various items that were consecrated for use in the tabernacle.

the garb of their office the garments that symbolize it (Exod. 29:29, 33, 35). The same sentiment is implied in the acceptance by Israel of the curses and blessings pronounced, respectively, from Mounts EBAL and GERIZIM (Deut. 27 and 29). A more symbolic and specialized term for consecration is the expression "fill the hands," properly rendered "ordain" (Exod. 28:41 et al.), as well as the related noun *milluʾîm* ***H4854*** (29:22 et al.).

II. NT usage. The primary Greek verb meaning "consecrate" is *hagiazō* ***G39***, usually rendered "sanctify, set apart, make holy" (e.g., Jn. 10:36; 17:17, 19; 1 Cor. 7:14; 1 Tim. 4:5). As applied to the Lord, the usages signify the endowment with fullness of grace and truth, and his self-dedication to his redemptive work; as applied to the disciples, it suggests setting apart and personal sanctification; as applied to food, it indicates rendering licit by prayer; and as applied to unbelieving marital partners, it suggests that Christian sanctity is, in some degree, passed over from the believing one as a concomitant of the intimacy of the relationship. See also DEDICATE; HOLINESS; PURITY; SANCTIFICATION.

H. B. KUHN

consolation. ELIPHAZ says to JOB, "Are God's consolations [*tanḥûmôt* ***H9487***] not enough for you?" (Job 15:11), meaning, Do they seem beneath your notice? Job says to his friends that the consolation

he asks from them is that they listen to him (Job 21:2). JEREMIAH foretells that many in the land of Israel shall die, but no one will give the "cup of consolation" to a bereaved person who mourns for his parents (Jer. 16:7; NIV, "a drink to console"). When it is said of SIMEON that he looked for the "consolation [*paraklēsis* ***G4155***] of Israel" (Lk. 2:25), the term is used by metonymy for the messianic salvation that will console the people of Israel. See also COMFORT.

W. O. KLOPFENSTEIN

constellations. See ASTRONOMY.

Constitutions and Canons. See APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.

consul. The title of the two chief magistrates of the Roman republic. Of senatorial rank, they served one year in the city of ROME and then were assigned as administrators of the provinces as PROCONSULS. The office was retained during the empire but was confined to judicial functions, the presidency of the senate, and the administration of the public games. The emperors often appointed themselves, members of their families, and their friends to the office. They so disregarded the age limits for appointments that they named children. Honorius was made consul at birth. The office survived in the W until the 6th cent.

A communication from the Roman consul LUCIUS to Ptolemy and Demetrius is cited in 1 Macc. 15:16, 22. It was circulated to neighboring states and declared the friendship between the Roman senate and the Jews. The Greek word for "consul" here (*hypatos*, lit., "highest [in office]") is also used by the translator known as Theodotion to render the Aramaic term for "satrap" (Dan. 3:2 – 3; 6:7).

A. RUPPRECHT

consult. This English term may be used to render various Hebrew verbs, such as *šāʾal* ***H8626*** ("ask"), *dāraš* ***2011*** ("seek"), and others. Many passages speak of inquiring of the Lord, though without reference to the means (e.g., Josh. 9:14; 1 Sam. 14:37; 23:2). Others show that a prophet might be the means (e.g., Jer. 38:14, 27), or the priest with his EPHOD (1 Sam. 30:7 – 8) and URIM AND THUMMIM (e.g., Num. 27:21; Ezra 2:63). Israel was forbidden to consult mediums or idols (e.g., Deut. 18:11; Isa. 8:19 – 20; Hos. 4:12), as the heathen did (e.g. Isa. 19:3; Ezek. 21:21), and as SAUL did when he turned away from the Lord (1 Sam. 28; 1 Chr. 10:13; see DIVINATION).

F. FOULKES

consumption. See DISEASE.

contention. This English term and its cognates (*contend, contentious*) occur frequently in the KJV to render various Hebrew and Greek words that usually denote some sharp dispute, motivated by pride and ill will (Prov. 13:10), feeding on ignorance, and issuing in strife and division (1 Cor. 1:11). Contention may, however, refer to a dispute in the cause of truth, as when Jude admonishes the Christians to contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints (Jude 3). Synonymous with *contention*, and often rendering the same original words, are such terms as *division, faction, quarrel, strife*, and others—terms that reflect a desire to thrust oneself and one's own interests into the foreground in a partisan manner. The apostle PAUL lists these vices with the works of the flesh

(Gal. 5:19 – 20) and admonishes TITUS to avoid all such (Tit. 3:9). See also UNITY.

P. JEWETT

contentment. The state of being content or satisfied (Gk. *autarrkeia* ***G894***; note also the cognate verb *arkeō* ***G758*** and the adjective *autarkēs* ***G895***). It is a virtue enjoined by the Scriptures upon believers (Lk. 3:14; Heb. 13:5), is intimately associated with godliness (1 Tim. 6:6), and is a marked feature of Pauline spirituality (Phil. 4:11; 1 Tim. 6:8).

In Christian perspective, to be content is not to be indifferent to the lot of the neighbor who is oppressed and unjustly treated. It is not to acquiesce in public evil or to tolerate wrongs committed by persons upon each other. It is not to rid oneself of discontent with sin, or to be without a deep and dynamic concern for social righteousness. Having nothing to do with social insensitivity, complacency, or inertia, Christian contentment has everything to do with Christian self-acceptance. The contentment of which the Bible speaks is essentially inner-directed, and is centrally an acceptance of God's ministrations as these affect one's station and task in life, and also one's resources. It is thus a settled disposition to regard God's gifts as sufficient, and his assignments as appropriate. It is, in short, an acceptance of one's lot in life.

But this "lot in life" must be dynamically conceived. Because it is related to the living God, who in his dealings with his creatures always is propulsive, and because they in turn energized by God are always on the move toward better things, Christian contentment is not a resting in the status quo. It is not, as is the spurious "contentment" of the Buddhist, the result of suppressing all desire; nor is it a STOIC apathy rooted in supine resignation to an impersonal and unalterable fate. It does not exclude aspiration and a concern for improvement.

Christian contentment is not acquiescence in or collusion with remediable evil, nor is it satisfaction with the second rate. It is rather that state of mind and heart which arises out of the graceinduced awareness that underneath our lives are the everlasting arms of the heavenly Father who cares for us and who, if we but obey, will show us every good. Supporting this contentment is a firm belief in a wise and loving Providence, a deepseated willingness to be made serviceable in any way that God chooses to the ends of his kingdom, and an unquenchable assurance that God has in store for his own a fullness of life to which the sufferings of this present life are not worthy to be compared.

Contentment is opposed to petulance, self-rejection, despair, and panic on the one hand, and vaulting ambition on the other. It excludes envy (Jas. 3:16), avarice (Heb. 13:5; 1 Tim. 6:8), and repinings (1 Cor. 10:10). It is a glad, trustful, repose in God and a humble participation in his purposes and dealings.

H. STOB

continency. See SELF-CONTROL.

contribution. This English term is used by the NIV and other versions of the OT primarily as a rendering of Hebrew *tĕrûmâ* ***H9556***, "tribute, offering" (e.g., Exod. 29:28; 2 Chr. 31:10 – 14). In the NT it renders *koinōnia* ***G3126*** (which more frequently means "fellowship, sharing"; see COMMUNION) in one important passage, Rom. 15:26, where it designates the offering that the Gentile churches were giving "for the poor among the saints in Jerusalem" (cf. also 2 Cor. 9:13 RSV). Paul refers to the same offering with the term *logeia* ***G3356***, "collection," in 1 Cor. 16:1 – 2.

It would seem that after the Day of PENTECOST (Acts 2) a considerable number of the new converts may have remained in Jerusalem to enjoy the Christian fellowship of the believers there.

Moreover, WIDOWS (cf. Acts 6:1) and other POOR Jews may have been cut off the city's relief rolls when they became Christians. Even a partial community of goods (Acts 2:44 – 45; 4:34 – 35) did not prove adequate. The church at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA at least once sent a famine relief offering to Jerusalem (Acts 11:27 – 30).

During his third missionary journey, PAUL devoted much attention and effort to raising a collection among the Gentile churches for the believers in JUDEA. (Part of the reason, in the view of many scholars, was the need to relieve the tensions that had arisen between Gentile and Jewish

In this reconstruction of the Herodian temple (looking NW), four chambers in the corners of the courtyard are visible. The small one at the far right (NE) is the Chamber of the Woodshed, so called because there the priests examined the wood that had been contributed to be burned on the altar; any wood that had worms could not be used (cf. *m. Ta(anit* 4:5; *m. Middot* 2:5). The other chambers were the Chamber of Oil in the SW corner (to the left of the convex steps leading up to the brown gate known as Nicanor's Gate), the Chamber of the Nazirites in the SE (only partially visible), and the Chamber of Lepers in the NW (to the right of the convex steps).

Christians over the issue of circumcision; cf. Gal. 2:10.) At least twice he wrote to the Corinthians about the matter. In one letter he requested that they give weekly, in proportion to their income; representatives of the church would accompany the contribution (1 Cor. 16:1 – 4; cf. Acts 20:4). Later, Paul urged the Christians at Corinth to make sure that their giving matched their initial enthusiastic pledging (2 Cor. 9:1 – 5). Toward the end of his third journey (when he was about to leave Corinth), Paul hoped to go to Rome, but he felt constrained first to accompany the contribution to Jerusalem (Rom. 15:22 – 29). The apostle clearly viewed this offering not only as a generous act, but also as an important demonstration of the unity between the Jewish and Gentile branches of the church. (Cf. R. N. Longenecker, *Paul: Apostle of Liberty* [1964], 227 – 29; K. F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy* [1966]; N. Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem: A Study in Relationships and Authority in Earliest Christianity* [1992], 197 – 204; V. D. Verbrugge, *Paul's Style of Church Leadership Illustrated by His Instructions to the Corinthians on the Collection* [1992]). See also CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE VI.C.

R. EARLE

contrite. This English term is found a few times in the OT as the rendering of Hebrew terms that mean literally "crushed" or "stricken" (e.g., *dākâ* ***H1920***, Ps. 51:17, "The sacrifices of God are a

broken spirit; / a broken and contrite heart, / O God, you will not despise"; cf. 34:18). The contrite spirit and heart are lowly and humble, trembling at the word of the "high and lofty One" (Isa. 57:15; 66:2).

Contrition figured importantly in medieval and Reformation theology. Some theologians distinguished between *attritio* (repentance in fear) and *contritio* (repentance accompanied with love for God and purpose to amend the life). In Luther's time many Romanists were saying that *attritio* was sufficient, and that indulgence certificates could therefore be bought by all with benefits accruing to a person whose repentance was not heart deep. Luther uses "contrite" or "contrition" four times in his "Ninety-Five Theses," and in that historic statement his main purpose is to urge true repentance.

J. K. GRIDER

conversation. This English term (from Latin *conversārî*, "to associate with"), in its archaic sense of "conduct, way of life," is used by the KJV to render several different words, especially Greek *anastrophē* ***G419*** (lit., "turning about in a place," then "mode of life"). This word is found thirteen times in the NT, and almost half of the occurrences are in 1 Peter (e.g., Gal. 1:13; Heb. 13:7; 1 Pet. 1:15, 18; et al.). See ETHICS. The modern meaning of *conversation* ("a spoken exchange") can be conveyed by the Hebrew and Greek words for "word," *dābār* ***H1821*** and *logos* ***G3364*** (e.g., Jer. 38:24; Col. 4:6). See WORD.

conversion. The verb *to convert* is used a number of times in the KJV primarily as the rendering of Hebrew *šûb* ***H8740*** and Greek *epistrephomacr;* ***G2188*** (e.g., Ps. 51:13; Matt. 13:15; cf. *epistrophē* ***G2189*** only in Acts 15:3), both of which mean "to turn, return." (Cf. B. R. Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* [1986].) See REPENTANCE. The noun *convert* is used in modern versions to render Greek *prosēlytos* ***G4670*** (lit., "one who has come"; e.g., Matt. 23:15; Acts 6:5; however, see also Rom. 16:5 and 1 Tim. 3:6). See PROSELYTE.

The matter of suddenness in conversion is one that bears study and understanding on the part of Christians. Paul's conversion is the biblical archetype of suddenness (see Acts 9), as was AUGUSTINE'S in later times (see his *Confessions* 8.12 and 9.1). The distinguished American preacher Phillips Brooks, however, "had no moment of identifiable crisis in his spiritual life" (William Barclay, *Turning to God* [1963], 94). John Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed," and all the world has come to know about that experience (see his *Journal* for May 24, 1738). He is a kind of mediating illustration on this matter of suddenness in conversion. He was no opposer of Christ beforehand, as was Paul; nor was he a profligate, as Augustine had been. He had been ordained, had been a missionary, and had preached Christ and lectured on divine things for many years. Apart from the matter of the degree of crisis to be expected in the religious conversion of those who grow up in a Christian family and attend to spiritual matters from early life, conversion is conversion, and there is crisis when old things pass away and all things become new (see 2 Cor. 5:17).

(See J. K. Grider, *Repentance unto Life* [1965].)

J. K. GRIDER

convict. This English verb is used a few times in Bible versions, primarily to render Greek *elenchō* ***G1794***, which can also be translated "declare, expose, prove, convince, correct, rebuke" (e.g., Jn. 3:20, "for fear that his deeds will be exposed"; Lk. 3:19, "when John rebuked Herod"; Tit. 1:9, "refute those who oppose it"). Of special significance is Jn. 16:8, where Jesus describes the work of the HOLY SPIRIT as one of convicting or persuading the world of SIN, that is, bringing to light and

proving the guilt of unbelievers. The English term *conviction* can also mean "certainty" (e.g., 1 Thess. 1:5). See ASSURANCE.

G. A. TURNER

convocation, holy. KJV rendering of *miqrāʾ-qōdeš* (***H5246*** + ***H7731***; NIV, "sacred assembly"; NRSV, "solemn assembly"). It is first mentioned in Exod. 12:16 with reference to the first and seventh days of the PASSOVER feast; on those days no work was to be done, and only the preparation of food was allowed. In addition, Lev. 23 lists other holy convocations that took place during the seventh month: the first day, the tenth day (Day of Atonement), and the fifteenth day (the Feast of the Tabernacles). Offerings of various kinds were to be made on these days (cf. Num. 28:8, 25 – 26). These feast days were undoubtedly meant to be a foretaste of the great day of rest for all of God's people; they point to a day of hope when God's children will sit down with him in his kingdom. See also CONGREGATION; FEASTS.

J. B. SCOTT

cooking. The noun *cook* ("someone who prepares food") occurs in only one passage, 1 Sam. 9:23 – 24, as a rendering of Hebrew *ṭabbāḥ* ***H3184***, which usually means "guard" or "executioner" (the immediate attendants of a king were often the ones who butchered the animals and prepared the meat for the table). The verb *cook* or *boil* renders Hebrew *bāšal* ***H1418***, which occurs over twenty times (e.g., Exod. 12:9; Deut. 14:21; 1 Sam. 2:13). Cooking was commonly done by women servants (1 Sam. 8:13), though this function was also exercised by the women of the household, such as SARAH and REBECCA (Gen. 18:6; 27:9). In both instances, however, men prepared the meat (Gen. 18:7; 25:29; 27:31). Numerous Bible references to the preparation of various kinds of FOOD, methods of cooking, utensils and equipment used, persons doing the cooking, and places where it was done, afford a fairly complete knowledge of this daily task in the biblical period.

The four basic categories of raw foods were cereals, meats, vegetables, and dairy products. Of these the most important were the cereals for the production of BREAD, by grinding and cooking on a hearth or baking in an oven. Since it is primary, in the OT the term *leḥem* ***H4312*** ("bread") often stands for all food. According to the KJV renderings, the cereals used were *barley* (Lev. 27:16; Jdg. 7:13; Ruth 2:23; 1 Ki. 4:28; Jn. 6:9, 13; Rev. 6:6); *wheat* (some representative passages are Gen. 41:49; Exod. 9:32; 34:22; Jdg. 6:11; 15:1; Ruth 2:23; 1 Sam. 6:13; 1 Chr. 21:23; Jer. 12:13; Ezek. 27:17; Matt. 3:12; 13:25, 29, 30; Lk. 3:17; 22:31; Jn. 12:24; Acts 27:38; 1 Cor. 15:37; Rev. 6:6; 18:13); *rye* (preferably rendered *spelt*, Exod. 9:32; Isa. 28:25); *millet* (Ezek. 4:9); and *fitches* (Isa. 28:25, 27). In most places in the KJV where the word *corn* is used it may properly be applied to wheat, but any kind of GRAIN may be intended.

WHEAT was the ideal cereal, and both wild varieties (e.g., *Triticum boeoticum* and *T. dicoccoides*), and cultivated ones (e.g., *T. monoccum* [one-grained wheat]; *T. dicoccum* [emmer]; *T. spelta* [spelt]; *T. compactum* [club wheat]; *T. aestivum* [beardless wheat]; *T. compositum* [bearded wheat]; *T. tungidum* [Egyptian wheat]) were doubtless used during the biblical period. Wheat was the preferred bread cereal of the upper classes, and barley was thought of as a common food for livestock, especially horses. BARLEY bread was used by the poorer classes, and also might be regarded as a "famine" bread (cf. Ezek. 4:9). Rye seems to have been developed in European areas, and so the biblical references are probably to SPELT. MILLET is a cereal grass, with small seeds. There may be a reference here to a kind of maize indigenous to Egypt, though millet as we know it was widely cultivated throughout the ANE. FITCHES is an archaic term probably referring to the black

seed of nutmeg flower (NIV, "caraway"; NRSV, "dill"), applied to cakes before they were baked.

All of the grains were prepared by cooking. They might be parched, or roasted over an open fire in some kind of pan. The cereals also could be boiled, in either whole or ground form, to make porridge. This would probably be seasoned and flavored with SALT, olive OIL, or other condiments, and perhaps even HONEY would be added. Honey, together with dates, provided the sugar of antiquity. The preparation of bread involved grinding, which might be done either in a mortar or a MILL. The mortar (Num. 11:8; Prov. 27:22) was a somewhat hemispherical depression in a stone in which the grain was crushed by pounding with a pestle made from stone. This was shaped somewhat like the large end of a baseball bat, with a common length of perhaps eighteen inches. The mortar might be a separate stone, or be built into a stone floor, and might also occur in bed rock, exposed near habitations. The mortar and pestle was capable only of producing crushed or roughly ground grain, best suited for making porridge.

The mill had several forms and something of an evolutionary development. Earliest and most common was the quern and muller (the "saddle-quern" is a standard artifact recovered in excavations of the Bronze and Iron Age sites in Palestine). This mill consisted of a lower stone, the quern, which might average in size from 10 x 18 in. to 16 x 32 in. Sometimes it had legs, or a support to raise the back side (nearest the operator) from the floor, and the surface became somewhat hollowed through usage (giving rise to the expression "saddle"). The muller was usually loaf-shaped, averaging 10 – 18 in. in length, with a width of some 3 – 6 in. It was the "upper" millstone of Jdg. 9:53, used as a weapon to kill ABIMELECH (cf. 2 Sam. 11:21). These stones were usually made of basalt rock, imported from BASHAN, which was ideal for milling because of its vesicular structure, providing continuously sharpened cutting edges.

Its mode of operation was to rub the muller back and forth on the quern, after the fashion of a washboard, thus grinding the grain between the stones. The rotary mill appeared later, consisting of two circular basalt stones, averaging about 20 in. in diameter. The upper stone had a handle for turning it on the lower, which carried a central pin for an axle. A central orifice was provided to pour the grain into, and the ground flour came out around the perimeter. Two women (Matt. 24:41; Lk. 17:35) were usually required for its operation. In Roman times the large "hour-glass" mills were common, standing 4 – 6 ft. in height and turned by animal or slave power. It consisted of a lower cylindrical stone with a conical top, and an upper stone, also cylindrical, with two funnel-shaped openings, meeting in the center. The lower one matched the cone referred to, and the whole was turned on the lower stone something in the order of a capstan. Grain poured into the top funnel came out as flour around its circumference below. Excellent examples of these mills may be seen today at Pompeii and Capernaum.

The flour was mixed with water and other components, including salt and leaven, the latter consisting of some fermented dough left over from previous bakings. The dough was kneaded, usually in wooden troughs, and formed into cakes or loaves, which were then baked on the hearth, on heated stones (Gen. 18:6; 1 Ki. 19:6; cf. Hos. 7:8) or in ovens. The oven was usually built in a semisubterranean pit, 3 – 4 ft. in diameter and about 10 in. deep. It was lined with clay, and large heavy potsherds were erected as a cover, sloping upward and inward, leaving an opening of a foot or so in the center. Many of these are found in the excavations, and rural people still use them. A fire was built inside, and when all was thoroughly heated, and the fuel exhausted, the bread was put in on pans or flat stones, then all was covered and left until the baking was accomplished. Various modifications of this oven occurred, and cakes also were baked on griddles, consisting of metal pans (Ezek. 4:3; cf. Lev. 2:5; 7:9; also note 1 Chr. 9:31). Baking was a daily routine, to avoid staleness.

Meats were used by the more affluent (cf. Solomon, 1 Ki. 4:23), the poor having them less frequently, usually at family gatherings, meals for special guests, and religious occasions. Sheep and goat meat were most common, though some beef was consumed. Meat was cooked by boiling, in water or oil, and by roasting and frying, using the oven, spit, and griddle (Jdg. 6:19; Mic. 3:2 – 3). Fowl was cooked like the other meats, and fish frequently was broiled over coals of fire (Jn. 21:9). Locusts also were parched and eaten (cf. Lev. 11:22; Matt. 3:4; Mk. 1:6).

Various vegetables were used, including beans, lentils (cf. Gen. 25:29 – 34), onions, leeks (Num. 11:5), and various roots. Seasonings were salt, very important to a vegetable diet (Job 6:6; Matt. 5:13; Col. 4:6); seeds, whole or ground, including anise, coriander, cummin, dill, herbs, thyme, mint, and others. Nuts also were a part of the diet, and garlic was commonly used.

Cooking was the normal task of the housewife and/or a servant (Gen. 18:6 – 7), though professional cooks served royalty (40:1), and probably at the public feasts. It might be accomplished in the family room, outside the house, in the courtyard, in a special room, or in the women's quarters of a tent. Archaeological materials have given a nearly complete category of cooking ware and utensils. These include several kinds of cooking pots—some wide and shallow, some nearly spherical (hole-mouthed), many having one or two handles (early pots had cord-eyes for suspension). Griddles, pans, jars, bowls, cups, metal cutlery and kettles, spoons, and wooden ware all were common. Biblical references to pots include the pot, pan, kettle, caldron, basket, cruse, dish, and fry pan (cf. Exod. 16:3; 1 Sam. 2:14; 2 Ki. 2:20; 4:38; 21:13; 25:15; 2 Chr. 35:13). See also FOOD; MEALS; and separate articles for some of the specific items mentioned above.

M. H. HEICKSEN

Coos koh'os. KJV form of Cos.

coping. This English word (referring to the top layer of a masonry wall) is used by the KJV and other versions to render Hebrew ṭ*ap*ḥ*â* ***H3258***, an architectural term of unclear meaning (only in 1 Ki. 7:9; NIV, "eaves").

copper. A nonferrous metallic element that occurs in the free metallic state in nature. It first appears, hammered into shape and used as a substitute for stone, in the Neolithic period during the late Stone Age (c. 8000 B.C.). After c. 6000 B.C. it was discovered that copper could be melted and cast, and as early as 5000 B.C. copper weapons and implements were left in graves in Egypt, for the use of the dead. The discoveries of the relationship of copper to copper-bearing rock and of the reduction of copper ores to metallic copper using fire and charcoal (see METALS AND METALLURGY) led to more widespread use. From c. 3700 B.C. onward a copper-tin alloy, BRONZE, has been used.

CYPRUS was a major producer of copper c. 3000 B.C., and the island, with its prized copper deposits, was successively controlled by the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Persians, and Romans. The metal was known to the Romans as *aes cyprium* ("ore of Cyprus"), subsequently shortened to *cyprium* and later corrupted to *cuprium*, from which the English name of "copper" is derived. Modernday workings on Cyprus are at Skouriotissa, where a large lens of pyrite (iron sulphide) containing 2.1% copper is being mined. Native copper is reddish in color, is both ductile and malleable, and has a density of 8.8. It sometimes occurs in nature as thin sheets or plates, but is often massive. It is commonly associated with other copper ores, sulphides, oxides, and carbonates, such as MALACHITE.

Records have been found of workings of copper mines on the SINAI peninsula about 3800 B.C.,

and conditions of life in these mines during summer time are recorded in an inscription from the reign of Amenemhet III about 1800 B.C. (*ANET*, 229 – 30). MOSES told the Israelites of hills from which could be dug copper (Deut. 8:9; Heb. *nĕḥōšet* ***H5733***, which can also refer to bronze), and one of the encampments during the forty years of wandering was DOPHKAH (Num. 33:12), which has been regarded as a "smeltery"; some have identified it with Serabit el-Khadim, where the Egyptians had mined TURQUOISE and copper from a very early period. The copper deposits of ARABAH were exploited by SOLOMON with smelting of the ore being carried out near EZION GEBER, at the head of the Gulf of AQABAH, and in parts of the JORDAN valley. Ezion Geber was also the port from which the metal was exported (cf. 1 Ki. 9:26 – 28). Mining was carried out in the vicinity of Feinan, and copper ore mineralization occurs for about 42 mi. southward along the eastern side of Wadi Araba. The ore used was a cupriferous sandstone, with the mineralization concentrated in a shallow marine facies of the Quweira Series, which was deposited in Cambrian times c. 550 million years ago (malachite was one of the ores mined). (See N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, 2nd ed. [1970], ch. 3; A. Butts in *EBr* 6 [1970] 468 – 74; B. Rothenberg, ed., *The Ancient Metallurgy of Copper: Archaeology-Experiment-Theory* [1990]; J. G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia* [1996].)

D. R. BOWES

Copper Scroll. Title given to 3Q15, a scroll engraved on two copper sheets and discovered in 1952 in Qumran Cave 3 (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). This somewhat mysterious document consists of a list of hiding places where the Qumranites had buried their treasures, but the interpretation of topographical and other details is debated. Because the wealth involved is considerable, some scholars have regarded the material as folklore, though recent specialists tend to view it as a genuine administrative document. (See A. Wolters, *The Copper Scroll: Overview, Text and Translation* [1996]; É. Puech in *RevQ* 18/70 [1997]: 163 – 90; J. K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: A Reevaluation, A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary* [2000]; G. J. Brooke and P. R. Davies, eds., *Copper Scroll Studies* [2002].)

coppersmith. This English term is used by the KJV and other versions to render Greek *chalkeus* ***G5906*** (found only in 2 Tim. 4:14; NIV, "metal-worker"). The Greek word is used in the SEPTUAGINT generally of a "worker in metal," including not only COPPER or BRONZE (*chalkos* ***G5910***), but also iron (*sidēros* ***G4970***, Gen. 4:22; cf. 2 Chr. 24:12; in Neh. 3:32 and Isa. 41:7 *chalkeus* translates a Hebrew word that means "goldsmith"). In the APOSTOLIC FATHERS *chalkeus* refers to a "smith" who hammers his work (Hermas *Vis*. 1.3.2; cf. POxy 1:113.18, 2nd cent. A.D.) and who along with wood-carvers and silversmiths makes dumb idols (*Diognetus* 2.3). There is no conclusive evidence to show that Alexander, the "coppersmith" of 2 Tim. 4:14, is the same

A copy of a section of the Copper Scroll that has been unrolled.

person as the one mentioned in 1 Tim. 1:20 or Acts 19:33.

W. H. MARE

Coptic. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE I.B; VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT IV.

cor kor. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES III.B.2.

coral. This English term renders Hebrew *rāʾmôt* ***H8029*** (Job 28:18; Ezek. 27:16); the NRSV uses it also to render *pĕnînîm* ***H7165*** (though only in Lam. 4:7; NIV, "rubies"). The word strictly refers to tiny lowly organisms of the Class *Anthozoa* (flower-animals) that live in dense colonies in seas not colder than about 68°F, but in biblical contexts it is the dead calcareous skeleton that is meant, often polished and prepared. There are some 2,500 species, varied in size and shape of the resultant structure; some are reef-builders and others form ornamental shapes, but few are used as precious stones, principally red and black. The former was highly prized in the ancient world long before the periods in which it finds biblical mention, and its main source is the Mediterranean Sea, where it was once abundant in the shallow water and the object of regular, well-organized fisheries. About the beginning of the Christian era there was a big export trade to INDIA, where the red coral was believed to have sacred properties.

G. S. CANSDALE

Corban kor'ban. This term, a transliteration of Greek *korban* ***G3167***, occurs only once in the NT (Mk. 7:11, where it is defined as *dōron* ***G1565***, "gift [dedicated to God]"; cf. Matt. 15:5). In this passage Jesus condemns the "tradition of the elders" when it evades the plain intent of the Torah. Under the pious pretext of dedicating his property to the Lord (and retaining a life estate in it himself), a man could sidestep his obligation to support his aged parents, alleging that he had no undedicated property from which he could support them. Literally, the Hebrew term *qorbān* ***H7933*** (from *qārab* ***H7928***, hiphil, "bring near, present") means "gift, offering," and can refer to a blood sacrifice or a vegetable offering (Lev. 1:2; 22:27; 23:14; Num. 7:25; Ezek. 20:28; 40:43). The term was later applied to the dedication of property (whether real or personal) intended for the Lord's use and thus forbidden to human beings. The MISHNAH discusses this term and others used in vows (e.g., *m. Ned.* 1:2 – 4).

G. L. ARCHER

Corbe kor'bee. KJV Apoc. form of CHORBE (1 Esd. 5:12).

cord, rope. A slender and flexible material of various thicknesses made by plaiting or twisting fibers, strips of goat or camel hair, sinew, leather, vine or plant fibers, even chains of gold (Exod. 28:24 – 25). Evidence from a cave-painting in eastern Spain as early as the Late Paleolithic (c. 12000 B.C.) shows what appears to be rope being used to climb down the face of a cliff. Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian art shows rope being used as riggings of a ship, bowstrings, binding on prisoners, whips, etc. In Egypt rope has been found made of reed (c. 4000 B.C.), fiber, flax, grass, papyrus, and

camel hair. Thicknesses as much as 2.5 inches in diameter have been found in sites of ancient Egypt. Ropes were of utmost importance in ancient empires because people provided the chief source of motive power for building operations. Some ancient inscriptions (e.g., Rekmire in the 15th cent. B.C.) show the rope-making process in Egypt.

Of the several OT words with this meaning, ḥ*ebel* ***H2475***, one of the most common, can refer to cords used for pulling and lowering objects (Josh. 2:15; 2 Sam. 17:13), tying materials together (Ezek. 27:24), steadying a tent (Isa. 33:20), securing a ship's mast (Isa. 33:23), measuring distances (Zech. 2:1), setting traps (fig., Ps. 140:5), and

These nearly 5,000-year-old ropes made of halfa (esparto) grass were attached to the solar boat discovered S of the pyramid of Cheops (c. 2620 B.C.).

symbolizing captivity (1 Ki. 20:31 – 32). The term ʿ*ăbōt* ***H6310*** can indicate objects used for binding (Jdg. 15:13 – 14; Job 39:10; Ps. 118:27), as well as the two twisted cords of gold on the high priest's breastpiece (Exod. 28:14, 24). The blue cord that tied the rings of the breastpiece to the rings of the ephod was a *pātîl* ***H7348*** (Exod. 28:28 et al.). Other Hebrew terms could be rendered "cord." In the NT, Greek *schoinion* ***G5389*** refers to the cords (rushes used for animal bedding) with which Jesus made a whip (Jn. 2:15); it is also used of the ropes to hold a ship's life boat in place (Acts 27:32; cf. *zeuktēria* ***G2415***, used for rudder ropes, Acts 27:40). (See R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 8 vols. [1955 – 64], 4:2 – 80.)

W. H. MARE

Core koh'ree. KJV NT form of KORAH.

coriander. According to Exod. 16:31 and Num. 11:7, the MANNA that fell down from heaven was like coriander (*gad* ***H1512***), because of the size and color of its pearl-like seeds. The coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*) is an annual herb that grows in the Jordan valley and in other parts of Palestine. The seeds have a pleasing aroma. Today, coriander is used in gin and curry powder, and as a flavor for sweets. In Europe, the seeds are used for flavoring bread. (Cf. *FFB*, 110 – 11.) See SPICE.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Corinth kor'inth (Κόρινθος ***G3172***). Capital city of the Roman province of ACHAIA in NT times.

I. Topography. Corinth was one of the most strategically located cities in the ancient world. It was situated on a plateau overlooking the Isthmus of Corinth about 2 mi. from the gulf. It lay at the foot of Acrocorinth, an acropolis that rises precipitously to 1,886 ft. and was so easily defended in ancient times that it was called one of the "fetters of Greece." So impregnable was the fortress that it was never taken by storm until the invention of gunpowder. It commanded all of the land routes from central GREECE into the Peloponnesus along the isthmus.

There were good harbors on both sides of the isthmus: CENCHREA on the Saronic Gulf to the E and the Lechaeum on the Gulf of Corinth to the W. A coin of Emperor HADRIAN represented the

The ancient site of Corinth (bottom right of photo), strategically located near the gulf. (View to the NNW.)

harbors by two nymphs facing in opposite directions with a rudder between them. In ancient times ships were dragged across the isthmus on rollers in order to avoid the long and dangerous passage around Cape Malea at the southern tip of the Peloponnesus. Periander the tyrant (c. 625 – 585 B.C.) planned to breach the isthmus, and the Emperor NERO actually began the project, but a canal was not completed until 1893.

II. History. The first inhabitants of the site were Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlers, who seem to have moved to a site closer to the coast at Koraku near the Lechaeum. By the Late Bronze Age, Koraku was a prosperous settlement in comparison with the site of classical Corinth at the same time. It is assumed, therefore, that the "wealthy Corinth" of the *Iliad* (books 2 and 13, also called Ephyra in book 6) was Koraku. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Bronze Age settlement was abandoned by the Dorians in favor of the classical site.

The prosperous city-state of Corinth emerged in the 8th cent. B.C. It gained control of the isthmus and southern Megara. Colonies were sent to Corcyra, Ithaca, and Syracuse. The expansion of the city was led by the clan of the Bacchiadae. During this period a school of poetry led by Eumelus developed and the Proto-Corinthian style of pottery appeared, which was heavily influenced by contact with the E. The Bacchiadae were overthrown by the tyrant Cypselus (c. 657), whose house ruled until 582 B.C. During this period Corinth reached the zenith of its prosperity and power. Periander, the last and greatest of the tyrants, built a stone passageway (*diolkos*) across the isthmus for the transfer of ships

and cargo. Corinthian ships sailed to both the E and W with their products contained in beautiful Corinthian ware.

In the early 5th cent. B.C., Athenian mercantilism and imperialism caused the city to decline. The

Corinth.

two vied for influence on Samos, at Megara, and along the Corinthian Gulf. A dispute over Corcyra and Potidaea led to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C., which was disastrous for both. In the early 4th cent., the city allied itself with a number of stronger powers. It sided with Athens, Argos, and Boeotia against Sparta. Soon afterward (395 – 386) a short-lived democratic government was established which was replaced by an oligarchy. After the battle of Chaeronea in 338, Corinth lost its independence. Philip II of Macedon garrisoned Acrocorinth and made the city the center of his Hellenic League. (Cf. J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338* B.C. [1984].)

In the Hellenistic period Corinth was a center of industry, trade, and commercialized pleasure. It became a member and, for a time, the chief city of the Achaean League during the period between the death of ALEXANDER THE GREAT and the rise of Roman influence in Greece. After a brief campaign that resulted in the conquest of Greece in 196 B.C., the Romans declared Corinth a free city. However, they were soon forced to curb the influence of Corinth and the league, and the city was completely destroyed by Mummius in the year 146.

Corinth lay in ruins for one hundred years, until Julius CAESAR decreed in 46 B.C. that it should be rebuilt. A Roman colony was founded on the site, which later became the capital of the province of Achaia. Its population was made up of local Greeks, orientals including a large number of Jews, freedmen from Italy, and Roman government officials and businessmen. The city became a favorite spot of the Roman emperors. Nero displayed his artistic prowess at the Isthmian games, and in a moment of exuberance declared the city free. He, Vespasian, and Hadrian were patrons of the city and made it the finest city of Greece. Pausanias, the Greek traveler and geographer, visited Corinth in the

2nd cent. A.D. and wrote a concise description of the monuments of the imperial city.

The Roman city was ravaged by Gothic hordes in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Its destruction by Goths in A.D. 521 prompted Procopius to remark that God was abandoning the Roman empire. It was refounded by the Emperor Justinian and held in the Middle Ages by Normans, Venetians, and Turks. The ancient site was abandoned in 1858 because of a severe earthquake. A new city was built near the gulf and farther to the E.

In Roman times the city was notorious as a place of wealth and indulgence. "To live as a Corinthian" meant to live in luxury and immorality. As a seaport it was a meeting place of all nationalities and it offered all of the attendant vices. The temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth was unique in Greece. Its priestesses were said to be more than a thousand *hierodouloi*, "sacred slaves," who engaged in PROSTITUTION (although some recent scholars have questioned the reliability of such reports). Its wealth was derived from its commercial traffic by sea and by land, its pottery and brass industries, and its political importance as the capital of Achaia. At its height it probably had a population of 200,000 free men and 500,000 slaves.

III. Monuments. The site of the ancient city has been extensively excavated by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Most of the ruins that have been uncovered are from the Roman city, which was begun in 46 B.C. Situated on a natural terrace between Acrocorinth and the sea, the city was joined to both by fortification walls. A broad, paved road connected the Lechaeum to the city. Entrance to the agora ("market place") was gained by the propylea, a Roman triumphal arch that replaced an earlier Greek building. On the E side of the Lychaeum road near the propylea was the

Since NT times there have been numerous attempts to build a canal connecting the Corinthian Gulf to the Saronik Gulf. The feat was not accomplished, however, until modern times in the 19th cent. (View to the NW toward the Corinthian Gulf.)

peribolos ("enclosure, precint") of APOLLO and the famous fountain of Peirene, which supplied water to that section of the city. The present remains of the fountain building are from the elaborate remodeling of Herodes Atticus (c. A.D. 175). To the W was a large basilica, a rectangular hall divided by two lines of columns. Behind the basilica and on a separate terrace stood the temple of Apollo (c. 540 B.C.), of which seven Doric columns and the foundation remain. To the W of the

temple there was a Roman odeon and immediately to the N of it a large theater. Farther N against the city wall were the sanctuary of ASCLEPIUS, god of healing, and the fountain of Lerna. In the ruins of a small temple there were found numerous representations of parts of the human body in various materials ranging from terra-cotta to gold. These were votive offerings to the god. They now make up an interesting display in a room of the museum at Corinth.

The agora itself was bounded on the W, NW, and S by long porticoes, the longest of which is the S stoa, 525 ft. in length. The boundary of the agora to the E was the Julian basilica. Behind the S stoa was the senate house and another large basilica. From here began the road to Cenchrea. In addition to the shops that were in the stoas to the SW and NW, there was a line of shops that ran through the middle of the agora. In the center of these was the *bēma* ***G1037*** or forum, which was a large, raised platform in front of the residence of the proconsul. About a half mile W of the agora, a Roman villa with exceptional mosaics was uncovered, and still farther to the SW were found the remains of the "Ceramaicus," the potters' quarters. (See further J. G. O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth* [1930]; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* [1983]; D. Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* [1990]; C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis, eds., *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896 – 1996* [2003].)

IV. Biblical importance. There are three items of archaeological interest that relate to the account in Acts of PAUL'S visit to Corinth. The Roman tribunal to which he was dragged (*epi to bēma*, Acts 18:12) by the mob to appear before GALLIO has been uncovered in the center of the agora. It was a high platform supported by two steps. It was faced with blue and white marble. On either side were enclosures with benches and, beyond these, passageways that led from the lower to the upper portion of the agora. It fits perfectly the Roman conception of a rostrum, a public speaking platform.

To the S of the theater there is a large, paved area that dates from the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. On one of the paving stones is the inscription, *Erastus, pro aedilitate sua pecunia stravit*, "Erastus, in return for the aedileship, laid [the pavement] at his own expense." Paul, writing from Corinth, mentioned in the epistle to the Romans an ERASTUS, whom he described as *ho oikonomos tēs poleōs*, "city treasurer" or "director of public works" (Rom. 16:23). Although there is some doubt as to whether *oikonomos* ***G3874*** is a proper equivalent of Latin *aedile* (usually *agoranomos* in Greek), some scholars identify the Erastus of the inscription with the convert or friend mentioned by the apostle.

In addition, a damaged inscription found near the propylea reads ΑΓΩΓΗΕΒΡ which is restored as *synagōgē Hebraiōn*, "synagogue of the Hebrews." It was probably the lintel block of a nearby building. Although it is generally dated in the 3rd cent. A.D., it attests to the existence of a Jewish community in the city.

The apostle Paul first visited Corinth on his second missionary journey (Acts 18). He had just arrived from ATHENS, where he had been poorly received. He says he began his work at Corinth with weakness, fear, and trembling. He had intended to remain only a short time before returning to THESSALONICA, but the Lord spoke to him in a night vision (Acts 18:9 – 10; 1 Thess. 2:17 – 18). He preached in the city for a year and a half. For a time he resided in the home of AQUILA AND PRISCILLA, Jews who had recently been expelled from Rome by the Emperor CLAUDIUS. They, like Paul, were tentmakers, and he worked with them during his stay so that his motives as a preacher would not be impugned. Soon after he arrived, SILAS and TIMOTHY joined him from Macedonia.

He preached in the synagogue on each sabbath until strong opposition arose among the Jews. He then turned to the Gentiles and stayed at the house of Titus JUSTUS, a Gentile adherent to Judaism who

lived next door to the synagogue. He made a number of converts during his stay, among them CRISPUS, the ruler of the synagogue.

At one point a Jewish mob dragged Paul before the Roman proconsul of Achaia, L. Junius GALLIO. His term of office was for the year 51 – 52 or 52 – 53, according to an inscription found at Delphi in 1908 (*SIG*, 2:801). Gallio heard the charges at the tribunal but refused to judge in a matter regarding Jewish law. Even when the mob released Paul and began to beat SOSTHENES, the ruler of the synagogue, he refused to get involved (Acts 18:12 – 17). This opinion by a highly respected Roman officer that Paul's activity was not contrary to Roman law, no doubt gave the apostle an insight into the protection that Rome could give to him as he preached the gospel. The account of Paul's first visit to Corinth closes with the notation that he left some time after this incident for Jerusalem and Antioch by way of Ephesus. During this stay in Corinth, Paul also wrote his letters to the THESSALONIANS. (Cf. R. M. Grant, *Paul in the Roman World: The Conflict at Corinth* [2001].)

The book of Acts tells little more about the early history of the church at Corinth, but some few additional details can be derived from the Corinthian epistles. APOLLOS, a convert of Aquila and Priscilla while they were at Ephesus, was sent with a letter of recommendation, and he played a large, if sometimes unintentionally divisive, role in the church (Acts 18:27—19:11; 1 Cor. 1:12). Evidence indicates that Paul intended to visit the church again on the third missionary journey (2 Cor. 12:14; 13:1). While he was at Ephesus, he wrote a letter to Corinth that has not been preserved (1 Cor. 5:9). The reply of the church, which asked advice on problems it faced, and an oral report, which indicated that the church was faring badly, prompted him to write the First Epistle to the CORINTHIANS. This letter was probably brought to Corinth by Titus (2 Cor. 7:13) or by Timothy (1 Cor. 4:17), who both visited the church at about this time.

The apostle, following a hasty departure from Ephesus, went to Troy in hope of meeting Titus with news from Corinth. He was disappointed in this expectation, but did meet him later in Macedonia. When he received a report of revival in the church, Paul wrote 2 Corinthians from Macedonia. Paul then spent three months in Achaia, much of it no doubt at Corinth (Acts 20:2 – 3). While there he collected an offering for the poor saints at Jerusalem, to which the church at Corinth no doubt contributed (see CONTRIBUTION), and where he probably wrote the epistle to the Romans (Rom. 16:23).

The church at Corinth reemerges into literary history at the close of the 1st cent. A.D. In about the year 97, Clement of Rome wrote a letter to the church. It reveals that the community was still vexed by many of the same problems about which Paul had written to them. (See CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF.)

A. RUPPRECHT

Corinthians, First Epistle to the kuh-rin'theeuhnz. First Corinthians is the second longest of the thirteen letters in the NT that bear the name of PAUL; accordingly, it comes next after Romans (the longest) in the traditional sequence of Pauline letters.

1. Authorship
2. Destination
3. Background
4. Occasion
5. Outline and contents

6. Text, canonicity, and authority

I. Authorship. The Pauline authorship of 1 Corinthians is uncontested, if one excepts such eccentric schools of thought as that represented by W. C. van Manen (cf. *EncBib*, 3:3620 – 27). With Romans, 2 Corinthians, and Galatians, it belongs to the four "capital epistles" (*Hauptbriefe*) that provide the foundation of Pauline theology.

II. Destination. The addressees are specified as clearly as could be desired: they are the members of "the church of God that is in Corinth"—a church of Paul's own planting—but with them are associated "all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours" (1 Cor. 1:2 NRSV). The word "place" (Greek *topos* ***G5536***) possibly means "place of worship" (a sense established for Heb. *māqôm* ***H5226***) and includes Christian meetings in ACHAIA outside Corinth, like the church at CENCHREA, seaport of CORINTH (Rom. 16:1).

III. Background. Corinth, situated on the isthmus of that name, at the junction of sea routes to the E and the W and of land routes to the N and S, was from ancient days one of the most important cities of GREECE. In classical times it was the chief commercial and maritime rival of ATHENS. Because of the leading part it played in a revolt against ROME, it was sacked and destroyed by L. Mummius and his army in 146 B.C., and the site lay derelict for a century, until in 46 B.C. it was refounded by Julius CAESAR as a Roman colony with the official designation *Laus Iulia Corinthus.* In 27 B.C. it became the seat of administration of the Roman province of Achaia.

The new Corinth quickly made its name in the commercial world as its predecessor had done, and it quickly gained the reputation for sexual laxity that its predecessor had enjoyed. In classical Greek the verb *korinthiazesthai* ("to behave as they do in Corinth") denoted the more outrageous forms of wantonness, and it was equally applicable to the new Corinth. The moral atmosphere of the city accounts for some of the temptations against which the Corinthian Christians especially needed to be warned by Paul.

The evangelization of Corinth is narrated in Acts 18:1 – 18. Paul spent eighteen months in the city (Acts 18:11), probably from the fall of A.D. 50 to the spring of 52. One chronological pointer is provided by the inscriptional evidence for GALLIO'S arrival as PROCONSUL of Achaia (Acts 18:12) in July of 51 or just possibly twelve months later. (Cf. the Delphian inscription in W. Dittenberger's *SIG*, 2:801, naming him proconsul of Achaia during Claudius's 26th imperatorial acclamation, a period known from other inscriptions [*CIL*, 3:476; 6:1256] to have covered the first seven months of the year 52.) Another is the statement that when Paul reached Corinth he found there PRISCILLA AND AQUILA, who had recently come from Italy because of CLAUDIUS'S edict expelling Jews from Rome (Acts 18:2)—an edict that on other grounds can be dated in A.D. 49 (the date ascribed to it by Orosius, *History* 7.6.15 – 16).

During his stay in Corinth, in spite of sustained opposition, Paul laid the foundation of a large and gifted church, including both Jewish and Gentile converts. Among the former was a synagogue ruler named CRISPUS (Acts 18:8; 1 Cor. 1:14); among the latter was the godfearer Titius JUSTUS (Acts 18:7), who put his house at Paul's disposal when he could no longer use the synagogue (which adjoined it) as his base of operations. If, as some have suggested, Titius Justus is to be identified with the GAIUS of

This inscription, dated A.D. 52, contains a decree from Emperor Clandiur to Lucius Junius Gallio, proconsul of Achaia at the time of Paul's stay in Corinth (Acts 18:12). The name Gallio is clearly visible on line 4 of the longer fragment.

1 Cor. 1:14 and Rom. 16:23, then his full name, Gaius Titius Justus, marks him as a Roman citizen. (The citizens of a Roman colony such as Corinth were ipso facto Roman citizens.)

The sustained opposition to Paul's activity in Corinth came to a peak shortly after Gallio's arrival in the city as proconsul of Achaia. The leaders of the Jewish community brought Paul before him on the charge of propagating an illegal religion—one which, unlike JUDAISM, did not enjoy the sanction of Roman law. Gallio quickly decided that what Paul preached was simply a particular version of Judaism to which his prosecutors objected, and declared that it was none of his business to arbitrate between rival interpretations of the Jewish law (Acts 18:15). His decision was in effect, though perhaps not in intention, a declaration of the benevolent neutrality of Roman law toward the Christian message: if the gospel was a variety of a religion sanctioned by Roman law, then it could be propagated freely, unless it occasioned public disorder. His ruling would be followed as a precedent by magistrates elsewhere in the Roman empire, and in fact it appears to have been accepted as such until it was reversed by imperial action in the next decade. Paul had good reason to take courage from this turn of events, and he remained in Corinth for several more months. When at last the time came for him to cross the AEGEAN and embark on his Ephesian ministry, he left a numerous community of Christians behind him in Corinth.

His ministry in EPHESUS, however, was marked not only by troubles in that city but also by disturbing news that kept coming to him from Corinth. When he referred to the daily pressure of his "concern for all the churches" (2 Cor. 11:28), his anxiety for the Corinthian church must have made a major contribution to that burden. Quite early in his time at Ephesus he had occasion to send the Corinthian Christians a letter (1 Cor. 5:9), warning them "not to associate with sexually immoral people" (a reference to the besetting vice of Corinth). This letter is lost (the view that part of it is preserved in 2 Cor. 6:14—7:1 has little to commend it, since the latter passage deals with idolatry, not immorality). Some of the Corinthians evidently misunderstood Paul to mean that they must have no dealings with pagans who were guilty of fornication and similar practices. What he really meant, as he made plain in 1 Cor. 5:11, was that such practices must not be tolerated within the Christian

brotherhood and that no Christian fellowship should be extended to anyone who indulged in them. That the "previous letter" was not as effective as could have been desired is evident from such passages as 1 Cor. 5:1 – 13 and 6:9 – 20.

IV. Occasion. Later, news came to Paul—either by letter or by a personal visit from members of the household of a Corinthian lady named CHLOE—that party spirit was manifesting itself among his converts in Corinth, and that in some quarters of the church there the authority of Paul, its founder apostle, was being questioned. The challenge to his authority came chiefly from a group of people in the church who set much store by WISDOM (*sophia* ***G5053***) and KNOWLEDGE (*gnōsis* ***G1194***), in the sense these terms had among the Hellenistic intelligentsia, and who assessed the Pauline gospel by these standards.

Paul set himself to deal in writing with this situation, and perhaps had practically finished what he had to say, when fresh news arrived. This was brought by three further Corinthian visitors, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. 16:17), who carried a letter to the apostle from the Corinthian church asking him a number of questions. In addition, they delivered by word of mouth an even more disquieting report than that which he had received from the members of Chloe's household: the characteristic vice of Corinth had not been completely exorcized from the church—in fact, a particularly flagrant case of sexual irregularity had lately come to light—and the members of the church who had complaints against one another were instituting legal proceedings before pagan judges.

Accordingly, instead of dispatching the letter he had just dictated (1 Cor. 1 – 4), Paul proceeded to dictate much more, dealing first with the serious state of the church as reported by his new visitors and then one by one with the questions raised in the Corinthians' letter (his answer to each question is introduced by the phrase, "Now concerning," 7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1, 12). He hoped to deal with them in greater detail when he was able to pay them a personal visit; meanwhile, he sent this letter (perhaps by the hand of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus) and told them to expect a visit from Timothy soon after the receipt of the letter. (For a reconstruction of the communications between Paul and the Corinthians, see J. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*, 2nd ed. [1983].)

V. Outline and contents. The letter may be outlined as follows.

In Corinth, Paul was brought before a platform known as the *bēma* (tribunal, judgment seat, Acts 18:12) to be tried by

the proconsul, Gallio. The temple prostitutes were located on the Acrocorinth seen in the background. (View to the S.)

1. Prologue (1 Cor. 1:1 – 9)
    1. Salutation (1:1 – 3)
    2. Thanksgiving (1:4 – 9)
2. On the report received from Chloe's household (1:10—4:21)
    1. Party strife and pretensions to wisdom (1:10—4:5)
    2. The apostles and their converts (4:6 – 21)
3. On the report received from Stephanas and his companions (5:1—6:20)
    1. A case of flagrant immorality (5:1 – 13)
    2. Christians and the law courts (6:1 – 11)
    3. Liberty and license (6:12 – 20)
4. Reply to the letter from Corinth (7:1—16:4)
    1. Marriage and divorce (7:1 – 40)
        1. Is the marriage relation permissible at all? (7:1 – 11)
        2. Mixed marriages (7:12 – 24)
        3. Vows of virginity (7:25 – 38)
        4. Widows (7:39 – 40)
    2. Idolatrous food (8:1 – 13)
    3. Paul's defense of his apostleship (9:1 – 27)
    4. Further warnings against idolatry (10:1—11:1)
        1. The example of the Israelites
        2. (10:1 – 13)
        3. The sanctity of the Lord's Table (10:14 – 22)
        4. Liberty and charity (10:23—11:1)
    5. The conduct of church meetings (11:2—14:40)
        1. Women in the church (11:2 – 16)
        2. The Lord's Supper (11:17 – 34)
        3. Spiritual gifts: their distribution (12:1 – 31a)
            1. How to test inspired utterances (12:1 – 3)
            2. Nine gifts of the Spirit (12:4 – 11)
            3. The body and its members (12:12 – 26)
            4. Exercising spiritual gifts (12:27 – 31a)
        4. Spiritual gifts: the supremacy of love (12:31b—13:13)
        5. Spiritual gifts: glossolalia and prophecy (14:1 – 40)
            1. The superiority of prophecy (14:1 – 12)
            2. Tongues must be interpreted (14:13 – 19)
            3. The outsider must be considered (14:20 – 25)
            4. Order, not disorder (14:26 – 33a)
            5. A word for women (14:33b – 36)
            6. Conclusion (14:37 – 40)
    6. The resurrection (15:1 – 58)

    1. The apostolic gospel (15:1 – 11)
    2. No resurrection, no gospel (15:12 – 19)
    3. Firstfruits and harvest (15:20 – 28)
    4. Practical arguments (15:29 – 34)
    5. Nature of the resurrection body (15:35 – 50)
    6. A new revelation (15:51 – 58)
  7. The collection for Jerusalem (16:1 – 4)
5. Epilogue (16:5 – 24)
  1. Further plans (16:5 – 14)
  2. Recognition of leaders (16:15 – 18)
  3. Final greetings and benediction (16:19 – 24)

Paul associates one SOSTHENES with himself in the superscription of the letter. It must remain uncertain whether this is the Sosthenes of Acts 18:17, the ruler of the synagogue who was beaten up by the bystanders after the Jewish leaders of Corinth had been rebuffed by Gallio (see section III above). If so, he must have subsequently followed the example of his predecessor Crispus (Acts 18:8) and become a Christian. In the thanksgiving that follows the initial salutation, mention is made of the Corinthian Christians' proficiency in eloquence and knowledge and their endowment with every variety of spiritual gift. The remainder of the letter bears ample witness to their equipment in this respect, but makes plain how deficient they were in the necessary qualities of spiritual maturity and moral stability. This deficiency, however, will be dealt with later; at present Paul singles out those features for which he could sincerely thank God, and he assures them that, as they waited for the revelation of Christ at his PAROUSIA, they could rely for their establishment on their faithful God, who has called them into the fellowship of his Son (1 Cor. 1:1 – 9).

With an appeal for unity, he proceeds at once to tackle the question of partisanship, of which Chloe's people had informed him. It has been disputed whether three or four parties were envisaged (1 Cor. 1:12); those who think of three consider that "I belong to Christ" is not the slogan

Corinthian synagogue stone from the late Roman period. Visible in the Greek inscription are the last few letters of the word for synagogue (ΑΓΩΓΗ) and the first letters of the word for Hebrew (EBP-).

of a fourth party but rather Paul's own retort to those who regarded Paul, APOLLOS, or Cephas (PETER) as party leaders. But the question "Is Christ divided?" (v. 13) suggests that some were using Christ's name as a party slogan. It appears that the Paul party consisted of those who believed themselves to be following the teaching of the apostle who founded their church; that the Cephas party attached higher importance to the authority of Peter and the other members of the original apostolate; and that the Apollos party found the learning (and possibly the Alexandrian allegorical exegesis) of Apollos especially congenial to their intellectual taste. If so, the Christ party probably consisted of those "for whom Christ meant something like 'God, freedom, and immortality,' where 'God' means a refined philosophical monotheism; 'freedom' means emancipation from the Puritanical rigors of Palestinian barbarian authorities into the wider air of self-realization; and immortality means the sound Greek doctrine as opposed to the crude Jewish notion of the Resurrection" (T. W. Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* [1962], 207). The difference between the Paul party and the Apollos party was at most one of emphasis; but the extremes of the other two parties, representing legalism on the one side and libertinism on the other, were regarded by Paul as deadly enemies of the gospel, and in countering them he was obliged to fight simultaneously on two fronts—a fact that must never be forgotten in the study of his Corinthian correspondence. Paul claimed that he had given no one any encouragement to name him as party leader; apart from his first half dozen converts in Corinth, he had not even baptized any of them, in order to emphasize that believers are baptized into Christ, regardless of who baptizes them. His commission was to proclaim Christ as Savior and Lord of all his people, not of this or that section of them (1:10 – 17).

This choosing names of party leaders, like the current attachment to philosophical schools called after their various founders, might be a mark of secular wisdom, but the gospel of Christ crucified had nothing to do with secular wisdom. By the standards of secular wisdom, indeed, the gospel was a tale of weakness and folly. Yet Corinthian believers had to acknowledge, for all their cultivation of wisdom, that this tale of weakness and folly had accomplished what the philosophical schools had failed to do: it had brought effective salvation to those who believed it. This is completely in line with God's consistent policy of using what is weak and foolish in worldly estimation to overcome the forces of secular wisdom and might, so that his people should boast exclusively in him, who had given them Christ Jesus as their true wisdom, their righteousness and sanctification and redemption (1 Cor. 1:18 – 31).

Paul cut an unimpressive figure when he came to Corinth, and his preaching lacked the graces of rhetoric. Yet its effectiveness in leading his hearers to faith in Christ proved that the power behind it was that of the HOLY SPIRIT (1 Cor. 2:1 – 5). They might have thought his teaching elementary by contrast, perhaps, with that of Apollos. Paul could indeed impart higher wisdom to those who were spiritually mature, but spiritual maturity called for charity as well as knowledge. The higher wisdom concerned God's eternal purpose for his people; it was concealed from the supernatural powers controlling the godless world, and it was this ignorance on their part that trapped them into crucifying "the Lord of glory," thus sealing their own fate. This divine wisdom, inaccessible apart from divine revelation (as is indicated by the poetical fragment of unknown origin quoted in 2:9), can be grasped only by spiritual men, since it concerns spiritual truth. To the "unspiritual" man—the man who, unenlightened by the Spirit of God, is left to the doubtful guidance of his own soul (whence he is called *psychikos* ***G6035***)—this higher wisdom is meaningless, if not foolishness; he lacks the spiritual capacity to understand it. It is the person endowed with the Spirit of God who has the gift of discernment and discrimination; he can appreciate the mind of God because he has received "the

mind of Christ" (2:6 – 16).

Whatever the Corinthian Christians thought of their attainments, they were not sufficiently mature to be taught this higher wisdom; that they were still in spiritual infancy, requiring the "milk" of elementary teaching, was evident in the prevalence of party spirit among them. This might be expected in unregenerate people; it was a work of the FLESH, and those in whom it was found could properly be described as CARNAL (1 Cor. 3:1 – 4).

Paul and Apollos, for example, were only servants of Christ, each performing the duty assigned to him. Paul sowed the seed at Corinth, Apollos then came and watered it, but it was God who made it grow. Or, to use a different figure, Paul laid the foundation and Apollos the upper courses, but the building was God's. There was no fault to be found with the foundation: Christ is the one true foundation. Those who build on it should be careful about the quality of the material they use; it is not Apollos that Paul had in mind. He had no complaint to make of Apollos, but he did complain of others who used materials quite out of keeping with the foundation stone. The gospel Paul had given them would stand the fiery test of persecution or the more searching test of the final judgment. Would the teaching given by later visitors do the same? When a fire broke out and swept through one of those ancient cities, structures of durable material survived but wooden huts and the like went up in smoke. So the day of divine testing would reveal the kind of workmanship used for building up the church. Good workmanship would be rewarded; faulty workmanship would be consumed. The workers' personal salvation, since it depended on divine grace and not on their own workmanship, would not be imperiled, but they would forfeit the reward which might have been theirs (1 Cor. 3:5 – 15).

Party strife desecrates the building of God. Paul's readers must consider that, as a community of believers in Christ, they are God's sanctuary in which his Spirit dwells. God will deal appropriately with anyone who harms his sanctuary. On the other hand, if they would abandon their party strife and secular wisdom, and glory in God rather than in men, they would find that Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and other servants of Christ belong to them all, not just to a few. Let those servants of Christ be accepted for what they really are: those whom Christ has commissioned to dispense his revelation to his people. Let them be assessed not in terms of their popularity but in terms of their faithfulness to him who has commissioned them. Paul himself was not greatly concerned how others assessed him; what mattered to him was his heavenly Master's assessment. This assessment will be made public at the Lord's coming; any attempt at judging the Lord's servants before that day is premature and invalid (1 Cor. 3:5—4:5).

Paul had been using the names of himself and Apollos by way of example, but he knew that neither he nor Apollos had fostered party spirit. Any other aspirants for Christian leadership would do well to learn from these two to repudiate ambitious emulation. Teachers cannot impart anything that they have not received; why then should they boast as though they owed no debt to a teacher of their own (1 Cor. 4:6 – 7)?

It was no easy task that Paul and his fellow apostles had to discharge. They were exposed day by day to slander, persecution, destitution, danger, and death. But the Corinthian Christians in their own eyes had "arrived"; they lived as though they had already entered fully into the coming glory. Paul spoke ironically, not to make them feel ashamed, but to show them the best path to follow. He was the only one among their teachers who had a father's affection for them; they were his children in Christ. Let the children follow their father's example. He would soon visit them in person; for the present, he would send TIMOTHY to see them. When he himself should come, he would discover what substance there is in those who boast so loudly of their attainments and belittle his authority. It would depend on his readers whether his visit would be a happy occasion, or whether he would have to use

a big stick (1 Cor. 4:8 – 21).

Beginning with 1 Cor. 5, Paul deals with the reports just received from Stephanas and his companions. First of all, there was a case of incest in the church that might have shocked even the tolerant society of Corinth: a man was living with his father's wife. (Whether his father was still alive or not is uncertain, but it does not affect the issue materially.) Worse than that, some members of the church actually regarded this illicit union as a fine assertion of Christian liberty, something to take pride in. Paul did not stay to argue that this state of affairs was intolerable; he ordered them to expel the offender from their fellowship at once. Let a church meeting be held and sentence of excommunication pronounced; Paul, who had already passed this judgment on the man, would be with them in spirit, concurring in the sentence. The terms of the sentence, "to hand this man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh" (5:5 NRSV) imply not merely excommunication but bodily affliction, perhaps even death—both for the vindication of the church's good name and for the offender's ultimate benefit: "that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord." If conduct of this kind were tolerated in the church, it would corrupt the whole fellowship as surely as a little leaven ferments the whole batch of dough. The mention of leaven reminded Paul of the festival of unleavened bread, which followed the PASSOVER; this served as an illustration of the moral purification that should be carried out in those for whom Christ had died as the true Passover Lamb (5:1 – 8).

When in a previous letter he had told them not to associate with immoral people, he did not have pagans in mind (to avoid association with them in Corinth would involve emigration); he meant that such people must find no place within the Christian brotherhood. It is noteworthy that here as elsewhere Paul coupled greed with immorality and idolatry as a major sin meriting expulsion from the fellowship (1 Cor. 5:9 – 13).

The news that some Christians at Corinth were prosecuting others in pagan law courts was shocking in Paul's eyes. If they must have justice done, why not do as the Jews did and submit their disputes to arbitration within their own community? That would be better than laying them before people who had no status in the church. It would, however, be better still to follow their Lord's example and endure injustice uncomplainingly. If, as Dan. 7:22 foretells, "the saints of the Most High" will one day share in executing the last judgment, are they unable to adjudicate in their own internal affairs here and now? They should be ashamed of themselves (1 Cor. 6:1 – 8).

Addressing himself more generally to those who thought that the gospel emancipated them from the restraints of ordinary morality, Paul insisted that there is no place in the kingdom of God for wicked people. Some of the Corinthian believers had once lived wicked lives, but they had been cleansed by Christ. They might say, "All things are lawful for me," or, "Food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food," as though their physical life was religiously neutral. But the BODY as well as the SPIRIT had been redeemed by Christ; therefore God should be glorified in their bodily conduct. That the believer's body, a sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, should become "one flesh" with a harlot was a logical and ethical monstrosity (1 Cor. 6:9 – 20).

Turning now to the questions raised in the Corinthians' letter, Paul deals first with MARRIAGE and DIVORCE. At the other extreme from the libertines addressed in the preceding paragraph were those who thought it best "for a man not to touch a woman" (1 Cor. 7:1 NRSV). Paul could agree for himself, since he found celibacy a congenial way of life, but as a practical man he recognized that marriage—strictly monogamous marriage—was the norm for Christians, and that there should be a mutual willingness between husband and wife to grant each other the rights and privileges of the conjugal state. Paul was far from sharing the foolish notion of some later Christian ascetics that sex as such is undesirable. If unmarried people and widows can without difficulty remain so, good and well;

otherwise, let them marry (7:29).

As for the divorce question, the Lord's ruling is binding on his people (cf. Mk. 10:6 – 12); there must be no divorce on either side. There was, however, a situation not provided for in the Lord's ruling: if a husband or wife became a Christian and the other partner to the marriage would no longer continue the relationship, what then? In such a case the marriage relationship may be allowed to lapse. Better that the pagan partner should be willing to remain; in that case both the pagan partner and the children of the marriage would be "sanctified" through association with the believer, on the principle that "whatever touches it [the altar or anything that is itself holy] will become holy" (Exod. 29:37). It is uncertain whether 1 Cor. 7:16 holds out hope for the salvation of the pagan partner or not.

In general, there is no reason for a Christian to change the status in which he found himself at the time of his conversion—whether circumcised or uncircumcised, slave or free (1 Cor. 7:17 – 24). In v. 21 "avail yourself of the opportunity" (to gain your freedom) is probably the meaning; but the words in themselves could equally well be "make use of your present condition instead."

It is important to mark the care with which Paul distinguishes the Lord's unambiguous ruling (1 Cor. 7:10) from his own judgment (vv. 12, 25). This appears in his injunctions to the unmarried (vv. 25 – 38). In "the present crisis" (v. 26) Christians with family responsibilities might find it more difficult to stand uncompromisingly for the faith than those who were free from such obligations. Detachment in heart and interest from the present evanescent world order is advised. If some Christians had in their first enthusiasm undertaken vows of celibacy, or if an engaged couple had decided not to marry, and then found it desirable to marry, let them marry, says Paul; they have committed no sin (vv. 28, 36).

Similarly, it was best that widows should remain unmarried, but if they decided to remarry they were free to do so, "only in the Lord." In matters where he had received no commandment from the Lord, Paul would only express his own mind and leave his readers to decide for themselves, but he regarded his judgment as sound judgment, "and I think," he added, "that I too have the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. 7:39 – 40). Nowhere is Paul's pastoral common sense more evident than in this chapter.

The fact that in a pagan city like Corinth most of the meat exposed for sale in the market was the flesh of animals that had been sacrificed to idols presented many converts from paganism with a problem of conscience. Should they eat such meat, or would they be infected with idol worship by doing so? The Jerusalem decree of Acts 15:29 had instructed Gentile converts not to eat such meat, but Paul appealed to two principles—Christian liberty and Christian charity. A Christian is at liberty to eat it, since it is neither better nor worse for having been dedicated to an idol, but considerations of charity toward a fellow Christian whose conscience might be damaged by his example may lead him to impose a voluntary restriction on his liberty in this regard (1 Cor. 8:1 – 13).

This reference to a voluntary restriction on a Christian's liberty reminded Paul that his readiness to restrict his own liberty was an argument which his opponents used to cast doubt on the reality of his apostolic commission. The church of Corinth, wrote Paul, need have no doubt on this score; it was the Lord's "seal" on his apostleship (1 Cor. 9:2). For the rest, he was not at liberty to decide whether he would carry out his apostolic task or not: "necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!" (9:16). But he was at liberty to decide whether to live at his converts' expense or maintain himself, and if, unlike the Jerusalem apostles and the Lord's brothers, he chose to forego his undoubted right and maintain himself—well, he was free to do so. He exercises his freedom by making himself a slave to all for the gospel's sake, by being "all things to all men" with an apostolic versatility that some lesser spirits could not distinguish from inconsistency. He practiced self-

discipline in order to win the prize that faithful service will receive on the day of review (9:1 – 27).

Reverting to the subject of idolatrous associations (see IDOLATRY), he reminds his readers how the Israelites' redemption from Egypt, their passage through the Red Sea, and participation in supernatural food and drink in the wilderness did not protect them against divine judgment when they fell into idolatry and immorality (1 Cor. 10:1 – 13). It is equally certain that Christians cannot escape divine judgment if they think they can conjoin the fellowship of the Lord's Table, where they communicate in the blood and body of Christ, with fellowship at "the table of demons"—if, for example, they join in a banquet in a pagan temple under the idol's patronage (cf. 8:10). On the other hand, there is no objection to accepting a pagan friend's invitation and eating whatever is served at his table; but if an issue is made of food that has been dedicated to an idol, the Christian will safeguard his witness and show a helpful example to others. (The statement in 10:29 is so difficult to construe in the context that it has been regarded as an intrusive gloss, but there is no textual evidence for this. Perhaps the two questions of vv. 29b and 30 should be taken as an objection to Paul's argument, but even this is awkward.) Let Christians seek God's glory and the blessing of others, not their own advantage—as Paul himself did, following the example of Christ (10:31—11:1).

The conduct of church meetings now receives attention. Paul disapproved of the Corinthian church being a law to itself in that women prayed or prophesied with uncovered heads, departing both from current convention and from the practice of other churches. His injunction is supported by an appeal to certain ordinances, to the facts of nature, and to the unseen presence of angels at meetings of the church (1 Cor. 11:2 – 16). He disapproves still more of the unbrotherly conduct of their love feasts or fellowship meals, where, instead of sharing their food, the rich ate what they brought and left their poorer fellow Christians hungry. They might expect Paul's commendation for their faithfulness in observing the "traditions" he had delivered to them (v. 2), but he would not commend them for this behavior any more than for their divisions and factions (11:17 – 22).

Apparently they celebrated the LORD'S SUPPER at the end of their love feasts, but their conduct during those feasts and their condition at the end of them meant that they were in no fit state to take the Holy Supper, whose significance they were denying in practice. Paul reminded them of the institution of the Supper—something that he had already "delivered" to them as he, in turn, had first "received" it (the characteristic verbs of tradition are used). This is the oldest written account of the institution, not more than twenty-five years after the event; it is perhaps the only account which reported that Jesus said, "Do this…in remembrance of me" (1 Cor. 11:24 – 25). Their unbrotherly behavior was a profanation of the holy ordinance; by disregarding their obligations as fellow members of the body that was symbolized by the bread they ate, they ate and drank judgment upon themselves. No wonder that sickness and untimely death were rife among them! Let them take their ordinary meals at home, and come to the Lord's Supper in a proper state of spiritual preparation (11:17 – 34).

The exercise of SPIRITUAL GIFTS in the church was a subject on which the Corinthians had asked for advice. Many of them were attracted by the more spectacular gifts, especially by the gift of tongues. All spiritual gifts, said Paul, are bestowed by the Spirit, and no one speaking by his power will use derogatory words about Jesus, whereas the utterance "Jesus is Lord" is a certain token of his prompting (1 Cor. 12:1 – 3). Nine gifts of the Spirit are named, and their use is compared to the functioning of the various parts of the human body for the health of the whole. In one Spirit all believers have been baptized into one body; by that same Spirit they are all refreshed. As chaos would rule in the human body if each part tried to perform the functions of others, or all entrusted their different functions to one, chaos would rule in the church unless each member made his proper contribution to the good of the whole (12:4 – 31a). See BODY OF CHRIST.

Higher than all the gifts of the Spirit is the grace of heavenly LOVE, which Paul celebrated in the following words. Christians may be talented, devoted, generous in their giving; they may be endowed with mountain-removing faith; they may even have in them the stuff of which martyrs are made—but if love be absent, it is all to no profit. Above all else, love is the one thing needful. As he described love, Paul used language that might well be used of Christ, if "Christ" were put in place of "love." Other spiritual gifts have their place for a time, but love endures for ever. Our present condition, in comparison with the perfection we shall one day attain, is as childhood in comparison with the years of maturity. The things that befit the present stage of spiritual immaturity will be outgrown when believers are glorified with Christ, but love will never be outgrown. Faith, hope, and love form a heavenly triad of graces that endure for ever, but love is the greatest of the three. Therefore, "follow the way of love" (12:31b—14:1a).

More particular attention is now given to the exercise of certain spiritual gifts, especially glossolalia (see TONGUES, GIFT OF) and prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHECY). On the former, Paul speaks as one who himself possesses the gift of tongues in an exceptional degree (no one would have guessed this had he not had occasion to mention it incidentally in 1 Cor. 14:18), and deprecated the attaching of undue importance to it. It should not be exercised in public unless an interpreter is available; otherwise, it should be used only for private edification (14:4 – 5). The important point of all public utterance is that the church should understand what is said and be built up by it, but it cannot be edified by what it fails to understand. Scripture suggests that God is most likely to use glossolalia when addressing people who refuse to believe his message spoken in an intelligible tongue (14:21, quoting Isa. 28:11 – 12). Besides, the impression made on outsiders who venture into Christian meetings must be considered; the sight and sound of a whole company engaged in glossolalia will suggest that they are all mad, whereas prophecy—the proclamation of the mind of God in the power of the Spirit—will produce inward conviction and a realization that God is present (14:23 – 25).

As for prophecy, this does not require so much regulation, apart from the reminder that the "prophets" should speak one after another and not all together, and two or three utterances should suffice for one session. The "prophet" should maintain his self-control and be equally able to speak or to refrain from speaking (1 Cor. 14:29 – 32). Women should refrain from interrupting with their questions; this did not happen in other churches and should not happen in Corinth (14:33 – 36). Paul was not simply expressing his own judgment in these injunctions but conveying the Lord's commandment as his duly commissioned apostle. Let those members of the church who consider themselves to have a special endowment of the Spirit show that this is so by recognizing the authority with which Paul spoke. The sentence, "If he ignores this, he himself will be ignored" (14:38), belongs to the category of "eschatological judgment pronouncements" (cf. E. Käsemann in *NTS* 1 [1954 – 55]: 248ff.). Two principles of permanent validity in the church are, "All of these must be done for the strengthening of the church" (14:26) and "everything should be done in a fitting and orderly way" (14:40).

Although 1 Cor. 15 comes between two answers to Corinthian questions—those introduced by 12:1 and 16:1—it is not clear whether the treatment of the doctrine of RESURRECTION here forms an answer to a specific question in the letter received by Paul. In any case, he knew that at Corinth there were doubts about this doctrine. (Evidently there were some members of the church who considered it an embarrassing accretion to the gospel and were quite content with the Greek doctrine of the IMMORTALITY of the soul.) He therefore reminded them first of all of the centrality of the RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST in the gospel to which they owed their salvation (15:1 – 11, a

paragraph important for many things, including the light it throws on apostolic tradition and its summary, the earliest one available, of the appearances of the risen Christ). Those who denied the principle of resurrection could not accept the fact of Christ's resurrection, in which case the message and faith of the gospel were illusory and preachers were pitiable dupes (15:12 – 19). But the resurrection of Christ was too well established to be overthrown, and it carried with it the resurrection of his people, just as the FIRSTFRUITS presented to God on the first day of the week following Passover (Lev. 23:9 – 11) guaranteed the coming harvest. The resurrection harvest will be followed by the eternal day of God, when God has brought all hostile forces in the universe into subjection beneath the feet of the risen and exalted Christ (15:20 – 28). It is the hope of resurrection that encourages men and women to become Christians and receive baptism in order to be reunited with their friends who departed in Christ; the same hope emboldened Paul and his fellow apostles to endure the dangers of their calling (15:29 – 34).

If it be asked what the nature of the resurrection body is, Paul replied that it will be a body adapted to its new environment, as the physical body is adapted to this earthly environment; it will be a SPIRITUAL BODY whose wearers will share the glory of their risen Lord (1 Cor. 15:35 – 50). By a revelation previously uncommunicated, Paul declared that the resurrection will take place when the last trumpet sounds, and in that moment believers still alive will be transformed from mortal beings into immortal ones. Thanks to the victory of Christ, death then will be finally abolished. Here is encouragement indeed for Christians to persevere in their Lord's service, knowing that it is not doomed to end in futility (15:51 – 58).

Paul also answers the Corinthians' question about the way in which they should organize their CONTRIBUTION to the gift which all his Gentile churches were making to the Jerusalem church: let them set aside a sum of money week by week, and when he came to Corinth the money would be there, ready to be taken to Jerusalem by the church's accredited delegates (who might be accompanied by Paul himself, 1 Cor. 16:1 – 4).

Paul planned to remain at Ephesus until the following Pentecost, making use of the wide-open gospel opportunities that were presenting themselves; then he would pass through Macedonia and visit Corinth. Meanwhile they were to expect a visit from Timothy (1 Cor. 16:5 – 14). One of the sources of the troubles in the Corinthian church was the lack of recognized leaders; Paul indicated certain people who should be accorded such recognition (16:15 – 18). With greetings from Paul's associates in the province of ASIA, and especially from Priscilla and Aquila, well known in Corinth, and with a concluding benediction, the letter comes to an end (16:21 – 24). The last paragraph, written in Paul's own hand, includes the words, "If anyone does not love the Lord—a curse be on him. Come, O Lord!" (v. 22), probably a familiar quotation from their communion service (see MARANATHA).

VI. Text, canonicity, and authority. The text of 1 Corinthians raises no major problems. The integrity of the letter as a single document is commonly accepted. There are a number of individual places that present features of special textual interest. Most of the textual phenomena of 1 Corinthians receive detailed study in G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* (1953).

The canonicity of 1 Corinthians was never an issue in the church. See CANON (NT). From the beginnings of the Pauline corpus and the NT canon, its place within the canon has been secure, not only in the Catholic church but also in such heretical bodies as the Valentinians and Marcionites. In the Marcionite order of the epistles, 1 and 2 Corinthians together came second after Galatians (Galatians coming first for programmatic reasons); in the MURATORIAN list, 1 and 2 Corinthians

together come first in the sequence of Pauline letters—perhaps because if these two are counted as one (as they were in certain quarters in the 2nd cent.) they form by far the longest document in the Pauline corpus. The authority with which the writer addresses his readers is that of the apostle of Christ whose spiritual children they were, the authority of one who claimed to have the mind of Christ and the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:16; 7:40). The care Paul took to distinguish his own judgment from the Lord's commandment (e.g., 7:6, 10, 12, 25) adds the greater weight to places where he unambiguously calls for the obedience due to the Lord's commandment (e.g., 14:37).

Readers of later date will distinguish between the permanent principles laid down in the letter and their local and temporary application. Corinth presented special problems and was evidently out of step with the other Gentile churches in a number of matters. The lack of clearly recognized leaders in the Corinthian church meant that Paul had to give rulings on matters that would normally have been dealt with by local leaders or elders. The cultivation of such gifts as glossolalia at Corinth does not appear to have constituted a problem in the other churches addressed by Paul; and 1 Corinthians cannot be used as a directory of public worship by churches in general. Yet the principle that ministry in the church must have as its object the spiritual welfare of the members should always be borne in mind, as also should the principle that the reputation of Christ and the gospel is at stake in the public behavior of Christians. The Christian attitude to sex and marriage is expressed in this letter by a man who, though himself a celibate, showed a remarkable understanding of the practicalities of the marital relation and "a psychological insight into human sexuality which is altogether exceptional by first century standards" (D. S. Bailey, *Sexual Relation in Christian Thought* [1959], 10). The refusal to base Christian ethics on legalism and the exposition of the fine balance of Christian liberty and Christian charity must also be reckoned high among the chief lessons taught in 1 Corinthians.

In addition, 1 Corinthians (written not more than a quarter of a century after the death and resurrection of Christ) is an early and indispensable source of information about the apostolic preaching. The gospel as summarized in 1 Cor. 15:1 – 8, with its list of resurrection appearances, is clearly stated to be common ground for Paul and for such other preachers as the Twelve and James (15:11)—a statement that could have been readily refuted if it had been questionable. Like these gospel facts, the record of the institution of the EUCHARIST (11:23 – 26) forms part of the tradition (*paradosis* ***G4142***) that Paul himself received before he delivered it to his converts.

One occasion when Paul could have received the tradition is indicated in Gal. 1:18 – 19; it is striking that the two Jerusalem leaders whom he met in the third year after his conversion (Peter and James) are the only two whom he names in 1 Cor. 15:5 – 7 as having (like himself later on) seen the risen Christ by themselves. The preaching, like the ethical teaching (cf. 7:10; 9:14), stems from the authority of Christ himself. Above all, this letter emphasizes the surpassing power and worth of the love of God in human life; Christianity may survive in the absence of many valuable things, but it will die if love is absent.

(Significant commentaries include C. Hodge, *Exposition of First Corinthians* [1863]; F. Godet, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2 vols. [1886]; A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on First Corinthians*, ICC [1911]; F. W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT [1953]; C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, HNTC, 2nd ed. [1971]; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, NCB [1971]; H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, Hermeneia [1975]; G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT [1987]; R. F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, SP 7 [1999]; G. L. Lockwood, *1 Corinthians* [2000]; A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC [2000]; D. E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT [2003]; P. Arzt-Grabner et al., *1. Korinther*, Papyrologische

Komm. zum NT 2 [2006]. See also W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth* [1971]; J. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*, 2nd ed. [1983]; P. Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* [1987]; A. Eriksson, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proof: Pauline Argumentation in 1 Corinthians* [1998]; J. P. Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* [2005].)

F. F. BRUCE

Corinthians, Second Epistle to the. A letter addressed by the apostle PAUL to the Christian community at CORINTH.

1. Background
2. Unity
3. Authorship, date, and origin
4. Purpose
5. Outline and contents
6. Themes

I. Background. The period of Paul's contacts with the Corinthians is indicated in Acts (Acts 18:1 – 18; 20:2 – 3). During the latter part of the first visit Paul made to Corinth, GALLIO became PROCONSUL at that city. Since sources date the beginning of Gallio's proconsulship in A.D. 51 or 52, the first visit of Paul to Corinth can be dated with confidence. Some five or six years later Paul spent three months in GREECE, presumably at Corinth, following which he went to MACEDONIA and from there to Jerusalem. For his relationships with the Corinthians between these two visits we are dependent upon the correspondence he had with them.

In attempting to determine the extent of this correspondence, the most widely discussed hypothesis refers to four letters. The first letter has not survived and is thus commonly referred to as the "lost (or previous) letter"; in it Paul had specifically required that Christians in Corinth were to separate themselves from immoral persons (cf. 1 Cor. 5:9). The second letter is the "pastoral letter," more commonly known as the canonical epistle of 1 Corinthians, in which Paul treated a number of problems existing in the Christian congregation at Corinth (see CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE). According to this hypothesis, a third missive, frequently described as the "painful letter" (cf. 2 Cor. 2:4), was probably written in the aftermath of a serious crisis between Paul and the Corinthians, and so the apostle was attempting to relieve the strained relations. The fourth letter is the "thankful letter," more commonly known as the canonical epistle of 2 Corinthians, in which Paul's spirit overflows with relief at the news of the improved relations that TITUS reported.

Involved in the consideration of the extent of the Corinthian correspondence is the related matter of the number of visits Paul made to Corinth. Reference already has been made to the two visits recorded in Acts. It is not possible to say that these were the only visits to Corinth, and there is a strong inclination today to consider the probability of another visit. This probability rests upon data gleaned from 2 Corinthians. According to this epistle, relations had become very critical. Upon realizing how serious the deterioration really was, Paul sent Titus to Corinth with the "painful letter" (cf. 2 Cor. 2:4).

In explaining the identity of this "painful letter," two points of view have had much more

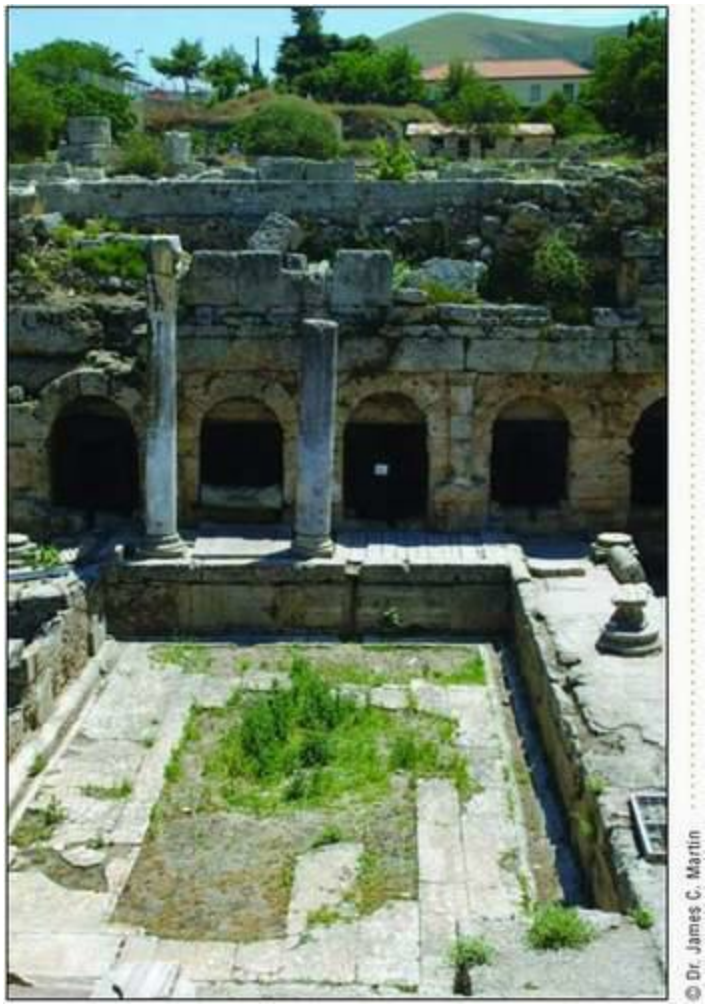
impressive support than others. One of them is the traditional equating of 1 Corinthians with the "painful letter." This view does not consider seriously the possibility of more than two visits by Paul to Corinth. The other point of view, based on more recent study, considers it improbable that Paul's state of mind when writing 1 Corinthians can be described by his words in 2 Cor. 2:4. In the light of this improbability and also in the light of the impossibility of limiting Paul's visits to Corinth to two, there is a decided shift to the hypothesis that Paul made another visit, which turned into a humiliating experience for the apostle. Following this event, he wrote the "painful letter" in an attempt to rectify the situation. This missive, according to some scholars, has been preserved, at least in part, in 2 Cor. 10 – 13. Because the evidence for such a reconstruction seems insufficient, others argue that the "painful letter" has not survived, just as the letter alluded to in 1 Cor. 5:9 is regarded as lost. While this position encounters fewer difficulties than the first, it provides no data for obtaining any knowledge of the contents of such a letter.

It may be that some progress can be made toward a partial understanding of the contents of the letter by correlating Paul's probable second visit to Corinth and the strained relations involved with the "painful letter" he wrote in an attempt to alleviate the tense crisis. Assuming that Paul wrote such a letter after a painful visit to Corinth, he may well have written concerning matters that distressed him greatly and that had occasioned his hurried and humiliating departure from Corinth. This "painful letter" was taken by Titus to Corinth. Meanwhile, Paul prepared to leave Ephesus for Macedonia, where he expected Titus to rejoin him and report on developments at Corinth. After a lapse of time extending for some days or weeks, Titus reached Paul and gave him a heartening report. The Corinthians were repentant and wanted reconciliation (2 Cor. 2:5 – 11; 7:9 – 10). For Paul, the grief and anxiety gave way to thankful joy (2 Cor. 7:6 – 7, 13 – 16). He knew that he could return to Corinth without fear of being rejected or facing a rebellious congregation.

Before Paul could travel to Corinth for the third visit, however, two matters needed attention. For one thing, Paul was in Macedonia for the purpose of making sure that the churches had prepared their collections, which he was to take to Jerusalem (see CONTRIBUTION). For another, the unsettled and tense relations between Paul and Corinth had interrupted the efforts to complete the collection in Corinth. With the memory of humiliating rejection removed, and with the anticipation of another visit to Corinth, Paul wrote the "thankful letter" (2 Corinthians), which is considered to be his last known letter to that church.

II. Unity. The textual evidence for the unity of 2 Corinthians is particularly impressive. The present arrangement of the epistle is found in all surviving Greek MSS, none of which divides the epistle or otherwise suggests disunity. Consequently, there is no evidence from the textual tradition to create any doubt concerning the unity of the letter.

Notwithstanding the textual support for the unity of 2 Corinthians, there have been and continue to be impressive attempts to show that there is internal evidence of disunity. Scholars point out the difference in the tone of 2 Cor. 1 – 9, which is "thankful," and that of chs. 10 – 13, which is "severe." In addition to the difference in the tone



Eurykles and Peirene Fountain in Corinth.

of the two sections, it is pointed out that there is a difference in reference to point of time. The first section contains references to the past (1:23; 2:3, 9), while the second section contains references to the future (10:6; 13:2, 10).

The most plausible attempt to establish the disunity of this epistle involves the following arguments: (1) comparative study of 2 Cor. 2:3 – 4; 10:1 – 2; 11:2 – 3 indicates another letter than 2 Corinthians; (2) this letter may be identified as the "severe (or painful) letter" written to relieve the tense relations that developed between Paul and Corinth during the interval between 1 and 2 Corinthians; (3) chs. 10 – 13 constitute a section of the epistle that conforms to the supposed contents of the "severe letter"; (4) therefore, chs. 10 – 13 were written some time before chs. 1 – 9; (5) later, 2 Corinthians was put in its present form by the Corinthian congregation and then circulated among the churches.

The arguments for the unity of the epistle are: (1) there is no evidence of MS disturbance permitting the supposition that 2 Corinthians was originally two letters, or parts of two letters, incorporated into one; (2) while 2 Cor. 1 – 9 has a "thankful" tone, this is not the only mood found in the section (cf. 1:23), nor is severity the only tone found in chs. 10 – 13 (cf. 12:20), thus minimizing the incompatibility of the two sections; (3) claims that the "severe letter" is extant and that chs. 10 – 13 should be dated earlier than chs. 1 – 9 are uncertain and hypothetical. (Some recent scholars account for the difference in tone between the two sections by arguing that chs.

The Greek temple of Apollo with the Acrocorinth in the background.

10 – 13 constitute a separate letter, but one written *after* chs. 1 – 9 because Paul had received news of a turn for the worse in the Corinthian community. See, e.g., R. P. Martin, *2 Corinthians*, WBC 40 [1986], xlvi.)

III. Authorship, date, and origin. The author is unquestionably Paul, and none other has been suggested as the author. It is more characteristic of his style and manner than any of the other epistles in the NT attributed to him. It contributes significantly to our knowledge of Paul by providing much autobiographical material and revealing glimpses into his personality, including his emotions, his personal sense of integrity, and his incisive grasp of what it meant to be a genuine apostle of the Lord. External evidence attests his authorship, for it has been a well-documented fact that 2 Corinthians was circulated throughout the churches as early as A.D. 140. At this early date, the epistle was recognized without question as Pauline. That recognition remains as strong today as ever.

Precision in dating is difficult, if not impossible, by reason of the complicated character of the historical background of the Corinthian correspondence. The most important and yet the most ambiguous element is the interval separating the writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians. In trying to determine the length of the interval, it is necessary to allow sufficient time for the activities of Paul during this period. First Corinthians is commonly dated in the spring of A.D. 55 (although proposals range from 54 to 57), and 2 Corinthians is variously dated from as few as six months to as many as eighteen months later. The usual approach is to keep the interval as minimal as possible. Accordingly, some attempt is necessary to include all of Paul's known activities during this period.

The starting point is dating 1 Corinthians (written from Ephesus) some time before PENTECOST in A.D. 55 (cf. 1 Cor. 16:8). Paul left EPHESUS and spent time in Macedonia and Greece (cf. Acts 20:1 – 6). The three months spent in Greece must have been during winter, since he left Corinth and arrived in PHILIPPI in time for the PASSOVER (Acts 20:6). Departing from Philippi, Paul arrived in Jerusalem in time for Pentecost (20:16). The date for this is presumed to be the spring of 56. The most likely time for Paul to have written 2 Corinthians during this period would be October of 55, which allows sufficient time for Paul's departure from Ephesus, his stay in Macedonia (during which he wrote the letter), and his trip to Corinth for the winter months. Regarding the phrase "last year" (2 Cor. 8:10; 9:2), Paul did not intend a full chronological year; since the new year of the civil calendar began in

September, he was simply referring to the previous year. The letter was written probably at Philippi. With the coming of Titus reporting upon a greatly improved situation, Paul writes of his joy and of his plans to come to Corinth shortly. In all probability, Paul journeyed to Corinth soon after he sent Titus with the letter and stayed there from December to February.

IV. Purpose. The chief purpose of 2 Corinthians was to prepare the church at Corinth for Paul's visit, which he was soon to make. However, this effort to prepare the church should not obscure the influence of the critical situation through which Paul had just passed in his relations with the Corinthians. Nor should it obscure Paul's sigh of relief and his attitude of joyous thankfulness over the fortunate change of attitude on the part of the Corinthian church. The complexity of the occasion requires that oversimplification of stating the purpose be avoided.

The letter was written in a period of greatly improved relations between Paul and the Corinthians. Immediately preceding this period there had been serious differences that endangered Paul's leadership at Corinth. With the threatened rebellion no longer troubling Paul, he wanted to communicate to the Corinthians his thankful relief. Moreover, he wrote to them concerning the collection he expected to gather for the church at Jerusalem. This project had fallen behind in the antagonism that developed. Furthermore, apparently because there remained residual elements of unrepentant minorities, Paul wrote with extraordinary vigor and vehemence concerning his authority as an apostle. In anticipation of his coming visit to Corinth, Paul wrote with great force concerning his claim to unequivocal apostolic leadership over the Corinthian congregation. His opponents who had challenged his apostolic authority were, in return, challenged by Paul himself as he marshaled impressive evidence authenticating his apostolic authority and leadership. (For a detailed and controversial study, see D. Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* [1986]; cf. also J. L. Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents: The Question of Method in 2 Corinthians* [1990].)

V. Outline and contents. This epistle is not as systematically structured as 1 Corinthians. The most likely explanation is that Paul has more of an emotional rather than a logical order for the letter. The first part reveals a deep emotional outpouring of grateful thanksgiving over the easing of the tense situation. In this part Paul reveals his delicate sensitiveness to the strained relations. He also shows great joy over the restoration of Corinthian loyalty to him. The second section discloses a fervent appeal for liberality in the collection for the church at Jerusalem. Paul informs the Corinthians that Titus and others are coming to help them in this project. The third section manifests an indignant spirit as Paul vehemently asserts the authority of his apostolic office and ministry. The epistle may be outlined as follows:

1. Greetings (2 Cor. 1:1–2)
2. Thanksgiving (1:3–11)
3. Relations with the Corinthians (1:12—7:16)
    1. Paul's recent activities (1:12—2:13)
        1. His change of plans (1:12–22)
        2. His readiness to help them (1:23—2:4)
        3. His complete forgiveness for them (2:5–13)

Menorahs inscribed in a stone from the Corinth synagogue.

2. Parenthesis: The apostolic ministry according to the new covenant (2:14—6:10)
    1. The triumph of this new ministry (2:14–17)
    2. The distinctive marks of this new ministry (3:1—5:19)
        1. It is of the Spirit (3:1–6)
        2. It is superior to Moses' ministry (3:7–18)
        3. It requires honesty (4:1–6)
        4. It has hope of glory (4:7—5:10)
        5. Its motive is the love of Christ (5:11–19)
    3. A Pauline exhortation, exemplary of the proclamation committed to those engaged in this new ministry (5:20—6:10)
3. Paul's renewed appeals (6:11—7:16)
    1. Let there be love (6:11–13)
    2. Be separate from unbelievers (6:14—7:1)
    3. Let mutual confidence be restored (7:2–16)
4. Plans for the collection for the church at Jerusalem (8:1—9:15)
    1. The example of Macedonia (8:1–7)
    2. Paul's exhortation to give (8:8–15)
    3. The arrangements for the collection (8:16—9:5)
    4. Encouragement to liberality in giving (9:6–15)
5. Vindication of his apostolic authority (10:1—13:10)
    1. Paul's answers to the charges made by his accusers (10:1–18)
        1. To the charge of cowardice, he replies he can be stern (10:1–6)
        2. To the charge of weakness, he replies he can be strong (10:7–11)
        3. To the charge of authoritarianism, he replies he keeps within the divine limits (10:12–18)
    2. Paul's apostolic ministry authenticated (11:1—12:13)
        1. Through his concern for the Corinthians (11:1–15)
        2. By means of his credentials for ministering (11:16—12:13)
    3. Paul's anticipated visit (12:14—13:10)

1. What he does for them is for their good (12:14–18)
2. What he requires from them is their repentance (12:19—13:10)
    1. When he comes he will not spare the unrepentant (12:19—13:4)
    2. If they repent he will not be severe (13:5–10)

6. Farewell (13:11–14)

VI. Themes

A. Self-portrait. In 1 Corinthians, where Paul counsels on church problems, the self-portrait is that of a Christian minister. In 2 Corinthians, where he gives strikingly intimate glimpses into his own person, the self-portrait is that of "a man in Christ" (2 Cor. 12:2). In utter frankness, he speaks of his bodily presence as weak and his speech as contemptible (10:10). He shared the weakness of humanity and felt the gusts of emotion, whether in affectionate love or vehement indignation. He wrestled with the problems of human existence. Yet it is unmistakably clear that a newness has come into his life. As a man in Christ, Paul is a new creature (5:17). He knew this by personal experience.

The self-portrait of Paul is one of the truly fascinating features of this letter. While the book of Acts, in part, provides the frame of reference for Paul's travels and correspondence, 2 Corinthians gives autobiographical information that is invaluable. Dominant motives in Paul's life were gratitude to God and Christ (2 Cor. 1:3; 5:14), reverent awe before the Lord (5:10–11), and genuine love for the churches (2:4; 11:11). The churches he founded were his special joy and concern (2:2, 3). As a Christian, Paul willingly suffered with Christ (1:5) and bore in his body the dying of Christ (4:10). He also shared the risen life of Christ (4:10–11), and his ministry was a continuing triumph in Christ (2:14). Moreover, he gloried in infirmities (12:9) and was content with weaknesses, insults, persecutions, and calamities for the sake of Christ. Although he had been robbed, starved, and imprisoned many times, and although he had to endure the agony of a "thorn in the flesh" (12:7) as well as the "concern of all the churches" (11:28), he was a living witness to the power of Christ in his life (12:9). Integrity and faithfulness characterize his ministry, with toil and suffering being indelible marks identifying him as a true apostle (1:12; 6:3–10; 11:23–29). His message was "Jesus Christ as Lord" (4:5).

B. The ministry. Perhaps nowhere in the NT is the theme of the ministry set forth in its sublimity as it is in this letter (2 Cor. 2:14—5:21). Paul treats this theme in terms of a pageant of triumph, followed by a predicament of trial, and concluding with a proclamation of a theme. Describing the work of the ministry as a long triumphant march, Paul gives thanks to God (2:14). Evidence of this triumph is the Corinthian church itself. The Spirit of God working through the ministry of Paul has accomplished this (3:2–3). Neither psychological persuasion nor sociological trends adequately explain the phenomenon of the Christian community at Corinth. The explanation is found in the work of the ministry, which has succeeded because of the triumphant power of the Spirit (3:4–6). God, who in the beginning said, "Let there be light," has spoken the same words to the hearts of the Corinthians (4:6).

Next, Paul discusses the work of the ministry in connection with the predicament of trial. This triumphant ministry is committed to earthen vessels subjected to great affliction and tribulation (2 Cor. 4:7–10). This is the paradox of the ministry. Although it is as a valuable treasure, it is entrusted to vessels of far inferior value. In a vivid series of four contrasts, Paul declares that a constant succession of serious crises afflicting him never defeated him (4:8–9). His point is that every desperate situation that has threatened these earthen vessels has become an occasion for God's

triumphant power and glory. Paul willingly served and suffered, even as Jesus did, but he was not overpowered through affliction. Instead, God's power has made him victorious. Although the tribulations have taken an exhausting toll outwardly, the power of God has renewed him inwardly (4:16). The glory of the Lord has transfigured the afflictions (4:17).

Finally, Paul describes the theme of the ministry. It is the ministry of RECONCILIATION (2 Cor. 5:18). No passage of Paul's letters is more important than his treatment of this theme (5:14–19). In this Scripture he declares that God in love has effected not simply a legal acquittal but more significantly a vital personal relationship to God and an inner transformation of life (5:17). This is the heart of the apostolic gospel ministry engaged in proclaiming reconciliation. The reconciling work of God through Christ involved a great paradox. It is this: the One who died for all knew no sin, yet it was this One whom God made to be sin for us (5:21). The theme of the ministry is that reconciliation has been accomplished. Paul affirmed that he was faithful in the performance of this ministry (6:3–10).

C. The collection. Paul's collection for needy Christians at Jerusalem had an important role in his missionary efforts. He has devoted two chapters (2 Cor. 8–9) to this matter (see the detailed treatment by H. D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9,* Hermeneia [1985]). This is significant for it indicates that the issue is to make a major contribution in the relations between Paul and the Corinthians. His motivation for taking a collection was not only his response in human sympathy to those in need, but also his ecumenical concern for the unity between the Jerusalem Christians and his Gentile churches. See CONTRIBUTION.

His appeal to the Corinthians to complete the collection has three grounds: (1) since the Macedonian churches were so liberal in their giving, the Corinthians should know of this; (2) since Jesus Christ so willingly gave himself, the Corinthians should emulate him (2 Cor. 8:9); (3) since they had earlier pledged, Paul urges them to fulfill their pledge as a matter of integrity and conscience (8:10–12). For Paul all Christian giving was to be considered in the light of the immeasurable and constant gifts of God and the example of the self-giving of Christ (5:18; 8:9; 9:15). The believers' most important gift is that of themselves to the Lord (8:5). True Christian giving is voluntary (9:5, 7), cheerful (8:2; 9:7), generous (8:2–3; 9:6, 11). It is motivated by love (8:8) and by faith that God will provide (9:8). There is the resolve to fulfill one's responsibility (8:10–11). Openness and honesty are necessary (8:20–21). True Christian giving builds unity, understanding, and mutual concern among all Christians (9:12–14). It was not without significance that Paul urged the Corinthians to have the larger outreach in their giving. They were to think of that far-away place, namely, Jerusalem, and they were to develop a concern through giving. Paul nourished the concept of "benevolent giving" among his churches.

(Significant commentaries include A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians,* ICC [1915]; P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* NICNT [1962]; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* BNTC [1973]; V. P. Furnish, *II Corinthians,* AB 32A [1984]; R. P. Martin, *2 Corinthians,* WBC 40 [1986]; P. Bar-nett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* NICNT [1997]; D. E. Garland, *2 Corinthians,* NAC 29 [1999]; M. E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994–2000]; M.J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [2005]. See also W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth* [1971]; F. M. Young and D. F. Ford, *Meaning and Truth in 2 Corinthians* [1987]; R. Bieringer and J. Lambrecht, *Studies on 2 Corinthians* [1994]; S.J. Hafemann,

Suffering and Ministry in the Spirit: Paul's Defense of His Ministry in II Corinthians 2:14—3:3 [1990]; F. J. Long, *Ancient Rhetoric and Paul's Apology: The Compositional Unity of 2 Corinthians* [2004].)

C. WILSON

Corinthians, Third Epistle to the. Title commonly given to a letter attributed to Paul and preserved in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* (dated late in the 2nd cent.; see PAUL, ACTS OF). When Paul was in PHILIPPI (imprisoned), he is said to have received a letter from the Corinthians, who asked the apostle to travel to CORINTH and refute the teachings of two heretics (apparently Christian Gnostics) named Simon and Cleobius. Paul responds by writing a brief letter, which affirms that God almighty, who created everything, sent his prophets to the Jews and also sent the Spirit to Mary so that Jesus Christ might be born; the letter also defends the doctrine of the resurrection and condemns those who turn aside from the gospel. *Third Corinthians* was regarded as authentic by the Syriac-speaking church (though not included in the Peshitta canon) and found its way into the Armenian Bible. Because this apocryphal correspondence is preserved by itself in a 2nd-cent. Greek MS (Papyrus Bodmer X), some scholars argue that it had an independent origin and was later incorporated into the *Acts of Paul.* (See A. F.J. Klijn in *Vigiliae christianae* 17 [1963]: 2–23. For an introduction and English translation, see *NTAp,* 2:217, 228–29, 254–56.)

cormorant. A marine diving bird (genus *Phalac-rocorax)* with dark plumage, long neck, and webbed feet, two species of which are found in swamps around the Sea of Galilee and other bodies of water. One or other species of cormorant is found almost all over the world, and they feed entirely on fish; they nest colonially in most unsanitary conditions. It is the likely translation of Hebrew *šālāk H8960* (the cognate verb may suggest the idea of "darting [on a prey]"), included among unclean birds in two passages (Lev. 11:17; Deut. 14:17). Because of the birds with which it is associated in these verses, some scholars suggest that the word refers to the fishing-owl *(Ketupa zeylonensis),* but by reason of size, quality, and availability, the cormorant is much more likely to be included in a food list. (See *FFB,* 18.) The KJV uses *cormorant* also to render *qā<at H7684* (Isa. 34:11; Zeph. 2:14), for which see OWL.

G.S. CANSDALE

corn. See GRAIN.

cornelian. See CARNELIAN.

Cornelius kor-neel'yuhs (Κορνήλιος *G3173).* An aristocratic Roman name of standing, which can be traced back two centuries to the great family of the Scipios. The Cornelius of the NT was a CENTURION of the garrison at CAESAREA. He was probably a descendant of one of the freedmen of Cornelius Sulla's day (early 1st cent. B.C.), when the many slaves were freed and established in an expanding Roman society with their patron's name. It is therefore impossible to establish the descent or distant family background of the soldier of Acts 10–11.

Cornelius's character is described as "devout and God-fearing" (Acts 10:2), and it seems a fact that, aware of the difficult task of the small garrison by which the Romans sought to preserve their vital bridgehead into Palestine, the imperial military administration took more than common care to pick men of fine character. Centurions formed the backbone of the Roman army, but they were not

always men of sterling and upright character. They were the first to be murdered in more than one army mutiny.

Palestine, with the problem of its passionate Jewish nationalism, was a difficult area to police and hold. The Romans took a risk in committing the defense of so vital a segment of their eastern frontier, and a communication link as important as Palestine, to a holding force based on Caesarea, with the distant supervision of the legions of the legate of SYRIA. Hence, the policy that appears to have been pursued. The army units detailed to Palestine under Rome's sounder administrators were probably reliable and seasoned men, and if the NT centurions are any indication, the officer corps were men of strength and character and not unsympathetic toward the Jews. Cornelius is a striking example, deferential without subservience, in quiet command of his household, and a man of firm piety (Acts 10:1–3,17,22,24–25,30–31).

It seems clear that Cornelius was not a Jewish PROSELYTE, but rather a "God-fearer," that is, representative of many in the 1st cent. who were aware of the obsolescence of paganism, who accepted a form of theism and the practice of prayer, and who, without necessarily accepting JUDAISM with its manifold obligations, recognized the superiority of Jewish ethics and the God of Judaism to any alternative visible in the cults, mystery religions, or official religious practices of their environment. No man could be more suitable for the demonstration (which formed a major movement in Luke's theme and the Pauline gospel to which it is devoted) that Gentiles had a part and heritage in Christianity, and that there was no prerequisite in Judaism for their conversion; hence the space LUKE devoted to the narrative and its repetition, a device of emphasis he also employed in the case of PAUL'S conversion.

Chapters 10 and 11 of Acts quietly insist that PETER was the chosen instrument in a move so momentous that people of undoubted righteousness, ready to receive the message of Christ, were found in the army of occupation, and that God's Holy Spirit evidently made no distinction in leading such individuals to conversion and to fellowship. What may be called the "Acts of Peter," the first half of Luke's second treatise, finds its climax in the encounter with Cornelius and the report Peter made in Jerusalem, itself a striking summary of his evangelism and a clear preview of Paul himself, who was about to move to the center of Luke's stage. In his mission, proclamation, and published policy, Peter is shown to have been the apostle to the Gentiles before Paul was called to assume that role.

It is part of the literary style of Luke not to be attracted down the by-paths of narrative. The book he planned had two or three major themes (see ACTS OF THE APOSTLES), and quite obviously areas of interest were omitted and by-passed as the historian prosecuted his main purpose. Cornelius may not have been the first Gentile convert to the church either in Jerusalem or on the coastal plain, but he was brought into fellowship by events so God-ordained, and was himself a person so obviously suited to the role, that the narrative lingers over his story.

With that purpose fulfilled, Luke had not another word to say about this centurion. It is not known whether Cornelius was the founder of the church that undoubtedly must have been founded at Caesarea, and of which no less an evangelist than PHILIP was the head (Acts 21:8), or whether, his term of duty with the garrison ended, he returned to Rome or proceeded to another sphere of duty. He is not mentioned in connection with Caesarea on the two occasions on which it enters into Paul's story after the events of Acts 10 (18:22; 23:23–26), and legend itself, often so prolific in invention and sometimes even useful in conservation, seems to have nothing further to say about him.

Every imaginable attempt has been made to destroy the historicity of Cornelius, and absurd though the arguments of such criticism commonly are, and without parallel in any other sphere of

ancient history, they should be briefly mentioned. Anyone with a developed sense of history cannot, in the NT context, fail to recognize the marks of authenticity on the whole narrative, from Peter's dream, so contextually and psychologically real, to the person of the Roman soldier himself. Luke cannot be accused of "juggling data" and at the same time receive recognition for the historical exactitude of his detail in places where it may be tested. His obvious authority was Peter himself, and based for two years in Caesarea with freedom to come and go during Paul's confinement in the barracks, Luke collected, presumably, the material for his two books. If Acts was produced in the early sixties of the century, there was no time for the slow accretion of legend. Nor does legend read like factual reporting, as the story from Joppa and Caesarea certainly does. The alternative is plain mendacity, and the harassed, persecuted Christians of Palestine were in no mood or condition to invent stories to their detriment. Luke was not "jumbling confusedly" (F. D. Gealy in *IDB,* 1:699) two disparate and equally unreliable "justification" stories, nor turning "a faith-principle into historical form, in which faith both creates history and is created by it" (ibid., 700). What sort of "history" is created by such falsehood is best understood, if it can be understood at all, by the "form critics," who concoct such theories of literary origin (see FORM CRITICISM).

Conservative NT scholars, who have long protested in amazement against the studied disregard of the historical books of the NT as authentic documents of history, will have been interested in the recent growing regard of secular historians for such evidence. The methods of the so-called form critics would not find a moment's acceptance in any other sphere of ancient history, and the Oxford historian A. N. Sherwin-White drew attention to the fact in his 1965 Sarum Lectures, published under the title *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (see pp. 187–88). This historian, writing with all care and with the distrust of unsupported evidence proper to his profession, was prompted to chide the unbalanced skepticism and fanciful theorizing of the NT critics. His restrained irony at their gloomy conclusion that "the historical Christ is unknowable and the history of his mission cannot be written," while historians pursue with convincing optimism the truth about the motives and person of Christ's "best-known contemporary," TIBERIUS Caesar, based largely on Tacitus's prejudiced account of seventy years later, is a sobering comment on NT criticism, both healthy and overdue. This concerns the Gospels, while, says the same authority, "for Acts the confirmation of historicity is overwhelming."

There remains the more valid objection that, during the independent administration of the area under Herod Agrippa (A.D. 41–44; see HEROD VII), there would have been no occupying force in Caesarea (see ITALIAN REGIMENT). The suggestion, however, is in the highest degree unlikely. Caesarea itself was a creation of the pro-Roman policy of the able Herodian family who, for a full century, successfully conciliated both the Jews and the empire. It is more likely that during this period the garrison would have been more frequently confined to Caesarea, and in Herod's own interests; absent it certainly would not have been. Cornelius was assuredly a real person, and the circumstances of his conversion are congruent with history.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

corner, upper room of the. Literal translation of the Hebrew expression *ăliyyat happinnâ* (Neh. 3:31–32 NRSV; the NIV translates, "the room above the corner"). According to NEHEMIAH'S description of the walls and gates of JERUSALEM, this room, possibly a watchtower, was connected with the NE corner of the temple area E of the SHEEP GATE and N of the MUSTER GATE (cf.J.J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* [1952], 340–43). See also JERUSALEM II.D.2.

W. H. MARE

Corner Gate. A gate that protected the NW approach to JERUSALEM. During the reign of AMA-ZIAH king of Judah, a long stretch of the wall leading to it was destroyed by Jehoash (JOASH) king of Israel (2 Ki. 14:13 [*šaar happinnâ*]*; 2* Chr. 25:23 [*šaar happōneh*]), so the gate was later rebuilt and fortified by UZZIAH (2 Chr. 26:9). After the destruction of the city, the Corner Gate figures in two prophecies (Jer. 31:38; Zech. 14:10 [*šaar happinnîm*]). It is not mentioned in NEHEMIAH'S description of Jerusalem, and its precise location is uncertain. (Cf. J. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* [1952], 226–81, 447–58.)

corners of the earth. This phrase, or a variation of it, is used to render the Hebrew *kanĕpôt hāāres* (Job 37:3; 38:13; Isa. 11:12 ["four corners"; NIV, "four quarters"]; Ezek. 7:2; the noun *kānāp H4053* means "wing, extremity") and the Greek *hai gōniai tēs gēs* (Rev. 7:1; 20:8). This way of describing the expanse of the physical earth is derived from semantic equivalents of great antiquity. The phrase "four corners," as expressive of the whole earth or a country, occurs in inscriptions of the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian period (c. 2300 B.C.).

W.WHITE,JR.

cornerstone. The type of masonry wall construction indicated by this term is the framing of the corner with courses of long stones, framing the whole, as in log-built houses, to tie the walls together at the corner. Most eras of Palestine reveal that these walls were laid of rough, unshaped boulders whose joints were filled in with smaller stones. Only in the era of SOLOMON and AHAB were shaped or "cut" stones used, after which there was a reversion to rubble stones; then after the return from the EXILE under the Persians, cut stone work began to appear. See ARCHITECTURE I.

The Hebrew term *pinnâ H7157* (by itself or in combination with other words) is commonly used to signify "cornerstone" or "capstone." The word is used to signify the absolute power of God. Isaiah uses the figure of the foundation stone to connote the unshakable foundation which God is to those who trust in MESSIAH (Isa. 28:16). Those who trust in God's program of world history will not, therefore, be confused by contemporary events so as to rush into earthly alliances for refuge.

Especially important is Ps. 118:22 because of the numerous times it is quoted in the NT, where it is specifically applied to Christ by himself. The psalm describes the preference of the speaker contrary to his detractors. As a proverb it becomes most appropriate of Christ (cf. *kephalē gōnias* in Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17; Acts 4:11; *lithos akrogōniaios* in 1 Pet. 2:7). The synoptics place the quotation after the parable of the husbandman, by so doing indicating that he will not succeed in his usurpations, but will be judged by the rejected stone. Peter indicates that unbelievers will be judged by this One, though unthinking masons considered such a stone ill-suited to the kingdom of God and cast it aside (cf. the reference to ZION in Isa. 28:16). Over this One the unthinking person will stumble to perish forever, but 1 Pet. 2:6 indicates that spiritual safety lies in founding faith on this corner stone, which is the basis of the CHURCH of the living God.

Paul presented Christ as the "chief cornerstone" (*akrgōniaios G214,* Eph. 2:20) that completes and unifies the wall, without which it would be weak and ineffectual, and who makes both parts of the wall (Jew and Gentile) one. Christ in his character as redeemer and judge fits both metaphors of the foundation stone and the capstone. The shape of the stone need not be a pyramidion; rather its position is meant. For Israel the "stone" was a causing of STUMBLING, for which reason they were set aside by God (Rom. 9:33). Another metaphorical use appears in Zechariah's prophecy of the ultimate triumph of Israel over its enemies (Zech. 10:4). (See J. Jeremias in *ZNW 29* [1930]: 264–80; E. E. La Bas, *PEQ* no vol. [1946]: 103–15.)

H. G. STIGERS

cornet. See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.B.

corporate personality. The concept of corporate personality has been highly influential in much biblical interpretation over the last one hundred years. However, the concept is still widely misunderstood, in large part because often it is not clearly defined or articulated. The notion of corporate personality is most closely associated with the work of the well-known OT scholar H. Wheeler Robinson in the first decades of the 20th cent. Robinson maintained a view of the ancient Israelite conception of human personality that was predicated upon the notion of a "primitive psychology." Robinson thought this included the idea of a quasi-physical soul, personality being accessible to external non-sensory influences, and, most important, a lack of a sense of individuality. This lack of individuality he called "the idea of corporate personality." The result was that primitive religion and legislation treated humans as members of tribes, clans, or families, rather than as individuals in their own right.

This orientation supposedly explains such biblical practices as blood revenge (see AVENGER OF

BLOOD), or the sin of one being transferred to a group to which the individual belongs. The notion of corporate personality has thus been invoked to explain such episodes as the death of ACHAN'S family because of his sin (Josh. 7), the use of "I" when it represents others in the Psalms, and the Isaianic songs about the SERVANT OF THE LORD. Besides Robinson, a number of other well-known scholars have invoked similar categories in their exegesis of biblical texts. The result of such theories has been that some interpreters have been inclined to draw major and sharp distinctions between Hebraic and Greek concepts of person and society.

Despite the apparent strength of such a notion—or at least its longevity in biblical scholarship—a number of important criticisms of Robinson's hypothesis have been mounted. Some have simply opposed the notion of psychic community or psychical unity and have contended that the legal system of ancient Israel was based upon the individual and not the group. Others have attempted to nuance Robinson's position in the light of more recent research. For example, John Rogerson first of all questioned the theoretical basis of Robinson's position in early work in anthropology and psychology ("The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality: A Re-examination," *JTS* NS 21 [1970]: 1–16). There is the further difficulty—even if such a notion as a primitive personality existed—whether ancient Israel should be categorized as a primitive society. Second, Robinson drew parallels between modern BEDOUIN and ancient Israelite society. These parallels are often anachronistic.

Thirdly, and most importantly, Rogerson contended that Robinson and those who followed his ideas used the notion of corporate personality in two distinct ways. One was to refer to corporate representation and the other was to refer to psychical unity. The latter was the one that was given emphasis by Robinson and his followers, whereas it appears that the first of the two approaches may have more descriptive and analytical power in terms of the biblical account. Rogerson argued that ancient corporate representation was much like contemporary corporate situations in which such a figure as a President or a Prime Minister can be said to act on behalf of a nation without necessarily a loss of the sense of individuality of the citizens. Perhaps even more to the point, there are examples within other ancient cultures and societies, such as the ancient Greeks (not thought to represent "primitive" thought), where corporate representation can also be found. For example, in *Oedipus the King* by Sophocles, the entire city suffers because of the sin of the one man, Oedipus, who then takes the suffering of the city upon himself. Attempts, for example, to argue for the unique background of the OT on the basis of this concept are mitigated.

Thus one must conclude that the language of corporate personality should probably be avoided, but the idea of corporate representation can be paralleled not only in modern thought but in a range of ancient cultures as well. Corporate representation seems to provide a better category to use in exegeting instances where the actions of one have consequences of others. (See further S. E. Porter, "Two Myths: Corporate Personality and Language/Mentality Determinism," *SJT* 43 [1990]: 289–307; J. S. Kaminsky, *Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible* [1995].)

STANLEY E. PORTER

corpse. This English term can be used to translate several Hebrew nouns or expressions, especially *nĕbēlâ H5577* (e.g., Deut. 21:23; 2 Ki. 9:37) and *nepeš H5883* (e.g., Lev. 22:4; Num. 5:2; this Hebrew noun has a wide variety of meanings, such as "breath, soul, person, life," etc.; see SOUL I). For most of these references, the NIV prefers "dead body." The word for "corpse" in Greek is *ptōma G4773,* which the NIV renders "carcass" or simply "body" (Matt. 14:12; 24:28; Mk. 6:29; 15:45; Rev. 11:8–9). In Palestine in NT times it was evidently the custom to bury a corpse within twenty-four hours of death, as is the case today in lands where high climatic temperatures are encountered.

Such was evidently the case with the bodies of John the Baptist and Jesus (Mk. 6:29; Matt. 27:57–60). The legal right to possession of a corpse has varied over the years. Evidently Christ's body did not go into the possession of Joseph of Arimathea until officially released to him by Pilate (Matt. 27:57–60). In modern times in the United States of America, the law has refused to recognize a corpse as property in a material sense but has recognized the right of survivors to possess and control its appropriate

Naturally preserved corpse from predynastic Egypt (c. 3400 B.C.).

disposition. Failure to bury a corpse was regarded as a misfortune for the deceased in OT times (Jer. 16:4).

P.E.ADOLPH

corpus. In literary and linguistic studies, this term refers to a body of writings that have something in common. Thus the expression *Corpus Paulinum* refers to the letters of Paul preserved in the NT. A research project known as the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti,* begun early in the 20th cent., has sought to collect linguistic and conceptual parallels to the NT found in the body of Greco-Roman literature (the work is still in progress, though various monographs have been published).

correction. See DISCIPLINE.

corrections of the scribes. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT) VI.

corruption. The KJV uses this term mainly to render Hebrew *šaḥat H8846* (e.g., Ps. 16:10; NIV, "decay"; NRSV, "the Pit") and Greek *diaphthora G1426* (e.g., Acts 2:27) in passages that refer to the decaying of the physical body (more broadly of creation, Rom. 8:21). See DEATH; SHEOL. The word and its cognates can also be used of moral DEPRAVITY (e.g., to render the verb *šaḥat H8845* in Hos. 9:9; or the noun *phthora G5785* in 2 Pet. 1:4). See SIN.

Corruption, Hill (Mount) of. According to 1Ki. 11:7, SOLOMON built a HIGH PLACE for several

Canaanite gods on a hill to the E of JERUSALEM. Many years later, during a time of spiritual revival, King JOSIAH "desecrated the high places that were east of Jerusalem on the south of the Hill of Corruption [*har-hammašḥît*]—the ones Solomon king of Israel had built for Ashtoreth the vile goddess of the Sidonians, for Chemosh the vile god of Moab, and for Molech the detestable god of the people of Ammon" (the same Hebrew phrase occurs in Jer. 51:25 with the sense "destroying mountain," referring to BABYLON). The site is usually identified with the southern height of the ridge known as the MOUNT OF OLIVES. The latter was referred to by the rabbis (e.g., *m. Midd.* 1:3; *b. Yoma* 16a) as *har-hammišḥâ,* "Mount of Anointment," because olive OIL was used for anointing (see ANOINT). Some scholars have thought that this was the original designation of the Hill of Corruption and that, by a wordplay, it was changed to the latter name when it began to be used for idolatrous purposes. In modern times this hill is sometimes referred to by the Latin names *Mons Offensionis* (Mount of Offense, from the Vulgate of 2 Ki. 23:13) and *Mons Scandali* (Mount of Scandal).

The forested area on the right side of the elevation marks the Hill of Corruption, where Solomon built high places to foreign idols. (View to the NE.)

The harbor of Cos.

Cos kos (Κῶς *G3271*). KJV Coos. A small island of the Sporades group in the AEGEAN Sea, very close to the SW coast of ASIA MINOR; it formed a navigational point for PAUL'S ship on the voyage from MILETUS to RHODES (Acts 21:1). The island was probably colonized from Epidaurus, and suffered heavily at the hands of both sides in the great war between ATHENS and SPARTA near the end

of the 5th cent. B.C. Under Athenian control in the early 4th cent., the island revolted in 354 B.C. only to fall under the domination of Macedon (see MACEDONIA). Its greatest fame flows first from the fact that it was the home of Hippocrates (5th cent. B.C.), the founder of all medical science, and secondly from the fact that, in Hellenistic times, it was a center of literature under the protection of the Ptolemies of Egypt (see PTOLEMY). It was the home of the writers Philetas and Theocritus. In the 2nd cent. B.C., Cos was loyal to the Romans and became a free state within the province of ASIA. Its inhabitants, and those of other countries, were warned by the Roman authorities not to harm the Jews during the rule of SIMON MACCABEE (1 Macc. 15:23). HEROD the Great sent financial aid to its capital, also named Cos (Jos. *War* 1.21.11 §423).

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Cosam koh'suhm (Κωσάμ *G3272,* prob. from Heb. קֹסָם, "diviner"). Son of Elmadam and descendant of DAVID through NATHAN; included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:28).

cosmetics. The Bible makes only limited reference to cosmetics, such as PERFUME, OINTMENT, and EYE PAINT.

I. Cosmetic utensils. The item most frequently found in Palestinian excavations, which is unmistakably identified with cosmetics, is the small limestone bowl or palette. These were made from hard stone, about four inches in diameter, with a flat base and a small, somewhat hemispherical, cavity in the top center. The rim was usually decorated with incised carving. They were used to prepare colors for the face, by means of small pestles and spatulas. These palettes were common in the northern part of the country, from the 10th cent. B.C. on, and seem to have been imported from SYRIA.

Green color was derived from MALACHITE or TURQUOISE, and used to paint the lower eyelids; while black came from manganese or ANTIMONY, and was applied to the eyebrows and lashes. Red ocher was used to add lip color. Large numbers of small pottery juglets, usually fired in a reducing atmosphere to produce a lustrous and burnished black finish, also come from the excavations of this period. The most probable usage of these would have been as perfume containers. Some ivory ointment flasks are known, while "perfume bottles" are mentioned in Isa. 3:20. The ALABASTER jar, filled with ointment, is mentioned in Lk. 7:37 (cf. Matt. 26:7; Mk. 14:3). During classical times small glass vials were popular containers for perfumes and other cosmetics. A cosmetic kit from the biblical period might contain a polished metal mirror, palette, ivory and metal spatulas, kohl sticks, unguent spoons, tweezers, and a variety of containers.

II. Eye paint. In addition to the minerals named above, galena and stibnite also were ground in the palettes. These powders, probably stored and carried in pouches, were then mixed with water or gum before application. The Bible associates eye paint with questionable women who made excessive use of it (2 Ki. 9:30; Jer. 4:30; Ezek. 23:40). In addition to beautification, the eye paint probably had some hygienic effect in discouraging disease-carrying flies.

III. Perfume and ointment. Perfumes were very popular in ancient times, and a minimum list of

Small ivory dish used for cosmetics (from Ur, 7th cent. B.C.).

eighteen or twenty kinds can be extracted from the Bible. They were used for adornment (Cant. 1:13), as lavish gifts (Wisd. 2:7), and in burial practices; they may also have been used, as in medieval times, to counteract the need for bathing. Ointments were compounded from oils, mostly olive, but also other vegetable and animal fats were used. They were applied to the head (Ps. 133:2; Matt. 6:17) or to the entire body (Ruth 3:3; Esth. 2:12). Red color applied to the palms of the hands, soles of the feet, and sometimes to the nails and hair, was derived from HENNA, mixed with oil or fat to form an ointment. This practice is still widespread today among rural Arabs.

IV. Powder and rouge. Peoples of the ANE used power and rouge, red and yellow colors being obtained from ochers, and white from lead carbonate. Both of these materials are known from excavations, and other sources indicate the use of powder puffs in Egypt. The only biblical reference to powder, in the cosmetic sense, is in Cant. 3:6, where it probably refers to ingredients for making paint. (See G. Wright in *BA* 18/3 [Sept. 1955]: 50—79; R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955–64],3:l–50.)

M.H.HEICKSEN

cosmogony, cosmology. The term *cosmogony* (from Gk. *kosmos* "world, universe," and *gonos,* "that which is begotten or produced") refers to any view regarding the origin of the visible universe. A similar meaning is conveyed by the word *cosmology,* which can also be used more specifically of the modern astrophysical study of the origins, evolution, and structure of the universe. See also

ASTRONOMY; CREATION; HEAVEN; WORLD.

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I. Biblical cosmogony

A. Terms used. Among the more basic OT terms used in descriptions relating to aspects of the origin of the universe are *šāmayim H9028,* "heavens, sky," and *eres H824,* "earth, land." The former word indicates that region of the "visible heavens" including the far-off area where the stars (Gen. 15:5; Jdg. 5:20), the sun, and the moon (Deut. 4:19) are, and meant sometimes to indicate the whole universe (Gen. 1:1; Deut. 3:24). The term can be used also for that area nearer the earth, the atmosphere, where the birds fly (Gen. 1:20) and from which comes the rain (Gen. 8:2; Jdg. 5:4); the heaven is also the place where God is enthroned (Ps. 2:4; Isa. 66:1). The "earth" in cosmogony is that material sphere opposite the heavens (Gen. 1:1, 2; Exod. 20:4). It is figuratively spoken of as built on foundations or pillars of the Lord (1 Sam. 2:8), meaning that it is under God's sovereign control (cf. Job 26:7), and depicted as consisting of waters and dry land (Gen. 1:10; cf. Exod. 20:4; Deut. 5:8).

The corresponding NT words are *ouranos G4041* and *gē G1178,* although *kosmos G3180* ("world, universe") can also refer to either heaven or earth. Heaven is mentioned with the earth as a part of the universe (Matt. 5:18; Acts 7:49), the starry heaven (Matt. 24:29), the place of the atmosphere in which are the clouds (24:30) and where the birds fly (Mk. 4:32), and the place of God's residence (11:25). The term *kosmos* is used sometimes to indicate the earth (Jn. 11:9) and the whole earth (cf. Matt. 26:13), that planet into which Jesus Christ came (Jn. 9:39). The *gē* in a cosmological sense is the earth in contrast to the heaven (Matt. 5:18; Lk. 2:14), which earth will be replaced eventually by a new one (2 Pet. 3:13).

The Hebrew verb *bārā H1343* means "shape, create" (cf. the corresponding Arabic word, which means "form, fashion by cutting"), and it is used in Gen. 1:1 of God's creative activity of the heaven and the earth *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) and also employed in the summary statement of divine creation (Gen. 2:3; cf. Isa. 45:18). It is used to describe the creation of man out of existing material (Gen. 1:27; 5:1–2; 6:7; Deut. 4:32). The verb *ā'sâ H6913,* "do, make," is also employed of God's creativity (using existing materials) in fashioning the earth (Gen. 1:7), the sun, moon, and stars (1:16), as well as the animals and insects of the earth (1:25), and human beings (Ps. 100:3).

Another word for "create" is *yāṣar H3670,* "form, fashion," which is used of divine activity in

God's forming man of the previously created dust from the ground (Gen. 2:7–8), and in his making or creating all things (Jer. 10:16), including the heavens (Isa. 45:18), the earth (Ps. 95:5; Isa. 45:18), the mountains (Amos 4:13), and the sea (Ps. 95:5). In Gen. 14:19 the participle of the verb *qānâ H7865,* "get, acquire," is employed by MELCHIZEDEK (also by ABRAHAM, v. 22), to indicate God as "Creator of heaven and earth."

The noun *ôlām H6409,* "long time, antiquity," is sometimes employed in conveying the concept that the universe was created in time and for long duration: "Before the mountains were born / or you brought forth the earth and the world, / from everlasting to everlasting you are God" (Ps. 90:2; cf. Ps. 78:69). "Generations come and go, / but the earth remains forever" (Eccl. 1:4; cf. Pss. 104:5; 148:4–6).

In the NT, the Greek verb *ktizō G3231,* "create," is used to indicate that God as Lord (Rev. 4:11), according to his sovereign will (4:11) and at the

This Babylonian astronomical diary records an observation of Halley's comet on about 22–28 September, 164 B.C.

beginning in time (Mk. 13:19), created all things (Eph. 3:9; Rev. 4:11; cf. 1 Tim. 4:4), which creation included the heaven, the earth, the sea (Rev. 10:6), and the special creation, man and woman (Matt. 19:4; Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10; cf. 1 Cor. 11:9). Its cognate noun, *ktisis G3232,* is employed to indicate the act of creating the world (Rom. 1:20), as well as the sum total of all that was created (Mk. 13:19; cf. Rom. 8:19–22), everything made since the beginning (2 Pet. 3:4); such creation including that of the male and female (Mk. 10:6). Another cognate, *ktisma G3233,* "a created thing," occurs in 1 Tim. 4:4 where everything created by God is declared to be good. God is moreover stated to be a "faithful Creator" (*ktistēs G3234,* 1 Pet. 4:19).

The *verb plassō G4421,* "form, mold," in our literature refers only to God's forming man (1 Tim. 2:13), and the noun *plasma G4420* speaks of "that which is molded" (i.e., a human being) by God (Rom. 9:20). The common Greek verb *poieō G4472* is employed to indicate divine creative activity in which a sovereign Lord (Acts 4:24; 17:24) made the universe (7:50), including the heaven, the earth, the sea (14:15), and the fountains of water (Rev. 14:7). This verb is used to describe God's creation of the male and female (Matt. 19:4; Mk. 10:6). It may be observed that in Jn. 1:3 ("Through him all things were made; without him nothing was made that has been made") this verb is not used but rather *ginomai G1181,* "become," which in this context implies creation *ex nihilo* ("coming to be out of nothing").

These terms used in the OT and NT testify to a creation that, in its entirety, composed of heaven, earth, and sea, was made from nothing by God in the beginning, and then shaped and destined for long existence. Such a divine creation is looked upon as good (Gen. 1:31). The use of the terms finds emphasis on the special creation of man, male and female, made of the previously created dust from the ground and created in the IMAGE OF GOD (1:26).

B. The creation of the heavens and the earth. There are several OT and NT passages that stress creation particularly and therefore deserve special attention.

1. OT passages. Three passages primarily call for special attention in cosmogony: Gen. 1:1—2:4 and 2:5 –25 in the early records of God's revelation, and Prov. 8:22–31 in a poetic section of Scripture.

Genesis 1:1—2:4. In this primary account regarding cosmogony a most important feature stressed is divine activity involved in creation. This point is brought out in Gen. 1:1 when Elohim, God, is declared responsible for the origin of the cosmos (similarly in the succeeding verses). Also the "Spirit of God" in v. 2 is stated to have been active in the creative process. There is no reason why the Hebrew *rûaḥ H8120* in this verse needs to be translated "wind" (cf. NRSV); it should rather be interpreted as "Spirit" in a context dynamic with divine activity. The phrase "In the beginning" suggests a time in history in which the divine fiat occurred. Although it has been seen above that the word for "created" can be used elsewhere to convey creating out of already existing materials (as in Gen. 1:27, regarding the creation of man; cf. also Gen. 5:1 –2), its context here, in which initially only divine existence and activity are evident, demands the concept of creation *ex nihilo,* that is, the original creation out of nothing, by an eternal God (cf. Ps. 90:1–2).

Small cuneiform planisphere (7th cent. B.C.) from the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, which contained several circular objects of this kind. Each segment is inscribed with the name of a month, its associated constellation, and a numeral. The back contains a text about the position of certain stars.

The elements stressed in the creative process are set forth in two categories: elements of physical-material nature, as light (Gen. 1:3–5), water (vv. 6–9, 20–23), dry land-earth (vv. 9–13, 24–25), and the sky or firmament (vv. 6–8). The latter term in the KJV renders Hebrew *rāqîa H8385,* "extended surface, that which is spread out," giving the picture of something stretched out or beaten out like a piece of metal (see Exod. 39:3; Num. 17:3–4; Jer. 10:9); the word is translated "expanse" in the NIV, "dome" in the NRSV (LXX *stereōma,* "solid body, framework"; Vulgate *firmamentum,* "that which strengthens or supports").

The second category of divinely created things consists of physical material imbued with life, namely, the vegetation (plants and trees, Gen. 1:11–12), animals and sea creatures (1:20–22), the birds (1:20–22), the land animals, cattle, creeping things, and beasts (1:24–25), and man and woman (1:26–27). God's personal and perfect work in creating all this is seen in the repeated declaration, "God saw that it was good" (1:4, 12, 18, 21, 25), and in the climax summary regarding all things in the created world, "it was very good" (1:31).

Two factors in the Gen. 1:1—2:4 text are to be considered in interpreting the age of the creation. The first is in Gen. 1:2, "the earth was formless and empty." Some have suggested that the verb in this sentence can have a dynamic force and be translated "became," suggesting a period of time between

the original creation (1:1) and the time when it *became* chaotic due to some catastrophic event, possibly involved with sin and divine judgment. This interpretation is known as the Cataclysm Theory (cf. Jer. 4:23–26; Isa. 24:1; 45:18). However, the verb *hāyâ H2118* "is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause" (i.e., without the verb; see GKC §141*i*). Thus the passage depicts the universe as created first by God in a state different from that now seen and suggests that God subsequently spent the creative days forming and shaping the creation and creating life united with material substance.

The second factor concerns the term *yôm H3427,* "day," which occurs prominently several times in connection with the six creative days (Gen. 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31) as well as for the seventh day in which God rested (2:2–3). Lexically, this word is used in the OT to indicate a working day (Exod. 20:9 –10; Lev. 23:3) or the hours spent during the day for a journey (whether one day, Num. 11:31; 1 Ki. 19:4; or several days, Gen. 30:36; 2 Ki. 3:9). The word is used also to convey a general twenty-four hour period of time in the groups of days (Gen. 7:4; 8:10–12; v. 11 presents a day and its evening) as well as for a single twenty-four hour unit (Gen. 40:20, the third day, Pharaoh's birthday; Exod. 31:15, the sabbath day). In the singular, this word can mean "time," in the sense of a time of punishment (Jer. 50:31), a period of harvest (Prov. 25:13), an extended period of going out of the land of Egypt (Deut. 16:3; cf. 1 Sam. 29:8), and the time of future punishment (Deut. 31:17; Amos 8:3, 9), including the coming day of the Lord (cf. Isa. 2:11, 12; Mal. 4:3). This term can be thought of also in the sense of extended periods of time, even a thousand years (Ps. 90:4). Likewise in the NT, *hēmera G2465* can mean a day of daylight hours (Matt. 4:2); a civil or legal day including the night (6:34); longer periods of time, as a generation (Jn. 8:56); the day of the Lord's second coming and judgment (Acts 2:20); and it can be used to indicate a thousand years in the Lord's sight (2 Pet. 3:8).

In the interpretation of Gen. 1:1—2:4, *yôm* thus can be conceived of as a literal twenty-four hour day or parts thereof, or it can be thought of figuratively as depicting long periods of time. If these days were twenty-four hour segments, then the creation (1:1–2) can be posited to have taken place a long time before (with or without a proposed chaotic interlude). If the creative days are interpreted figuratively to indicate long periods in which God's creative activity occurred, then the creation *ex nihilo* can be considered as not necessarily occurring much earlier than the creative process that involved the first day. God's rest on the seventh day (2:2–3) is to be thought of as a long period of time in the light of Heb. 4:1–11; Ps. 95:11; Num. 14:23. Thus it can be argued that the earlier six days are long periods. At any rate, the picture of Gen. 1 sets forth that the original creation occurred at an unspecified period in the past.

The pattern of creative days as long periods of time may be thought of as follows:

Eternity past
First day—darkness and light (Gen. 1:1–5)
Second day—the expanse (vv. 6–8)
Third day—land and vegetation (vv. 9–13)
Fourth day—sun, moon, and stars (vv. 14–19)
Fifth day—sea animals and birds (vv. 20–23)

Sixth day—land animals and man (vv. 24–31)
Seventh day—God's rest (2:1–3)
Eternity future

Some have considered the Gen. 1 story of creation as MYTH, similar to myth stories of Mesopotamia and elsewhere, in which some of the same created elements as daylight, sun, water, and sky are mentioned, but there is no proof of connection. Any story involving creation would naturally include some of the observable phenomena of nature. AUGUSTINE (*City of God* 11.6–7) interprets the creative days as the spiritual experience of the creature when the creature returns to praise and love of the Creator; but this interpretation is contrary to the obviously historical account of Gen. 1–3.

Some (e.g., John Davis in his *Dictionary of the Bible* [1915], 153) set forth what might be called a "Double Symmetry" or "Split Week" view that finds symmetrical parallels between the first day (light) and the fourth day (the luminaries); the second day (waters and sky) and the fifth (sea animals and birds of the sky); and the third day (dry land and vegetation) and the sixth (land animals and man). However, it has been observed, for instance, that the third day with its waters differentiated from the dry land fits as well the fifth day with its sea life and birds. (See J. O. Buswell, Jr., *A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion* [1962], 1:142–44.) Further, this "Split Week" view breaks up the order of events, which give the impression of occurring in direct succession. The apparent problem that light was created on the first day but that the sun appears later on the fourth can be solved by positing the sun breaking through the dense atmosphere of the earth on the fourth day at a time naturally later than the separation of the waters of the heaven (on the second day) and the appearance of the dry land, earth (on the third day).

Genesis 2:5–25. This passage begins with a statement in Gen. 2:4b that combines at least the earlier part of God's creative activity including the third day: "In the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens, when no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up" (NRSV). An interesting detail of cosmogony comes up in 2:6, which speaks of a *mist* (*ēd H116;* cf. Job 36:27) that went up and watered the earth, undoubtedly a reference to the situation that pertained in the third day (Gen. 1:11) in the growth of the vegetation.

The passage continues with further explanation of God's previous creative activity, especially in connection with the creation of man. The elements stressed are: earth, water (2:5–6); man (details of his creation, v. 7); woman (her creation, 2:21–23, expansion of 1:26–27); the relation of man to the vegetable (2:9, 15) and animal creation (2:19–20, an expansion of 1:26, 28); and man's spiritual relation to God (2:7–8; cf. 3:8). The statement that "God formed the man from the dust of the ground" (2:7) teaches that man was made directly by God of previously created inorganic matter rather than his evolving by process from an earlier living form; and that man was made alive by means of God's life (the breath of the divine). Likewise, God is posited as directly creating the woman out of the like material body of which the man was formed (2:21 –23). This interpretation agrees with Jesus' statement that "at the beginning he [NIV, the Creator] made them male and female" (Matt. 19:4).

Proverbs 8:22 –31. This poetic section personifies WISDOM and speaks of her creation or possession (the Heb. in Prov. 8:22 is *qānâ H7865,* "get, acquire") by God before his creation of the heavens and the earth at the beginning. There follows a description of the Lord in his wisdom creating the universe, the emphasis first being on the earth, with its depths (v. 24, cf. v. 27), springs of waters (v. 24), its mountains, hills, and fields (vv. 25 –26); then the heavens (v. 27), with its sky (v. 28); and

finally the seas, which are confined to their boundaries (v. 29). A related passage is Jer. 10:11–12, where God in his *wisdom* and power is again depicted as creating the earth and the heavens.

2. NT passages. The NT passages that speak of cosmogony present the same viewpoint as the OT.

John 1:1–3, 10. This section of Scripture further clarifies the meaning of the statement, "God created," by specifying that these words are to be interpreted as including in the divine creative activity the *logos G3364,* the Word, the one who became flesh (Jn. 1:14), being the divine Son (v. 18). The fourth gospel is especially careful to emphasize the divine and eternal character of the LOGOS by declaring that he was God (v. 1) and was "in the beginning with God" (v. 2). Then John stresses that the Word was the dynamic agency *(dia G1328,* "through, by means of") in bringing all things into existence, that is, creating every last object (v. 3; cf. *kosmos* in v. 10).

Colossians 1:15–17. Paul in Colossians gives much the same emphasis but expands the creative power of Christ to include not only the physical creation but also the invisible spiritual created beings. Paul starts by stating that Christ shares the same nature as the invisible God *(eikōn tou theou,* "God's exact representation") and is the FIRSTBORN over all creation. Thus, like the OT passages considered and Jn. 1:1–3, the immaterial personal God including the person Christ is depicted as existing before any of that which he created. Other creation elements stressed in the Colossian passage are the heavens and the earth, which Christ created together with all the invisible beings in these regions (Col. 1:16). The purpose for the creation is given in the words, "all things were created…for him." Also Paul stresses again the fact that Christ existed before all his creation and adds, in evidence of his creative power, that he providentially causes all creation to continue to exist or adhere to its constituted condition (v. 17, *synistēmi G5319).*

Hebrews 1:2–3 and 11:3. In the first chapter of this epistle, the writer brings out the truth that the God of the OT in cooperation with his Son, Christ, created the world. The same expression of agency used in John and Colossians *(dia)* is used here, but instead of using the phrase "created all things" (Col. 1:16–17), Heb. 1:2 says that "he made the ages" *(epoiēsen tous aiōnas;* the term *aiōn G172* means "that which exists for a long time," but here it is a temporal-spatial concept to be translated "world, universe"). The writer goes on to speak of Christ's creative power with the phrase "sustaining all things by his powerful word." In Heb. 11:3 the expression is somewhat different but carries the same essential meaning: "the universe was formed at God's command" *(katērtisthai tous aiōnas rhēmati theou),* that is, by divine supernatural fiat. The visible creation *(to blepomenon)* did not come about out of things that appear (*ek phainomenōn,* visible things), but by a command issuing from divine counsel.

Romans 1:19–20. Paul states that human beings are without excuse as they in their wickedness turn from God, for in the physical creation the Creator has made known unto them evidence concerning his invisible nature, his power, and his deity. Paul's teaching is that God sometime in the past created the world or universe *(ktisis kosmou);* and that ever since that time the things created *(ta poiēmata)* bring a clear witness to the rational mind concerning that Creator God as to his invisible nature, power, and deity, the implication being that such a visible creation demands a personal and powerful Creator whom people are to worship and serve rather than turning to worship the creation itself (Rom. 1:25).

3. Spatial areas in the creation according to Scripture. In summary, the Scripture includes in its discussion the following areas of creation: the heavens, including the lower heaven of the atmosphere (cf. Gen. 1:7, 20; Matt. 24:30; Lk. 4:25), the place of the sun, moon, and stars (Gen. 1:14–16; Matt.

24:29; Rev. 6:13), and the place where God dwells somewhere in the midst of his created universe (Rev. 4:2, 11; cf. Gen. 2:2–4); and the area of the earth and of the seas (Gen. 1:9–10; Rev. 5:13). The eternal abode of the righteous and the wicked in a spatial heaven (cf. Jn. 14:1–3; Rev. 21:2) and in a spatial hell (cf. Matt. 11:23; Rev. 20:14) respectively is to be understood within the framework of God's original and/or newly created heaven and earth (cf. 2 Cor. 5:1; 12:1–4; Rev. 20:14; 21:1–4).

C. Man's creation—spiritual as well as material. In the OT Gen. 2:7 sets forth the proposition that man was created out of physical materials previously created by God ("the dust of the ground"), but it also adds the thought that God performed a special spiritual creative act in that he "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being." Compare for this concept Jesus' breathing on his disciples in their reception of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 20:22, see Buswell, *Systematic Theology,* 1:161). This added detail in the creation story aids in interpreting Gen. 1:26 –27, where it is stated that human beings were made in God's image, in his likeness, referring not to their material creation but to their spiritual, rational, and moral creation in God's image (note: Jesus teaches that "God is spirit," Jn. 4:24). The NT bears out this interpretation of the special spiritual creation of human beings (in addition to their physical-material creation) in passages where in obvious perspective of the original sinless creation before the act of disobedience to God in the FALL (Gen. 3), the redeemed person's new spiritual relation to God is spoken of in terms of being created anew. For example, 2 Cor. 5:17, "if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation"; Eph. 2:10, "created in Christ Jesus to do good works"; Eph. 4:24, "put on the new self, created to be like God in true righteousness and holiness"; and Col. 3:10, "[you] have put on the new self, which is being renewed in the image of its Creator."

D. Creation in biblical eschatology. There were creative renewals set forth in pagan thought and literature, as in the stories of the Mesopota-mian ENUMA ELISH (cf. *ANET,* 60–72) and the Greek war of the Olympian gods against the Titans (Hesiod, *Theog.* 617–885; cf. also *Titanomachia* in the *Epic Cycle* [LCL, 480–82]) before creation could be set in order. However, in the biblical record the God who sovereignly created his universe (Gen. 1; 2) and who in his providence rules over his creation (cf. Ps. 18:7–15; Jer. 10:13; Matt. 5:45; Col. 1:17; Ps. 2:4–5) is predicted as destroying this material universe and calling forth a new one.

For example, the Lord prophesies through the psalmist that the original universe he created will perish (Ps. 102:25–26, quoted in Heb. 1:10–11). Further, God predicts in Isaiah's time that in a future day he will create a new heaven and earth (Isa. 66:22–23), and this theme is furthered in Rev. 21:1, where John, following the great Judgment Day scene, says that he sees in future prophetic view a new heaven and earth, and adds that the first heaven and earth "had passed away." Peter expands on this theme by describing the explosive way in which the first heaven and earth are to be done away: "The heavens will disappear with a roar; the elements will be destroyed by fire, and the earth and everything in it will be laid bare" (2 Pet. 3:10; cf. also v. 12). He then goes on to note, as does John in Rev. 21:1, that there will then be created new heavens and a new earth (2 Pet. 3:13). Before this final destruction of the original earth, Paul describes a time on earth when the earth created and cursed because of Adam's sin (Gen. 3:17–19; Rom. 8:20) "will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the glorious freedom of the children of God" (Rom. 8:21), suggesting that there will be a physical-material renewal of this present earth. See HEAVENS, NEW.

II. Extrabiblical cosmogony

A. Egyptian. Accounts of creation in Egyptian material are exampled in a text of the 24th cent. B.C. *(The Creation by Atum)* that presents a story involving cosmogony. Here the god Atum-Khuprer, deity of HELIOPOLIS, in the first creation, standing on a primeval hill arising out of the waters of chaos, brings into being the first gods. In another version of the story, this god is identified with water and the sun disc (*ANET,* 3–4).

B. Semitic and other myths. In the literature from UGARIT (c. 1400 B.C.), conflict is pictured in primeval times between the gods to gain control over the gods, men, and the earth (*ANET,* 129 –42). In the Babylonian *Creation Epic* (early 2nd millennium B.C.) is depicted the struggle between cosmic order and chaos, which was a serious drama for the ancient Mesopotamians reenacted at the beginning of each new year (*ANET,* 60–72). Hittite viewpoint regarding early creation days is seen in the story of the struggle between the storm-god of heaven and the dragon Illuyankas, the latter being victorious; but then a mortal man, Hupasiyas, gives assistance and the storm-god finally wins (*ANET,* 125–26). In the Sumerian tradition is to be found the *Paradise Myth of Enki and Ninhursag,* which presents, under the figure of human reproduction, procreation of a series of goddesses, and through the god Enki's semen the sprouting of different kinds of plants (*ANET,* 37–41), but this is a far cry from a real cosmogony. As a matter of fact, none of the Egyptian, Semitic, and other stories of creative activity bear any real resemblance to the Genesis creation story, which presents the universe produced dynamically by a monotheistic sovereign deity.

C. Greek cosmogony. Early classical Greek literature presents a picture of creation in which material elements are responsible for the creation (on the pattern of human reproduction) of all things including a polytheistic system of divinities who with some of these created materials are counted as supreme. In Homer's *Iliad* (19.258–60), ZEUS as first and highest of the gods, with the Earth, Sun, and the Erinyes that are under earth, are all counted as important gods in bringing vengeance on men. Hesiod (possibly 900–800 B.C.) pictures Chaos as first coming into being, and next "wide-bosomed Earth" (*Theog.* 116–19). In the cosmology of Hesiod, Earth is a disk surrounded by Oceanus, the river, floats on a waste of waters, and is the support for hills (cf. footnote on line 117 in the LCL ed.). From initial Chaos came Erebus and Night, and from the latter was born Aether (i.e., the bright clear upper stratosphere as different from Aër, the air of the lower earth atmosphere) and Day (ibid., 123–25). Earth is pictured as bearing starry Heaven, and in turn cohabiting with Heaven and bearing deep swirling Oceanus (ibid., 126–127, 133). It is of such created things that "the holy race of deathless gods" are depicted as having been created: "deathless gods…born of Earth and starry Heaven and gloomy Night and them that briny Sea did rear" (ibid., 105–7; cf. 44–45, 108–11). This line of thought was evidently set forth in the *Epic Cycle* (c. 800 B.C.), which spoke of the union of Heaven and Earth producing three Cyclopes as well as three sons who had one hundred hands each (see p. 481 in the LCL ed. of Hesiod). It is easily seen that these Greek ideas of creation are quite different from the monotheistic cosmogony of Genesis. Zeus, the great god of the Greek pantheon, was not in any large measure connected with cosmology; and he was not the creator of gods and men. It is true, however, that the STOICS identified Zeus with the highest principle of their philosophy, fire, which they also counted as reason, that principle that permeates and makes alive the universe (see M. P. Nilsson, "Zeus," *OCD* [1949], 966). Plato, however, in talking about that person called God, speaks of his being the creator of man's body; he calls God *ho poiōn,* "the Maker" (Plato, *Timaeus* 76 C).

D. Views in the intertestamental period. Among the APOCRYPHA and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA of the intertestamental period, there are occasional references to the origin of creation and to details of the creation story. These statements in general follow the pattern of thought regarding creation given in the biblical account. The suggestion is conveyed in 2 Bar. 21:4 that God created the heavens and the earth *ex nihilo,* since God "called from the beginning of the world that which [the earth and the heavens] did not yet exist" (the translation here and that of other quotations from this literature are from *APOT).* Also 4 Ezra 6:38–40 may be interpreted to posit an *ex nihilo* creation which is stated to have occurred on the first creative day; the words are: "O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak at the beginning of the creation upon the first day, saying, Let heaven and earth be made!"

In several passages the thought is projected that the word of God is responsible for the creation of the world, obviously reflecting the recurring statement in Gen. 1, "And God said" (vv. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29). Such propositions are to be found: "O God of my fathers…who hast made all things by thy *word"* (Wisd. 9:1); "By the word of God his works are done" (Sir. 42:15); "O thou that hast made the earth…that hast fixed the firmament by the *word"* (2 Bar. 21:4). The activity of the creative days following Gen. 1:1 seems to be in view in the statement of 4 Ezra 6:38, where before a description of the days of creation it is said, "And thy word perfected the work [of creation]." The rabbinic document *Pirke Aboth* 5:1 states it differently: "By ten Sayings the world was created," evidently referring to the ten times in Gen. 1 that the clause "and God said" occurs (if the statement of v. 28 in slightly variant form be counted).

Reference to creation out of preexisting material is posited in Wisd. 11:17: "For this all-powerful hand, which created the world out of formless matter," possibly a reference to Gen. 1:2. The activity of the six creative days is described elsewhere (4 Ezra 6:38–59). The book *Jubilees* (2.1–16) sets forth twenty-two acts of creation on the six days. In Sir. 16:24–30 additional information is given of God's activity after his initial creation in the statement, "After making them, he assigned them their portions." God is praised for his creation in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* from Qumran (1QH, esp. col. V; see also DEAD SEA SCROLLS).

Following the theme expressed in Gen. 1:4, 10, 12, etc., concerning the goodness of God's creation, Sir. 39:16 and 33 state, "the works of the Lord are all good" and in the same document it is remarked, "All his works are truly lovely" (42:22). The intertestamental writers also comment on the enduring nature of divine creation under God's providence, as in Sir. 16:27, where it is stated, "he arranged his works in an eternal order, And their dominion for all generations." Reference is also to God's special creation of man, as seen in Wisd. 9:2, "O God…by thy wisdom formed man."

Neither do the intertestamental writers omit the theme of a renewed creation, as seen in 2 Bar. 32:6, "For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew his creation." Thus it appears that these writers were conscious of creation and tended to follow the pattern of Gen. 1, making comments and interpretations regarding its details.

III. Biblical cosmogony and modern theories

A. Basic positions. In viewing the origin of the universe, moderns have held generally to any one of the following several positions: an atheistic creation of chance in which nature evolves without divine intervention; a theistic evolution in which God is posited as directing creation by evolutionary processes; a pantheistic evolution in which Nature, along with God, gradually develops since God and nature are one; an agnostic evolution in which one is not sure whether there is a God or whether

he plays any part in the creation or not; and special divine creation, in which there is a variety of opinion as to how God accomplished his creative works (cf. esp. B. Davidheiser, *Evolution and Christian Faith* [1969], ch. 4; and T. D. S. Key in *Evolution and Christian Thought Today,* ed. R. L. Mixter [1959], 20–22). These different viewpoints concern the nature of the origin of the universe as well as the several creative acts that followed.

B. Process in creation—views held by Christians. Some of the theories held by modern Christians that have been thought to fit one way or another into the fact of supernatural biblical creation are as follows: (1) The Progressive Creative Catastrophism or "Gap" theory posits a gap of indefinite time between Gen. 1:1 and 2; during this period the geological ages developed, and later a literal six days of creation occurred. (2) The Day-Age Catastrophism theory takes the Hebrew word for "day" to mean "age"; the ages referred to may have occurred in the "gap" between Gen. 1:1 and 2, as well as in "days" to follow, that is, a period in which God created things suddenly. (3) The Alternate Day-Age Theory, by which is meant that God specially created the various materials in six literal twenty-four hour days; between them were vast geological ages in which these materials developed and adapted. (4) The Eden-Only Theory holds that the Genesis creation is basically describing a divinely created Garden of Eden in six literal days; the rest of the creation activity is not described in the Bible and took place at spontaneous intervals in the ages before. (5) The Concurrent or Overlapping Ages Theory posits that God, not being concerned with time, could have used small as well as large amounts of time for his creation, and such creative acts in "days" could have been concurrent or overlapping in time rather than occurring consecutively. (6) The Revelation Day Theory, by which is meant that the creative "days" of Gen. 1 are really twenty-four hour days in Moses' life in which he received information about God's previous creative activity. (7) The Split Week or Double Symmetry Theory posits that since God is not limited to time, Genesis employs a literary device in which the first three days parallel aspects of the last three days, day one corresponding to day four, day two to day five, day three to day six. (8) The Progressive Creationism Theory holds that there is no need to posit a "gap" between vv. 1 and 2, that the creative days are to be understood as ages during which in continuous process God from time to time directly and specially made or created the various material things and finally man; there is much to be said in favor of this view (see above under Gen. 1:1—2:4).

C. Origin of the universe. Widespread current interest in the origin and nature of the universe is strong. Man through history has asked the question, Where did the universe come from? Among the ancient Greeks, the Ionian philosophers in the 6th cent. B.C. posited the universe derived from simple material, which came into being from material causes. Later ideas theorized that creation was eternal, or had a beginning, or was supernaturally caused, etc. (See Mixter, ed., *Evolution and Christian Thought Today,* ch. 2.) On the other hand, the Bible consistently states, as seen above in this article, that a supernatural personal God directly and specially in time and space created the heaven and the earth and all the things in them. It is to be observed, however, that nowhere does the Bible specifically state at what time in the past the universe was created, nor what the original state of the heaven and earth was when made, nor how long God was involved in the creative activity. The science of astronomy has added information bearing on these questions which the Bible leaves open.

Among modern theories as to how the universe came into being and developed are the following: (1) The primeval-atom theory postulates that an all-inclusive primeval atom suddenly radioactively burst over 13 billion years ago (the "big bang") when concurrently time and space came

into being and the natural laws came into force. This view has become dominant in modern science. For many, the "big bang" roughly corresponds with the Creation.

(2) The steady-state hypothesis posits that the universe had no beginning and probably will have no end, since it is in "steady-state," it being said that there is no observed continuous change in the universe, although there may be observed some small localized progressions. According to this theory, hydrogen atoms are continually being created in space, forming clouds and then galaxy clusters that finally recede out of the limit of observation, but new clusters are being created to take their place, such a process being posited as going on for an infinite time (cf. Fred Hoyle, *The Nature of the Universe* [1955], 111–12). However, no satisfactory natural process of creating matter from nothing has been proposed (see H. Shapley in *The Evolution of Life,* ed. Sol Tax [1960], 32–33; G. K. Schweitzer in *Evolution and Christian Thought Today,* ed. Mixter, 43–44).

(3) The superdense state theory posits that, assuming a continually constant volume of matter plus energy, the expanding galaxial clusters can be charted back in time to a more concentrated conglomerate mass some six billion years ago. At that remote time, because of the extremely high temperature of this conglomerate mass, in "superdense state," there occurred an explosion that propelled matter and radiation outward, which in time came to be formed into expanding clouds, planets, stars, galaxies, and galaxial clusters (cf. George Gamow, *One, Two, Three…Infinity* [1947], 309–10; see also Mixter, *Evolution,* 42–43, 49–51). This superdense state hypothesis has no answer for the origin of matter, but it might fit into the Gen. 1:2 statement regarding the earth's being without form and void. However, it is to be noted that knowledge in astronomy is continually increasing and theories about the observable universe as examined by scientists are constantly changing.

In contrast, the Bible's statements about the ori gin of the universe give the answer to the origin of matter: a supernatural God created them out of nothing. The Scripture also tells us that the uni verse and all the things in it were created specially by a personal all-powerful God. The Lord has not seen fit to reveal exactly how or when the creative activity took place. Scientists in their experimenta tion may in the future shed some additional light on some of these details not biblically revealed. (See B. Ramm, *The Christian View of Science and Scripture* [1955], 96–102, 139–229; E. O.James, *Creation and Cosmology* [1969]; C. Blacker and M. Loewe, eds., *Ancient Cosmologies* [1975]; H. Ross, *The Creator and the Cosmos: How the Greatest Scien tific Discoveries of the Century Reveal God,* 3rd ed. [2001].)

W.H.MARE

cotton. Possible rendering of Hebrew *karpas H4158,* which is a loanword from Sanskrit through Persian (Esth. 1:6 NRSV and NJPS; the KJV mistranslates with "green"); others believe the word refers to LINEN (cf. NIV and *HALOT,* 2:500). Some Egyptian child mummies were wrapped in cotton bandages. The Hebrews would have learned about cotton growing while they were in captiv ity in Persia under King XERXES. The plant grown in India and the Levant is *Gossypium herbaceum,* which grows as a shrub 6 ft. high. The fruit, called a "boll," when quite ripe, splits and produces masses of white fluff. The cotton is said to be yellower than that grown in the USA. It is uncertain whether cot ton was grown in Palestine in biblical times. (See *FFB,* 111–12.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

couch. This English term can be used to render several Hebrew words, such as *miṭṭâ H4753* (e.g., 1 Sam. 28:23) and *miškāb H5435* (e.g., Job 7:13), both of which can also be translated "bed" (cf their parallel use in Amos 6:4). In the NT, the KJV uses "couch" three times to render Greek *klinidion*

G3110 (Lk. 5:19,24) and *krabattos G3187(Acts* 5:15), both of which are better translated "mat." See also BED.

coulter. A blade attached to the beam of a plow. The word is used twice by the KJV to render Hebrew *ēt H908,* usually translated "mattock" or "plowshare" (1 Sam. 13:20–21). See AGRICULTURE V.B; PLOW.

council. This English term can be used to render several Hebrew words, especially *sod H6051,* which refers to an intimate circle of friends or confidants. In the OT God was frequently described as being in council with the host of heaven (Job 15:8; Ps. 89:7; Jer. 23:18; cf. Amos 3:7). See CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF. Likewise the ruler or king had his council of advisers and nobles; they were distinguished as those who were permitted in the royal presence to see his face (2 Ki. 25:19; Jer. 52:25 NRSV).The commanders of the army were found to be in council by the young prophet who was sent by ELISHA to RAMOTH GILEAD to anoint Israel's new king (2 Ki. 9:4–5 NRSV; lit., "were sitting").

In the NT, the Greek term *synedrion G5284* can refer to lesser courts among the Jews (Matt. 10:17; Mk. 13:9; each town in Palestine had such a council). The most frequent use of this term, however, is in reference to the high court of the Jews, the SANHEDRIN, which many of the rabbis wanted to believe went back to MOSES. During most of the Roman period, the internal government of the Jews was administered by this body, comprised of seventy ELDERS and presided over by the high priest.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT,JR.

Council of Jamnia. See JABNEEL #2.

Council of Jerusalem. Also known as the Apostolic Council, this term refers to the first general church gathering, which met to discuss whether CIRCUMCISION should be imposed on Christian Gentiles. This meeting is described in Acts 15 and possibly also in Gal. 2:1–10.

I. The occasion. The Council of Jerusalem most likely occurred about A.D. 48 or 49, between the first and second missionary journeys of PAUL, following a temporary visit of Paul and BARNABAS to the church at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA. In Acts 15:1–5 Luke describes the occasion for this meeting. Certain believing Christian Jews of the sect of the PHARISEES (commonly referred to as JUDAIZERS) regarded submission to Jewish legal rites, but circumcision in particular, as essential to the salvation of the Gentiles and their admission to membership in the Christian church (Acts 15:1). Representatives of this sect visited the flourishing Jewish-Gentile Christian church at Antioch as purported emissaries of the Jerusalem apostles while Paul and Barnabas were ministering there. (According to some scholars, these are the same emissaries mentioned in Gal. 2:12, which would mean that Paul's rebuke of PETER for separating himself from the Gentiles took place on this occasion. If so, 2:1 –10 is chronologically out of place or else the passage refers not to the Jerusalem Council but to a previous meeting that would have taken place during the so-called famine visit recorded in Acts 11:29–30. See GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE, V and VI.)

The Judaizers' insistence upon circumcision of the Gentiles appeared to Paul to negate faith in Christ as adequate for JUSTIFICATION, thus in effect rendering void Christ's death on the cross (cf. Gal. 2:21). This issue precipitated the single greatest crisis of the early church, and one of the greatest of

all church history. It threatened a cleavage within the Jewish-Gentile Christian church that might never have been healed, thus precluding the universal world-mission of the gospel. In response, the Antioch church authorized a delegation, including Paul and Barnabas, to go to the Jerusalem mother church for an official decision in the dispute. If Gal. 2:1–10 refers to the same incident, the journey was also authorized by divine revelation (Gal. 2:1–2; cf. Acts 13:2–4). TITUS, an uncircumcised Greek believer, was among the "other" delegates sent to Jerusalem (Acts 15:2), where he became a test case (Gal. 2:3). Paul refused to yield to the demands of the Judaizers at the Jerusalem Council that Titus be circumcised, lest by such a concession they win the right of their position before the other apostles and thus impose the burden of the Mosaic law upon all Gentile believers. Paul was sustained by the apostles (Gal. 2:6–10), and Titus later became one of his most trusted coworkers in the Gentile world mission.

II. The deliberations. Considered together, the Acts 15 and Gal. 2 accounts present a rather complete picture of the council's proceedings. The events appear to have been as follows: (1) Upon arrival at Jerusalem (prob. Paul's third visit to the city following his conversion), the apostle immediately sought private consultation with the leading churchmen, prior to the full council session, where he convinced them of the success of the Gentile mission without the requirements of the law (Gal. 2:2). (2) Paul and his party were welcomed by the full council and were given opportunity to present their case for Gentile Christian freedom (Acts 15:4). (3) Paul's position was challenged immediately by the Judaizers, who contended that salvation and reception into the church were contingent upon circumcision and subscription to the Mosaic law by the Gentiles (Acts 15:5; Gal. 2:4).

Following extensive heated debate, precipitated by the Judaizers' contentions (Acts 15:6), Peter related God's acceptance of the uncircumcised Gentiles at CAESAREA under his ministry by giving them the HOLY SPIRIT and making no distinctions between them and the Jews (15:7–9; cf. ch. 10), and then closed his address with a fervent exhortation for salvation by grace alone without the law for Gentiles and Jews alike (15:10–11). When Barnabas and Paul had added their witness to God's acceptance of the Gentiles without imposition of the law (Acts 15:12; Gal. 2:5), it appeared that complete victory for Gentile freedom had been won. James, the Lord's brother, pastor of the Jerusalem church and moderator of the council (see JAMES II), clinched the victory by quoting judiciously from the prophet AMOS in support of God's inclusion of the Gentiles in his plan of redemption (Acts 15:15–18; Amos 9:11–12; cf. Jer. 12:15).

III. The decision. The council's decision was rendered by James in unambiguous terms. First, negatively considered, the council's judgment was that the Gentile believers should not be required to subscribe to the Mosaic law as a condition for salvation and church membership (Acts 15:19). Second, Paul and Barnabas were to be recognized as God's special ambassadors to the Gentiles, with the specific provision that they should receive offerings from the Gentile churches for the poor at Jerusalem (Gal. 2:9–10; see CONTRIBUTION). Third, the council approved four prohibitions to be observed by all Gentile believers, which were designed, in part at least, to facilitate Jewish-Gentile Christian social and church relationships, but all of which pertained to approved Christian deportment rather

The 1st-cent. Jewish position regarding Gentiles is represented in this fragmented Temple Warning Inscription placed on a barrier around the temple courts in Jerusalem. Another copy of the inscription preserves the full text, which reads, "No foreigner is to enter the enclosure and precincts around the sanctuary. And anyone caught will be responsible for the death that will follow."

than requirements for salvation. These prohibitions appear to fall into four categories, as follows.

(1) A *religious* prohibition: abstinence from contamination of idols (Acts 15:20a), not referring to the worship of idols (a practice renounced by Gentiles at conversion, 1 Thess. 1:9), but to the eating of meat known to have been sacrificed to idols (Acts 15:29). (2) A *moral* prohibition: abstinence from "sexual immorality" (Acts 15:20b, *porneia G4518,* which some understand as "illicit sexual intercourse in general" [Thayer] and others as marriage within the degrees prohibited in Lev. 18:16–18). (3) A *hygienic* prohibition: abstinence from the eating of strangled or unbutchered meat (Acts 15:20c); while meat prepared in its own blood was considered a delicacy by many pagans, the practice was strictly forbidden in the OT (Lev. 17:10–14; Deut. 12:16, 23, 25) and was highly obnoxious to all Jews. (4) A *civil* prohibition: abstinence from "blood" (Acts 15:20d); since the third prohibition had already dealt with the use of animal blood for food, the term here must refer to bloodshed or violence, that is, cruelty, murder, manslaughter, inciting of riots, and other similar activities common to the Gentile world (Gen. 9:4–6). These four prohibitions were all reasonable socioethical directives for Christian conduct and not requirements for initial salvation or church membership. Actually they appear to have been but a restatement, in the main, of the Noachian precepts long required by the Jews of Gentiles who became PROSELYTES to Judaism.

Finally, the council decided wisely to write an official letter to accompany the delivery of the decrees to the Gentile churches, and thus preclude the possibility that Judaizers located at these

churches would charge that the decrees were forged by Paul (Acts 15:21, 23–29). Further support was given the decrees by sending them at the hands of certain select, trusted, leading men from the Jerusalem church (v. 22). The council also commended highly, to the confidence of the Gentile churches, Paul and Barnabas, who were the champions of Gentile freedom (vv. 25–26), with a view to preventing their being belittled by the Judaizers in the eyes of the Gentile churches. (See K. Lake, "The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem," in *The Acts of the Apostles* [= *The Beginnings of Christianity,* Part I], ed. F. J. F. Jackson and K. Lake, vol. 5 [1933], 195–212; C. K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation: A Study of the Epistle to the Galatians* [1985], 91—108; P.J. Achtemeier, *The Quest for Unity in the New Testament Church: A Study in Paul and Acts* [1987].)

C.W.CARTER

counsel, counselor. The English term *counsel* can be used to render a variety of words and expressions, especially the Hebrew verb *yāaṣ H3619* and its cognate noun *ēṣâ H6783.* The importance of receiving good counsel is often highlighted in Scripture, as in the story regarding the advice given by AHITHOPHEL (2 Sam. 15:31; 16:20—17:23). A blessing is pronounced on those who do not follow the counsel of the wicked (Ps. 1:1), while good counsel is said to proceed from WISDOM (Prov. 8:14). The Hebrew words can often be translated "plan," and the psalmist sharply contrasts human and divine designs: "The LORD foils the plans of the nations; / he thwarts the purposes [*lit.,* thoughts] of the peoples. / But the plans of the LORD stand firm forever, / the purposes of his heart through all generations" (Ps. 33:10–11). The promised MESSIAH would be endowed with "the Spirit of counsel and of power" (Isa. 11:2); therefore, he would be called "Wonderful Counselor" *(yôēṣ H3446,* 9:6).

The KJV also uses "counsel" in the NT, primarily as a rendering of Greek *boulē G1087,* where other versions prefer "plan, purpose, will." The most important occurrences refer to God's eternal plan. On the Day of PENTECOST, PETER said to the Jews that Christ "was handed over to you by God's set purpose and foreknowledge" (Acts 2:23; cf. 4:28, "They did what your power and will had decided beforehand should happen"). Paul assured the Ephesians that they were "predestined according to the plan of him who works out everything in conformity with the purpose of his will" (*kata tēn boulēn tou thelēmatos autou,* Eph. 1:11). The author of Hebrews comforted his readers by telling them that God confirmed his promise to ABRAHAM with an oath because he "wanted to make the unchanging nature of his purpose very clear to the heirs of what was promised" (Heb. 6:17). See ELECTION; GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF II.D; PURPOSE.

countenance. This English term, meaning "face" or "facial appearance," is used more than fifty times in the KJV, less than half as frequently in the NRSV, and only once in the NIV (Job 14:20). It is usually a rendering of Hebrew *pāneh H7156,* which occurs only in the plural and has a wide variety of uses. See FACE.

country. This English term, with the meaning "nation," is found frequently in the Bible, usually as a rendering of Hebrew *ereṣ H824* (e.g., Gen. 12:1, though elsewhere the term can also be translated "ground, land, earth"), corresponding to Greek *gē G1178* (Acts 7:3, though other Greek terms also mean "country, nation"). See NATIONS. When the English word means "open field" or "rural area," it is usually a translation of Hebrew *śddeh H8441* (e.g., Jer. 40:13) or of Greek *chōra G6001* (e.g., Lk. 4:14) or *agros G69* (e.g., Mk. 5:14). See FIELD.

courage. Strength of spirit that enables a person to face and withstand fear and difficulty. Courage generally is acknowledged to be a human VIRTUE. It is one of the four fundamental virtues discriminated by the Greeks and one of the seven catalogued by the Christian moralists of the Middle Ages.

A proper understanding of courage involves some appreciation of virtue in general. Virtues are basically "strengths" or "potencies." As such they enable human beings to do something well. This is not the same as saying that they enable one to do something good, although in fact they are thus enabling. As strengths or capabilities, virtues are primarily means; they have instrumental value. Having this value, they may be said to be in some sense good. But virtues existing separately or merely in the aggregate, and not adjusted to each other within an overarching unity, do not as such constitute a person good. Separate virtues, such as thrift or loyalty, can be made serviceable to evil ends as well as good, and the same holds true of courage (one cannot do great harm without some courage). Admirable because it is a necessary ingredient of the good life, courage, or any other "strength," is a virtue in the deepest and truest sense only as it is expressive of a good will and as it is incorporated in a life integrated through attachment to authentic values.

Like all settled virtues, courage is a quality of being, a trait of selfhood, an ingredient of character. It arises out of and is a quality of what Plato called the "spirited" part of the human organism (cf. *rûaḥ H8120,* "spirit," Josh. 2:11). Because to some degree it emerges naturally and instinctively, traces of it can be found in all, even the most timorous. Considered in its more perfected state, however, courage is a moral attainment, an excellence achieved through the exercise of will. As such it can be commanded and enjoined (Deut. 31:6–7, 23; 1 Cor. 16:13).

What calls forth courage, and sometimes also evokes its opposite, cowardice, are the physical, social, and spiritual threats, dangers, and pains that are a constant feature of the broken and hostile world we live in. In this present age, one is beset on every hand by evil forces let loose in the world by sin. The question is: how shall Christians relate to these? Will we be deterred by them, flee them, flail out at them without taking thought? Or will we stand up to them by the exercise of a will made firm through the power of a compelling and governing ideal? That is, will we be fearfully immobilized by the dangers of existence, flee from them in terror, rush headlong against them with an almost animal instinct? Or will we face and meet them with steeled endurance and with resolute action? If we do the latter we will be acting courageously. The courageous person reacts to pain and danger not with indecision, cowardice, or rashness, but with spirit, strength, and firmness. Courage may, accordingly, be defined as strength of purpose and steadfastness of will in the presence of life's threats and tribulations.

Although courage retains its essential nature regardless of the type of danger or pain with which it is confronted, it is possible to distinguish various modes of courage. These modes are differentiated by the different kinds of objects or situations that threaten or affright and by the different levels of value for the sake of which the risk of danger or pain is run. Physical courage, or valor, though seldom called for in civilized suburbia, is requisite in battle; there is no place in war for the coward or the fainthearted (cf. *lēbāb H4222,* "heart," Dan. 11:25; Amos 2:16). Physical courage, essential to the successful prosecution of the Israelitish wars, is highly acclaimed and often enjoined in the OT (Deut. 31:6–7; Josh. 1:6–9, 18; 10:25; 2 Sam. 10:12; 1 Chr. 19:13), but it is significant that this courage is always made to rest upon the promises and presence of Yahweh.

More important than physical courage is moral courage. The courage of endurance, akin to patience, is the will to bear the pains and frustrations of life, and is frequently enjoined in the Bible (Pss. 27:14; 31:24). The courage to venture forth, akin to faith, is the mark of the saints celebrated in

Heb. 11. So likewise is moral steadfastness and religious fidelity, the courage to stand up for truth and justice, and especially for the Lord and his kingdom (Josh. 23:6; 1 Chr. 22:13; 2 Chr. 19:11; cf *andrizomai G437,* 1 Cor. 16:13).

The notion of courage can be expressed in the NT in various ways, for example, through the verb *tharseō G2510,* "take heart, be of good courage" (Matt. 14:27 et al.). Especially significant is the noun *parrēsia G4244,* "frankness, sense of freedom, confidence, boldness." Luke uses it often to describe the bold witnessing of the early Christians (Acts 2:29; 4:29–31; et al.; cf. also the verb *parrēsiazomai G4245,* "speak boldly, preach fearlessly," 9:27 et al.). Paul uses it too in some key passages that focus either on the boldness required in his ministry (2 Cor. 3:12; Eph 6:19–20; et al.) or on the confi dence believers have to approach God (Eph. 3:12; 1 Tim. 3:13; cf. also Heb. 3:16 et al.; 1 Jn. 2:28 et al.). For Christians, courage of every sort is pos sible in the measure that they know themselves to be in the almighty hands and under the beneficent protection of their heavenly Father.

H. STOB

course. This English word, which has a variety of meanings, can be used to translate several words or expressions in Hebrew and Greek. For example, the Hebrew noun *mĕsillâ H5019,* "highway," can refer figuratively to the paths of the heavenly bodies: "From the heavens the stars fought, / from their courses they fought against Sisera" (Jdg. 5:20). The Greek noun *trochos G5580,* "wheel, race-course," is used in Jas. 3:6 with reference either to the course of a person's life (NIV) or to the cycle of nature (NRSV).The KJV uses "courses" of the groups into which PRIESTS were divided (e.g., 1 Chr. 23:6; Lk. 1:5). Because of the great increase in the number of priests, DAVID divided them into twenty-four relays (1 Chr. 24:1–19). The priests were expected to serve from twenty years of age (1 Chr. 23:6, 27). Sixteen courses were allotted the descendants of ELEAZAR and eight to those of ITHAMAR, his brother. Apart from the main festivals, when all the courses were active, each course ministered for a week, changes being made on the Sabbath before the evening sacrifice (2 Ki. 11:5, 9). Courses were determined by casting lots.

C.L. FEINBERG

court, courtyard. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM IV.B.

court narrative. Also *succession narrative.* Term used to designate the history of DAVID'S reign from 2 Sam. 9 to 1 Ki. 2, which ends with SOLOMON'S accession to the throne. This narrative includes moral and political struggles within David's family, especially the revolt of ABSALOM and the efforts of ADONIJAH to become king. (Cf. R. N. Whybray, *The Succession Narrative* [1968]; L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David* [1982].)

Court of the Gentiles. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM: IV.B.7.

court of the guard. KJV, "court of the prison." With the exception of Neh. 3:25, the phrase *ḥăṣar hammaṭṭārâ* is used exclusively in the book of Jeremiah. This courtyard was an area within the palace complex where JEREMIAH was detained (Jer. 32:2), received visitors (32:8), and carried on business (32:12). The court had a cistern into which Jeremiah was placed by the court officials who wished to kill him (38:6).

R.E.HAYDEN

courts, judicial. There was no precise term for "court of law" in the OT, at least in the sense of a specific building in which judicial proceedings were conducted. Cases at law were normally heard out in the open, generally in the open square near a city gate. There seems to be only one exception to this in the Hebrew Scriptures, namely, 1 Ki. 7:7, which states that SOLOMON "built the throne hall, the Hall of Justice, where he was to judge." It would be natural for Solomon to erect an imposing structure of this sort for the hearing of appeals from the lower courts or for the handling of cases of major importance; his royal neighbors in Egypt and Mesopotamia maintained special courthouses or audience halls for the purpose.

Apart from this reference, court proceedings were held normally in the forum or market square that faced the principal GATE of the city. The first definite reference to such a forum is found in Gen. 19:1, which speaks of LOT "sitting in the gateway" of SODOM when he noticed the two angelic visitors whom he invited to his home. The passage quotes the nocturnal rioters as complaining that an outsider like Lot "wants to play the judge!" (v. 9)—suggesting that after the prestige of ABRAHAM'S victory of the Mesopotamian invaders, his nephew had been officially promoted to judicial position.

Later allusions to the city gate as the place for public tribunals are Deut. 16:18 ("Appoint judges and officials for each of your tribes in every town…and they shall judge the people fairly"); 21:19 ("the elders at the gate" are apparently charged with judging the case of a rebellious son); and 25:7 (complaints regarding levirate marriages should be brought "to the elders at the town gate"). The "officials" (from Heb. *šāṭar H8853;* cf Akk. *šaṭāru,* "to write") associated with the judges appear to have been bailiffs who insured the appearance of litigants and witnesses at the court sessions; at least their responsibilities as assistant taskmasters or foremen in Egypt (Exod. 5:6, 10, 14, 15, 19) and as marshals for military forces (Josh. 1:10; 3:2) would suggest this as their function in the judicial setting (otherwise, they may have functioned as court clerks).

In the earliest stage of the exodus migration, MOSES had the responsibility of holding court sessions in the Israelite camp, along with all of his executive and military duties. At the advice of his

Platform for the throne and judgment room at the gate complex of Dan (8th – 7th cent. B.C.).

father-in-law JETHRO (Exod. 18:17–26), Moses delegated to an ascending series of petty and appellate judges (who are called "heads" or "rulers" over squads of ten soldiers, captains or lieutenants over larger units) to hear all original cases. Only the more difficult problems for which

there was no clear precedent were to be referred to Moses as the court of final appeal. During the period of the judges it was apparently DEBORAH who figured prominently as a jurist, holding court sessions under her palm tree (Jdg. 4:5). The other national leaders during that time evidently included court hearings with their other responsibilities as executives and military commanders. See JUDGES, PERIOD OF.

This function was taken over by the king after the Hebrew monarchy was instituted: DAVID maintained an "appellate court" for his entire kingdom (2 Sam. 15:2), and Solomon as well (1 Ki. 3:9), even before the erection of his aforementioned hall of justice. According to 1 Chr. 23:4, David appointed 6,000 of the Levites as officers and judges to serve in the lower courts (see also 26:29). By the time of JEHOSHAPHAT (2 Chr. 19:5–8) it became necessary to enlarge even the central tribunal at Jerusalem into a larger complex consisting of priests, Levites, and heads of clans. Perhaps it was from this measure that the later SANHEDRIN, or Council of Seventy, developed (although there is no specific mention of it until Hellenistic times), which functioned under the presidency of the high priest. (For a general description, see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], ch. 10.)

By NT times there had intervened several centuries of Greek influence and example, and it became more usual to hold court hearings inside a building constructed as a courthouse. In Greek cities like PHILIPPI, criminal cases could be tried in the open, in the *agora G59* or "marketplace" (cf. *agoraios G61,* "court day, court session," Acts 19:38; note also the unsuccessful prosecution of PAUL in CORINTH before GALLIO'S *bona G1037,* 18:12–17). Another distinctive feature of NT times was the activity of the LAWYER (*nomikos G3788).* Like the SCRIBES (to which order they themselves may have belonged), lawyers were careful students of the TORAH, but also of the "traditions of the elders," and could be relied upon to assist the judges with any interpretation or precedent that had previously arisen in Jewish history. The "teachers" of the law with whom the boy Jesus consulted (Lk. 2:46) were presumably equivalent to law school professors who trained these lawyers.

Under the Roman government, the Jews of Palestine were permitted to adjudicate their own civil cases, and even their criminal cases if they did not involve the death penalty. But the Sanhedrin itself was not legally competent to execute capital punishment on Jesus (Jn. 18:31–32), and the later episode when STEPHEN was stoned (Acts 7:57–58) may have taken place in the reign of Herod Agrippa I, when there was no direct Roman authority present (see HEROD VII). Where the prerogatives of Roman citizens were concerned, they had a right to be heard before a Roman court, presided over by the PROCURATOR (as Paul before FELIX and FES-TUS), and even to APPEAL from that tribunal to the court of the emperor at Rome (Acts 25:11–12).

G.L.ARCHER

cousin. The offspring of an aunt or an uncle. There is no simple common noun for this relation ship in Hebrew. Numerous circumlocutions are found in the OT to communicate the concept. We have such phrases as "son of your father's brother," "father's brother's daughter," and on many occa sions simply "kinsman." Although the rights and special status of cousins as such are not stipulated, it is clear from the marriage of the daughters of ZELOPHEHAD (Num. 36:11), and the right of land purchase belonging to JEREMIAH (Jer. 32:7–12), that there were certain privileges involved. Israel ites often married cousins, as this relationship was not forbidden in the Leviticus code. In the NT the Greek term *syngenis G5151* (an unusual feminine form of *syngenēs G5150),* applied to ELIZABETH (Lk. 1:36), can mean any sort of female relative, "kinswoman," or person of indefinite relationship to the speaker.

W.WHITE, JR.

Coutha koo'thuh. KJV Apoc. form of CUTHA (1 Esd.5:32).

covenant (OT). A legally binding obligation, especially of God for human redemption.

1. Etymology
2. Usage
    1. Parity covenants
    2. Suzerainty covenants
    3. Promissory covenants or suzerainty testaments
3. Features
    1. Unity and development
    2. Objective features
    3. Subjective features
4. History
    1. Edenic
    2. Noachian
    3. Abrahamic
    4. Sinaitic
    5. Levitical
    6. Davidic
    7. The new covenant

I. Etymology. The Hebrew noun *bĕrît H1382* comes from the root *brh,* but the meaning to be derived from this etymology remains unclear. On the one hand, some have related *baraya* to the Akkadian *barū,* from which comes the noun *birītu,* "a fetter" (BDB, 136; cf. Ezek 20:37, "the bond of the covenant"). Others have related it to the meaning, "to eat bread with, to keep the community of a meal with" (KB, 152; cf. *bārâ H1356* and *biryâ H1376* in 2 Sam. 12:17; 13:5–7; also *bārût H1362* in Ps. 69:21). From this etymology, the word would mean a "sharing of a meal," and then a "relation or connection (effected by the sharing of a meal)," and finally, an "alliance, mutual obligation, or arrangement." Biblical usage does not confirm the sense of "a meal." Both of the above listed etymologies favor the concept of a "covenant," a mutually binding agreement.

On the other hand, some derive the term from a root *brh* possibly used in 1 Sam. 17:8 (in the form *bĕrû)* and meaning "to decide, allot to" (Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament,* 15th ed. [1910], s.v.; *HALOT,* 1:155, considers this verb a denominative from *bĕrît,* thus, "to enter into a covenant with someone"; most versions translate "Choose," as though from *bāḥar H1047* or *bārar H1405).* Some scholars then adduce the parallel to be found in the HITTITE "dynastic suzerainty covenant." A vassal would enter into an oath of loyalty and trust toward his king and the king's dynastic successors, out of gratitude for royal favors that already had been received (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* [1962] 1:132). The benefits derived, moreover, gained their legal force with the death of the suzerain. As Meredith Kline has summarized it, "From the viewpoint of the subject people a treaty guaranteeing the suzerain's dynastic succession is an expression of their covenantal relation to their overlord; but from the viewpoint of the royal son(s) of the suzerain the arrangement is testamentary…it is not in force while the testator lives" (in *WTJ*23, [1960–61]: 13).These derivations point toward the giving of an INHERITANCE and

favor the meaning "testament." (For a summary of other etymological proposals, see *NIDOTTE,* 1:747.)

Basically, however, the meaning of *bĕrît* must not be sought in its etymology or significance as found in the pagan cultures that surrounded Israel. Only in the transformed usage of the term, as it appears in God's own historical revelation, is its ultimate import disclosed.

II. Usage. In the OT the covenant is a legally binding obligation. To insist upon further qualifying features would appear unwarranted. G. Vos asserts that an obligation becomes a covenant by the addition of a religious sanction *(Biblical Theology: Old and New Testament* [1948], 32, 33, 277); but while at times the OT speaks of a "covenant of the LORD" (1 Sam. 20:8 KJV) or "before the LORD" (23:18; as a witness, Gen. 31:50), at other times it suggests no such qualification (1 Sam. 18:3). M. Weinfeld stresses the variability of OT covenants in this regard: how ritual meals or sacrifices (Gen. 15:9; 26:30; 31:54; Exod. 24:8–11) came to be replaced by verbal oaths in later contexts (*JBL* 86 [1967]: 255).

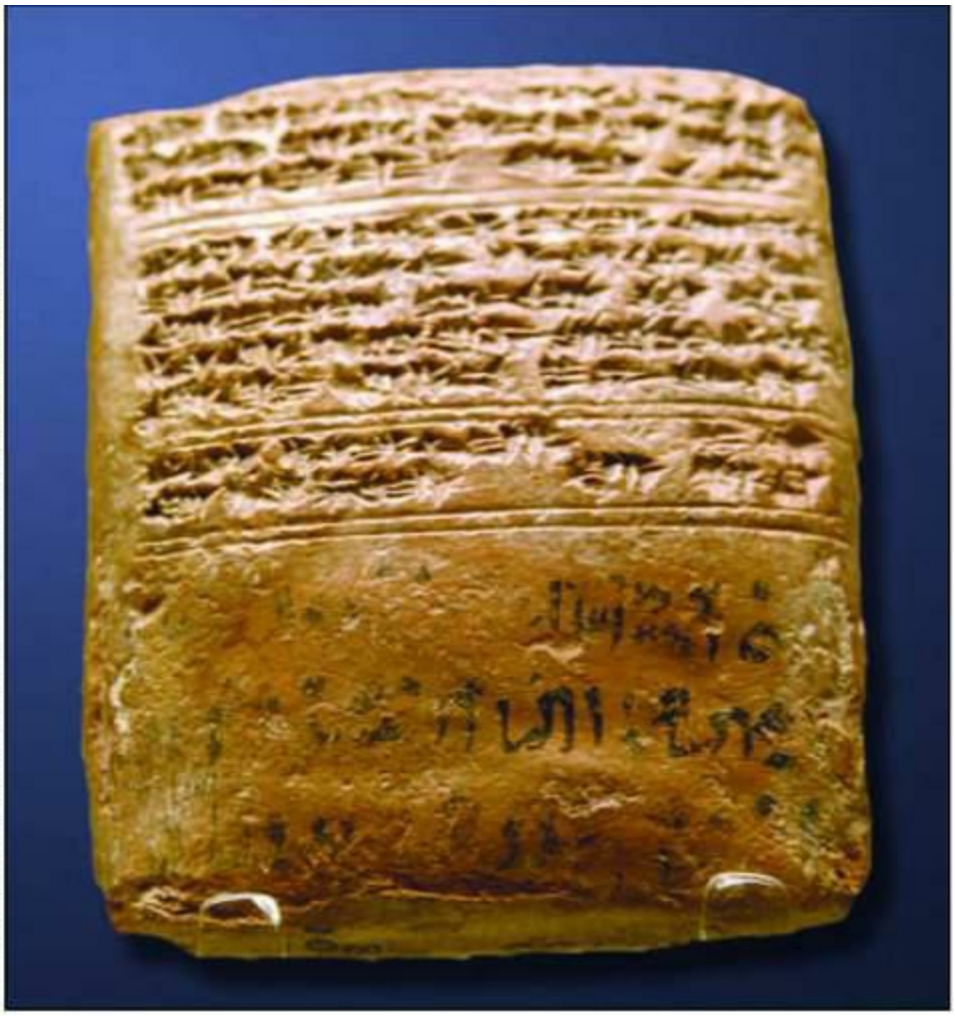
Concerning this latter feature, the OT does at points speak of "oath" and "covenant" interchangeably (Gen. 26:28 or 2 Chr. 15:15, cf. v. 12); but at other points the oath seems to be an addition (Josh. 9:15, 20). Or again, oaths may appear where no covenant is found at all (1 Sam. 3:17; 25:34); and even G. Mendenhall, who states that covenants *"usually* had sanctions of a religious nature," grants that the oath is lacking in both the Israelite and Hittite covenant forms (*IDB,* 1:417, 420). He would also propose an interchangeable usage of "covenant" and "testimony" (*ēdût H6343;* cf. Exod. 31:18, "the two tablets of the Testimony"); but the latter term connotes a "reminder" (KB, 683), is more specific than "covenant," and seems to refer rather to "the basic stipulations of the Sinai covenant, particularly the 'ten commandments'" (K. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1967], 108). The essence of the covenant consists then of an obligation; it is a relationship under sanctions (M. Kline, *WTJ 21* [1964–65]: 3), the particular nature of which is to be determined, as L. Berkhof has observed, on no other basis "but simply on the parties concerned" (*Systematic Theology,* 4th ed. [1941], 262).

A. Parity covenants. When the parties concerned either have conceded, or are willing to concede, to each other a generally equal standing, the covenant is a true, dipleuric (two-sided) agreement (cf. 1 Sam. 23:18, "The two of them made a covenant"). Confessedly one party often takes the initiative and comes to terms with the other. The net result is still a "partnership," an agreement voluntarily accepted by both parties (L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* [1957], 62). Such covenants could involve individuals (Ps. 55:20), as DAVID and JONATHAN (1 Sam. 18:3–4); households, as JACOB and the brethren of LABAN (Gen. 31:54); groups, as ABRAHAM and the AMORITES of HEBRON (14:13); or whole nations, as EDOM and its confederates (Obad. 7; cf. Hos. 12:1). The marriage agreement is a covenant (Mal. 2:14; Prov. 2:17), as is also an international trade agreement (1 Ki. 20:34). Making a covenant could involve bargaining (1 Sam. 11:1), or simply concessions to the vanquished (1 Ki. 20:34). Unusual figurative covenants occur in Job 5:23; 31:1; 41:4 (no literal covenant can be made with LEVIATHAN, the crocodile); there is even reference to a covenant with death, that is, to avoid it (Isa. 28:15, 18).

A covenant was binding for as long a period as had been agreed upon (cf. "everlasting covenant," Gen. 9:16; 17:7). The phrase COVENANT OF SALT (Num. 18:19) indicates such permanent preservation (though *TDNT,* 2:114 n. 39, would relate this to the covenant meal). A man gave his hand as a specific pledge of fidelity (Ezek. 17:18); or he might surrender certain intimate objects to

indicate a share, as it were, in his own person (1 Sam. 18:4). The erection of a stone heap (Gen. 31:45–48) or the acceptance of a token gift (21:27–30) could bear witness to a covenantal arrangement. The phrase "to cut a covenant" (e.g., Gen. 15:18; 31:44) seems to arise from symbolical actions by which the parties concerned passed through "cut up" corpses of animals (cf. Gen. 15:9–10, 17; note 1 Sam. 22:8, where the verb *kārat H4162,* "cut," has come to mean, by itself, "to make a covenant"). This custom implied, not an "extension of blood brotherhood" (*TDNT,* 2:114–15), but rather a threat of similar dismemberment for the one who violated the agreement (Jer. 34:18–20 and parallel cases from ancient Mesopotamia, *TDNT,* 2:116–17). Thus, for example, in the covenant of Ashur-nirari V and Mati-ilu, after a ram has been divided, the Assyrian king states: "This head is not the head of the ram, but the head of Mati-ilu, his sons, his nobles, and the people of his land. If Mati-ilu violates this oath, as the head of this ram is struck off…so will the head of Mati-ilu be struck off" (*ANET,* 353–54). Similar self-imprecations appear in curses elsewhere (e.g., Ruth 1:17; 1 Sam. 3:17; cf. Ezek. 17:13).

Whether the original motivation for a covenant was love (1 Sam. 18:3) or suspicion (Gen. 31:49), John Murray concludes that "It is the promise of unreserved fidelity, of whole-souled commitment, that appears to constitute the essence of the covenant" {*The Covenant of Grace* [1954], 10). The erection of a stone heap (Gen. 31:45–48) or the acceptance of token gifts (21:27–30) could bear witness to a covenantal arrangement. The Hebrew



The covenant of marriage is illustrated by this cuneiform letter from Tell el-Amarna, Egypt (c. 1350 B.C.), which negotiates the matrimony of Tushratta of Mitanni to Pharaoh Amenhotep III.

word that describes one's loyalty to his covenant obligations is ḥ*esed H2876,* which the KJV renders

"lovingkindness," and the NRSV, "steadfast love" (e.g., Pss. 136:10). Both translations fall somewhat wide of the mark. The idea is primarily one of "fidelity" (cf. 1 Sam. 20:8), and the intended result is "peace, prosperity" *(šālôm H8934,* Josh. 9:15; Jdg. 4:17; 6:23–24, contrast Ps. 55:20). Still, the pagan nations broke their covenants, both with each other (Amos 1:9) and with Israel (Isa. 33:8); and faithless Israelites could break their own covenants (Ezek. 17:15–16) and encourage others to do the same (1 Ki. 15:19).

Human beings are not, however, on a standing of parity with God. Scripture contains no reference to God's entering into a negotiated covenant with Israel. The clause in Ps. 50:5 describing the saints as those "who have made a covenant with me" reads literally, "Those that have cut [entered] my covenant," that is, "the covenant already established by me" (cf. Moffatt's rendering, "Who pledged their troth to me"). The contemporary pagans may indeed have had gods that entered into covenants of blood brotherhood or of kinship with men, as suggested by the Canaanitish BAAL-BERITH (Jdg. 8:33) or the EL-BERITH at SHECHEM (9:46).

Covenant in this dipleuric sense concerns the true God only in the following ways: (1) Human beings may invoke God as a witness to their own covenant agreements. Phrases, therefore, such as are found in Ezek. 17:19 ("my covenant that he broke") refer to human covenants (v. 13), though perhaps sworn in the presence of God (cf. 2 Sam. 5:3). It was for the purpose of calling God to witness that covenant oaths seem frequently to have been made in the house of Yahweh (2 Ki. 11:4; 2 Chr. 23:3; Jer. 34:15). (2) People may make a covenant among themselves to perform God's service (2 Ki. 11:17; 23:3b) or to maintain his standards (Jer. 34:10; Neh. 9:38; cf. 10:29). As an exactly opposite example, Ps. 83:5 speaks of a covenant against God, that is, a league of Israel's enemies against God's people. (3) Certain of the Psalms (Pss. 2:7, 8; 40:6–8) refer to the covenant of redemption between God the Father and Christ the Son, under which the latter would undertake redemption for mankind. But the actual term *bĕrit* is not employed, nor are the contracting parties God and men.

B. Suzerainty covenants. When the parties concerned are not equal, the covenant may become a disposition that is imposed (1 Sam. 11:1; Ezek. 17:13–14) or guaranteed (Josh. 9:6, 15; Hos. 12:1) by the superior party. Some scholars have been slow to recognize this frequent lack of "two-sidedness" (W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1961], 1:37); but it lies in the very terminology of the OT: on the one hand, "to establish" or "to command" a given covenant and, on the other, "to obey" or "to transgress" it (Josh. 23:16; Jer. 34:10). The initiator thus normally makes a covenant "to" or "for" the recipient rather than "with" him (*TDNT,* 2:109). "Covenant" used in such a connotation becomes a synonym for "statute" (*ḥōq H2976,* Josh. 24:25; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* [1962], 1:54, 63). Scripture often employs "covenant" in this sense to describe the legal relationships that exist between God the Lord and man the servant. Although there may appear at times certain mutually binding conditions so that one calls the resultant arrangement a "covenant," these conditions do not represent the essence of the *bĕrît.* It is still a sovereignly imposed, monopleuric injunction. God seems therefore to have chosen the word *bĕrît* as the most available term for a legally binding instrument, to describe what is his sovereign pleasure.

Most such divine suzerainty covenants also involve redemptive, promissory elements (see below, C); but there do exist two minor passages and one major situation that are specifically divine disposition-covenants. One of them refers to God's covenanted ordering of day and night (Jer. 33:20, 25). The second passage speaks of God's breaking and "revoking the covenant I had made with all the nations" (Zech. 11:10); the contextually suggested meaning is that, while God used to order world history in favor of Israel (cf. Deut. 32:8), now he has freed all peoples from this "covenant"

obligation. The latter situation concerns God's preredemptive arrangement with ADAM. Scripture refers to it as a covenant (Hos. 6:7), and it is not inaptly styled the "covenant of works." For though EDEN exhibits no partnership of equals, and no voluntary mutual agreement was reached prior to God's sovereign disposition, there yet existed a certain balance of obligations and benefits that were equally binding upon the two parties concerned. Never again has history witnessed such a situation, with the exception of the life of the man Christ Jesus, who was the representative last Adam and who fulfilled all righteousness (1 Cor. 15:45).

C. Promissory covenants or suzerainty testaments. The legally binding nature of a promise could be enforced by a covenant, for example, to support a new king (2 Ki. 11:4) or to release slaves (Jer. 34:8). The recipient of the promise might be God himself (e.g., Ezra 10:3, to "make a covenant before our God to send away all these [foreign] women"). This is the case in 2 Ki. 23:3a, where JOSIAH made a covenant to confirm the words of God's covenant that were written in the rediscovered book (cf. 2 Chr. 29:10, "Now I intend to make a [not *the*] covenant with the LORD, the God of Israel, so that his fierce anger will turn away from us"). More frequently, however, it is God who makes this covenant and thereby assures us of his promises (cf. Gen. 15:18). Kline (*WTJ 27* [1964]: 27) summarizes this teaching by stating that when people swear to a binding obligation there arises a covenant of law, but that when God does there arises a covenant of grace.

Specifically, when the parties concerned are God in his grace and human beings in their sin, on whose behalf God acts, the covenant becomes God's self-imposed obligation for the deliverance of sinners, an instrument of inheritance for effectuating God's elective love (Deut. 7:6–8; Ps. 89:3–4). Through it he accomplishes the gracious promise that is found throughout Scripture, "I will be their God; they shall be my people." John Murray thus defines this third divine covenant as "a sovereign administration of grace and promise. It is not a 'compact' or 'contract' or 'agreement' that provides the constitutive or governing idea but that of 'dispensation' in the sense of disposition" (*The Covenant of Grace,* 31; cf. 10—12, 14—16).

The inheritance was not automatic. Though essentially monergistic—that is, effectuated by "one worker" (God, not man *and* God)—the covenant required that the human party qualify for it; and, concretely, God's holiness demanded a removal of sin. This removal, in turn, came about by ATONEMENT, the covering of sin's guilt. Atonement, then, demanded blood sacrifice, a substitutionary surrender of life (Lev. 17:11). Furthermore, only God or his representative could make such atonement (Exod. 15:13; cf A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* [1904], 321). As Gen. 15:17–18 dramatically suggests, God committed himself to the covenantal threat of self-dismemberment; and thus God saves "because of the blood of my covenant" (Zech. 9:11).

Ultimately then the covenant is, as the NT declares, a testament (*diathēkē G1347* seems to have both meanings in Heb. 9:15–17): the last will of the dying God, bequeathing an inheritance of righteousness to Israel. The OT, per force, never verbalizes this conclusion, and for two reasons. (a) While the idea of an inheritance was familiar to the OT (Gen. 27; Num. 36), and while the practice of Hittite kings, guaranteeing testamentary protection to those vassals who remained faithful to their successors, was evidently familiar to Moses, the concept of a personal will remained relatively foreign to Hebrew thought until the days of the Herods (Jos. *Ant.* 173.2; *War* 2.2.3). (b) The fact that God's only Son would some day constitute the sufficient sacrificial ransom was not yet clearly revealed. It remained incomprehensible to OT saints that, to satisfy God, God's Son must die, so that sinners might inherit his divine life and be with God. Israel's knowledge was far too seminal, both of the TRINITY and of the INCARNATION, and of the CRUCIFIXION followed by the RESURRECTION (though

cf. Isa. 53:10–11). Neither does the OT deny to God's promissory covenant the possibility of this testamentary interpretation, and actually all of its essential factors are present. The OT simply assigns to God's legally binding, monergistic declaration of redemption the title *bĕrît* (for its subsequent theological explication, through the LXX and the Qumran community into the apostolic church, see COVENANT (NT) and COVENANT, THE NEW).

In the light of NT explanations, however, the testamentary significance of covenant in the OT comes into clear focus. When referring to God's promissory instrument for the reconciliation of sinners with himself, this becomes apparent both by analogy and by the nature of the covenant itself. (a) For the former, since Heb. 9:15 reads that Christ "is the mediator of a new covenant," then by analogy v. 18 must read, "Wherefore even the first *testament* hath not been dedicated without blood" (ASV). The old, that is, must be in the same category as the new. (b) For the latter, Franz Delitzsch has remarked concerning the inherent nature of God's instrument: "The old covenant was…a testamentary disposition, insofar as God bound himself by promise to bestow, on Israel continuing faithful, an 'eternal inheritance.'…Being thus a testament, it is also not without such a death as a testament requires, albeit an inadequate foreshadowing of the death of the true *diathemenos* [testator]" (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* [1871–72], 2:109–10). The OT declares that God saves "because of the blood of the covenant" (Zech. 9:11); and, as Heb. 9:15 explains, Christ "is the mediator of a new covenant,…a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant" (ASV; cf. Jn. 14:6). Though faith in his death had to be anticipatory and veiled, yet from the first it was known that for the serpent's head to be crushed the heel of the seed of woman would have to be bruised (Gen. 3:15).

Even in the case of most of the OT's statutory covenants, or dispositions, of God with human beings (see B, above), the designation suzerainty "testament" appears preferable to suzerainty "covenant" (KJV).This follows as a natural development from the concept of *bĕrît* as a redemptive bequest. A last will carries requirements: an heir may break his testamental obligation, but by so doing he forfeits his inheritance (cf. Eichrodt's stress upon the covenant as being at once both grace and precept, *Theology of the OT,* 1:37). Though the testament is truly a bestowal, it is, as Delitzsch noted, a bestowal "on Israel continuing faithful." Here apply such verses as Lev. 24:8, where the preparation of the presence-bread, SHOWBREAD, is styled a perpetual covenant; for the covenant was more than a simple statute: the "showbread" in this case stood as a symbol of God's graciously redeeming presence, so that to make provision for it was to carry out an ordinance that contributed to one's participation in divine salvation. Minor as it was, it expressed Israel's faith in the gracious Testator. "To keep his covenant" means, therefore, "to satisfy his testament" in its conditions for inheritance. Similar in nature is 2 Ki. 11:17, which should be translated, "Jehoiada made [executed] *the* testament [*not* a covenant] that they should be the LORD'S people"; similarly 2 Chr. 15:12, which speaks of entering into *the* testament. Indeed, all of God's sovereignly imposed suzerainty covenants (*bĕrît*) are "testaments," requirements for redemption that he graciously reveals to his own, so as to enable their reconciliation to himself.

III. Features

A. Unity and development. Covenantal restoration, according to the NT, occurs only through a person's identification with the righteous life, substitutionary death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Matt. 3:15; Phil. 3:21; Col. 1:27; 1 Pet. 2:24; cf. Jn. 14:6); and this fact applies equally to the saved of all ages, to those of the OT as well as of the NT (Heb. 11:40). OT Israel stood quite literally under

the blood (Exod. 24:8; Heb. 9:19), and the effectiveness of the blood lay not in bulls and goats (Heb. 10:4) but in its anticipation of the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all (v. 12). In essence therefore there can exist only one testament. It was this arrangement upon which the various patriarchs trusted (2 Ki. 13:23; 1 Chr. 16:16–17), as did Israel at Sinai along with them (Lev. 26:42, 45). The Asaphite singers of the exile prayed to God, "Have regard for your covenant" (Ps. 74:20), and it is impossible to tell which of its various testamentary revelations may have been intended. Josiah's rediscovered law book, which probably included the whole Pentateuch, is called simply the Book of the Covenant (2 Ki. 23:2). Ultimately, Matt. 26:28 records the words of our Lord, who said, "This is my blood of *the* testament [the adjective 'new' is not present in the better MSS], which is shed for many for the remission of sins" (KJV).

Within the basic unity of the testamentary relationship, however, there exists a real historical development. Its primary gradation arises between the older and the newer testaments, as is marked by the division of the Bible into "Old Testament" and "New Testament" (so G. Vos in *PTR* 14 [1916]: 4–6). Jeremiah, for example, recognized that he was living under a covenant relationship that God had established with the fathers of Israel of old (Jer. 31:32). He also looked forward to a new testament that God would yet reveal; note even the Mosaic anticipations of a future, more internal work of God (Deut. 30:6; cf. Jer. 3:16).

The NT speaks explicitly of pre-Christians as having lived under the "first" testament (Heb. 9:15, 18) and of the reading of the "old" testament (2 Cor. 3:14). It states that Christ has also become the MEDIATOR of a better "second" testament (Heb. 8:6–7), and it identifies his apostles as ministers of a "new" testament (2 Cor. 3:6). Believing Christians are indeed reckoned to be the heirs of the promises of the older testament (Gal. 3:29; see COVENANT, THE NEW IV), and the old ceremonies are appreciated as foreshadowing what Christ would do in the newer (Col. 2:16–17). There is still a factor of distinction that marks these eras as two major dispensations or administrations within redemptive history—the older mediated salvation by anticipatory faith in redemption yet to come (Heb. 8:5); and the newer, by commemorative faith in redemption once-for-all accomplished (9:12; 10:10).

On the basis of the applicability of Heb. 9 to both OT and NT, one may define *bĕrît* as a "legal disposition by which qualified heirs are bequeathed an inheritance through the death of the testator." Five major aspects to the testamental arrangement appear: *the testator,* who gives the inheritance and is styled "the mediator" (Heb. 9:15); *the heirs,* who receive the inheritance and are also referred to as "those who are called" (9:15); *the method of effectuation,* namely, by a gracious bequest that is executed upon the death of the testator (9:16); *the conditions,* by which the heir qualifies for the gift (for as Heb. 9:28 KJV puts it, the testament is "to them that look for him"; cf. its being commanded, 9:20); and *the inheritance* that is given, namely, an eternal one (9:15,28).

The Mediator is God the Son (Heb. 9:15), the divine-human Messiah, long before predicted by David (Pss. 2:7; 110:1). He is changeless in his perfection (Heb. 13:8). The heir then is humanity, or more precisely that elect portion of the human race with which God has chosen to deal in each of the successive periods of history (Gen. 17:7; Exod. 19:5; Jn. 6:37a). The remaining three aspects, however, while possessing an inner unity, due to their nature as related ultimately to the changeless Christ, yet at the same time exhibit marked differences of representation in the successive historical periods. The "effectuation" and the "inheritance" may be considered together as objective features of the covenant, signifying those historical arrangements that are accomplished by God for the redemption of sinners. The "conditions," however, are to be seen as subjective features, which, while determined by God, consist of responses that are made by his people (cf. Jn. 6:37b).

B. Objective features. The former, objective side of the covenant may be appreciated under five leading features. (1) The most outstanding is *monergism,* or accomplishment by "one worker." It is God the designator and not man the beneficiary who makes the testament (Eph. 2:8–9; cf. Isa. 63:3, 5); it is Christ, the "son of man" of Dan. 7:13 (cf. Mk. 14:61, 62), with whom alone the saints must be identified (Dan. 7:22, 27).

(2) A feature that is by nature essential to the effectuation of a testament is the *death of the testator* (Heb. 9:16–17; cf. 7:27). Specifically, Christ's sacrifice served a twofold aim: that sinners might stand in his righteousness, and he in their condemnation (Isa. 45:24; 53:11; 2 Cor. 5:21; 1 Pet. 2:24). This feature of the Savior's death is marked by a progressive clarification during the unfolding of God's revelations concerning the covenant. Its earlier expressions were simply but dramatically pictorial, emphasizing that without the shedding of blood there can be no remission of sins (Gen. 8:21; Exod. 24:8; Heb. 9:22). Its later expressions, however, as they developed in reference to the Messiah (Dan. 9:26) and the Son of Man (7:13; cf. v. 21), became increasingly direct.

(3) It is the inheritance aspect of the testament that suggests its third objective feature: *the promise that is made,* namely, salvation, in terms of reconciliation with God. From the first book of the Bible to the last, moreover, one statement in particular is employed to characterize the reconciled heirs of the covenant (cf. Gen. 17:7; Rev. 21:3). As John Murray states, "Its constant refrain is the assurance, 'I will be your God, and you shall be My people'" (*The Covenant of Grace,* 32). "This is the promise of grace upon which rests the communion of the people of God in all ages" (J. Murray, *Christian Baptism* [1962], 47). Out of zeal to guard against an anthropocentric religion and to safeguard the ultimate sovereignty of God, some evangelicals tend currently to minimize this promissory element. On the one hand, certain covenant theologians have defined *bĕrît* as simply "a sovereign administration of the Kingdom of God…an administration of God's lordship, consecrating a people to himself under the sanctions of divine law" (Kline, *WTJ 27* [1964–65]: 17). While rightly stressing the priority of law and obedience in God's original covenant of works with Adam (see conclusion of II.B, above), they have neglected the fact that in every subsequent covenant it is the redemption by divine grace that becomes central. On the other hand, certain dispensational theologians, while rightly subordinating man's redemption to God's final glory, have tended to minimize the pervasiveness of the salvation theme in Scripture (cf. J. Walvoord in *BSac* 103 [1946]: 3) and gone on to assume a replacement of God's unconditional promise (e.g., to Abraham) by subsequent law (e.g., the Mosaic law; cf. J. D. Pentecost, *Things to Come* [1958], 68). As Eichrodt has well pointed out, "The Hebrew *b^erīt* has to cover two lines of thought:…'legal system'…and 'decree of salvation'…which can yet only in conjunction render the whole content of that divine activity covered by the term *b^erīt" (Theology of the OT,* 1:66; cf. Gal. 3:17).

(4) Another objective feature, which likewise relates to the aspect of heirship, is the *eternity of the inheritance* (Jn. 3:16; 10:27–29). In Lev. 2:13 God speaks pictorially of "the salt [eternal preservation] of the covenant," while 1 Chr. 16:15 and Ps. 105:8–10 say explicitly that God "remembers his covenant forever." Then the prophecy of Dan. 7 climaxes in the universal and everlasting dominion that is to be received by the saints (vv. 14, 27).

(5) Finally, along with these four, is the always present feature of the *confirmatory sign,* some visible demonstration of God's ability to perform what he has promised. The ultimate such sign is Christ's victory over the grave, which serves as a pledge of his deity (Rom. 1:4), of justification (4:25), and of immortality and resurrection (1 Cor. 15:20–22). Other signs, however, have been

introduced with each historical revelation of the covenant (see chart, page 1062). Certain of these were somewhat modified at Christ's first coming, but God has never repealed his earlier signs.

C. Subjective features. Redemption under the covenant, though monergistic, yet requires a human response, a meeting of the conditions that God has laid down for inheritance. These, in turn, may be summarized by the term *commitment*. The one great requirement for status under the Hit-tite suzerainty covenants was that of loyalty to the king; so on the higher plane, reception into God's kingdom comes about only as people turn to him in repentance (Ezek. 18:30–31; Lk. 13:1–3) and accept his deliverance (Ps. 27:14; Jn. 1:12). God keeps the covenant with those who are faithful and remember him (Deut. 7:12; 8:18; Dan. 9:4).

Analysis discloses three major subjective features: (1) The most basic, changeless in every manifestation of the covenant, is FAITH (Gen. 15:6; Acts 16:31). It is true that faith, with repentance, is God's own gift (Deut. 30:6; Acts 11:18); but without it no one can please him (Heb. 11:6). Faith, if it is genuine, must be demonstrated by works of obedience (Matt. 7:24; Jas. 2:14–26). So Dan. 2:44 speaks of Christ's incarnation to set up a *kingdom,* and Ezek. 20:37 describes "the bond of the covenant." Obedience, in turn, is seen in two component features, as follows.

(2) *Moral obedience* is the response of sinners to God's revealed standards of ethics. These, more over, because of their origin in God's own moral perfection, are inherently changeless, though pro gressively revealed because of our limited capacity to receive and obey. They culminate in the teach ings (Jn. 1:18) and personal example of Christ (1 Pet. 2:21; 1 Jn. 2:6; cf. Jer. 31:34), but the more restricted moral legislation of Moses remains bind ing upon God's people (Mk. 10:19; Rom. 3:9).

(3) *Ceremonial obedience* pictorially describes the work of Christ, in whom the sinner trusts as a substitution for his own life of failure. It shows a marked augmentation from stage to stage in the revelations of the older testament. With its realiza tion in the newer dispensation of the church, many of its rites were fulfilled and ceased to be observed (Col. 2:16–17; Heb. 9:8–9). The veil of ceremony was rent (Matt. 27:51). Some of its rituals were maintained, though in a transmuted form (Lk. 22:15–20; Col. 2:11–12), as sacramental seals of righteousness by faith (Rom. 4:11). Their perfor mance therefore continues, as a commemoration of Christ's past work, as a witness of his present salvation, and as an anticipation of his future redemptive activity (1 Cor. 11:23–26). Whether by augmentation, transmutation, or abrogation, the ceremonies of Scripture exhibit clearly marked changes from one stage to the next in God's dealings with human beings; and a subdispensation in his redemptive revelation may thus be defined as a period within which faith in Christ is manifested by a distinctive form of ceremonial obedience. The testamentary features remain the same in all stages. The later revelations of the covenant are clarifications and extensions of the earlier. As John Murray, for example, has pointed out, "The church in the NT is founded upon the covenant made with Abraham. The specific covenant administration under which the NT church operates is the extension and unfolding of the Abrahamic covenant" *(Christian Baptism,* 46; cf. Gal. 3:9, 14, 17).

IV. History. The eight features of God's OT promissory covenant or testament listed above (III. B and C) stand in marked contrast with those of his suzerainty covenant of works with Adam (see above, II.B), which preceded it. Certain of its features appear also in the Adamic covenant: for example, both arrangements reflect the same fundamental situation of divine justice—that man's chief end is to glorify God (Isa. 43:7; Rom. 11:36); and that as it was originally in Gen. 2, so at the final judgment, all will be judged on the basis of works (Gen. 3:11; Rev. 20:12). Under the promissory

testament, however, it is Christ and not the sinner who provides the justifying works (Phil. 3:9; cf. Isa. 45:24–25).

A. Edenic. Even in the first revelation of God's promissory covenant (Gen. 3:15), the aforementioned testamentary features are truly present, though in rudimentary form. The statement in Gen. 3:15 is, in fact, not even called a covenant, but it is necessarily assumed to be so (cf. L. Alonso-Schökel in *Bib43* [1962]: 295–315, and M. Kline in *WTJ 27* [1964–65]: 9; contra C. C. Ryrie, *Dispensationalism Today* [1965], 86), both because of the presence of the eight features and because of the development of all subsequent redemptive covenants from it. The tabulation on page 1059 presents both its similarities and its contrasts with the earlier covenant.

Gen. 2:15–17	Gen. 3:15ff.
Designation:	
Called a *bĕrît* (Hos. 6:7), the covenant of works.	God's first redemptive disposition, the Edenic testament.
Fundamental Justice:	
Works: Adam was given a test of obedience, "Thou shalt not eat"(Gen. 2:17).	Works: The seed of the woman—Christ, the last Adam—gains merit by crushing the serpent.
Objective Features	
Monergism:	
(God had made man good, but Adam's works were also necessary for his probation to succeed; and this is "synergism," not monergism.)	God alone carries out the testament, "I will put enmity."
Death of the Testator:	
(No substitutionary way to righteousness is yet provided.)	The heel of the seed of Woman is to be injured by the conflict.
Promise:	
That Adam would die for disobedience (Gen. 2:17) indicates a corresponding confirmation in life for obedience.	That enmity would be put between man and the serpent (Satan) indicates a corresponding reconciliation with God.
Eternity:	
Adam could have lived forever (Gen. 3:22).	Enoch was translated to be with God (Gen. 5:24).
Confirmatory Sign:	
The tree of life (Gen. 2:9).	Childbirth, the means through which the seed would come (Gen. 3:16).
Subjective Features	
Faith:	
(No such gracious way to God.)	Adam trusted God's promise that Eve would bear seed (Gen. 3:20). Eve recognized God as her strength (4:1); her hope rested in her association with the victorious seed.
Demonstrated by Obedience	
Moral:	
(So there can be no such works of gratitude.)	Cain should do well (Gen. 4:7); Noah walked with God in righteousness (6:9).
Ceremonial:	
(And no symbolical expression of deliverance.)	Sacrifice, anticipating the atonement of Christ for sins (Gen. 4:4).
(Source: Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament*, 92–93)	

B. Noachian. The record of God's dealings with NOAH contains the first appearance in the OT of the actual term *bĕrît (Gen.* 6:18; 9:9). The Noachian covenant was, moreover, specifically testamentary (despite Vos, *Biblical Theology,* 62): it was preceded by bloody sacrifice (Gen. 8:20–22), a "type" or acted prophecy of Christ's death (see TYPOLOGY); and its redemptive significance is indicated by

its purpose of preserving seed (9:9), which included that of the woman, through whom mankind's deliv erance would some day arise (3:15). The Noachian testament, moreover, demonstrates more clearly than any other OT revelation the essential prior ity of the objective features of the covenant over the subjective. Its basic explanation is that "Noah found favor [or grace, *hen H2834*] in the eyes of the LORD" (6:8); and it was made with all the living and their posterity, including animals (9:10), so that even an understanding on the part of the beneficia ries would not appear to be required for its validity. From this, however, it must not be assumed that the moral character of the one to whom grace is disclosed is irrelevant, once it has had the opportu nity to display itself; for 6:9 notes that the covenant was given to Noah in his integrity. This and other basic features, as they appear in the successive bibli cal revelations of the covenant, may be outlined as shown in the accompanying table.

C. Abrahamic. While some critics once used to deny any concept of the covenant made by Yahweh prior to the time of JOSIAH (cf. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament: The History of a Spiri tual Triumph* [1961], 163), or to regard its origin as uncertain (*TDNT,* 2:119), more recent writ ers have come to recognize that "It is impossible to account for the invention of this [Abrahamic covenant] narrative in post-Mosaic times" (*IDB*, 1:718). First described in Gen. 15 and 17, the cov enant with ABRAHAM was later repeated to ISAAC (Gen. 26:3, 24) and to JACOB (28:15; 35:12). It was marked by particularism: God's choice of this one Hebrew family as the recipients of his redemption and as the medium for its eventual communication to "all the nations of the earth" (22:18). Accom panying material promises included a numerous seed (12:2; 13:16), through whom would come the future messianic testator (22:18) and the land of Canaan (12:7; 13:15). The Abrahamic testament was specifically conditional, in contrast with the Edenic and Noachian: only as God's children did justice would God bring upon them what he had spoken (18:19).

D. Sinaitic. Following its miraculous exodus from Egypt, Israel was granted the fourth of God's testamentary revelations in history. The particularism of the Sinaitic covenant now embraced the entire nation rather than a mere family (Exod. 19:5–6, verses that affect all subsequent formulations; cf. J. Muilenburg in *VT9* [1939]: 352).The large group involved, over two million people, thus accounts for the detailed Mosaic legislation that follows: both the moral requirements of the testament (Neh. 9:13–14) and the forms of ceremonial obedience that make up the ritual of the tabernacle, which became the testamental sanctuary. Deut. 7:7–8 and 9:4–6 base the covenant on God's love, his free grace. This graciousness of the testament was unique to the faith of Israel, preserving humility on the part of the inheritors and checking tendencies toward legalistic distortions or toward any necessary equating of God with the national interests (cf. G. E. Wright, *The Old Testament against Its Environment,* 2nd ed. [1968], ch. 11). Sinai therefore was not essentially a conditional covenant of works (cf. John Murray in *NBD* [1962], 266; id., *The Covenant of Grace,* 20–22), despite the objection of Mendenhall (*IDB,* 1:718), who would view Sinai as opposed to the other covenants in this regard.

Israel, however, did not keep the testament (Ps. 78:10, 37; Neh. 9:17). Forty years later God commanded Moses to renew it on the plains of MOAB just prior to the entrance of the new generation into Canaan (Deut. 29:1). Such repetitions and renewals were characteristic of the Hittite suzerainty treaties of the "New Empire" (this period of 1400–1200 B.C.). Indeed, just as the Decalogue with its "I-thou" form of address and allusions to past benefits bestowed (Exod. 20:2; cf. *BA* 17 [1954]: 63–64) closely parallels the suzerainty treaties, so the whole present book of Deuteronomy corresponds to the six basic sections of the Hittite covenants: (1) preamble, Deut. 1:1 –5; (2) historical prologue,

1:6—4:49; (3) stipulations, chs. 5 –26; (4) curses and blessings of ratification, chs. 27–30; (5) enlisting of witnesses, 31:19–22 and 31:28—32:45; and (6) succession arrangements, 32:46—34:12, plus parts of ch. 31, including directions for the disposition and public reading of the text, 31:9–13, 24–27 (cf. ch. 27). K. A. Kitchen thus insists that it "*must* be classed with the late-second-millennium covenants" (*Ancient Orient and OT,* 99) and sharply criticizes D.J. McCarthy's "astonishing assumption that the casual combination of sources [from a later time] should just happen to produce a direct correspondence with a covenant-form half a millennium obsolete!" (ibid., 101; the reference is to McCarthy's *Treaty and Covenant,* 1st ed. [1963], 154).

E. Levitical. Anticipated in Num. 18:19, when AARON and his family were granted certain offer ings as "a covenant of salt," the Levitical testament arose out of the heroic action of PHINEHAS, grand son of Aaron, against national apostasy and immo rality (Num. 25:8). The promise of the Levitical covenant lay specifically in God's bestowal of the priestly office on this particular group of Levites (v. 13) and in the resultant reconciliation that they experienced with God (cf. Mal. 2:6). It possessed also a broader redemptive significance, for it was through the priesthood that God's wrath was turned away from Israel as a whole (Num. 25:11). It was ultimately anticipatory of Christ's testamental work of divine propitiation (Heb. 7:11, 19).

F. Davidic. Four centuries of temptation to Baa lism (see BAAL) and frequent apostasy followed upon Israel's entry into Canaan. After the judges and SAUL, midway in the reign of DAVID (C. 995 B.C.), God decreed the sixth and last aspect of the older testament, the Davidic (2 Sam. 7:12–16; cf. its designation as a *bĕriît* in 23:5; Pss. 89:3; 132:12). Its essence lay in God's promise of salvation medi ated through the kingdom of David. The Davidic covenant had an immediate, contemporary applica tion; but it contained elements that spoke of the continuance of David's dynasty after him (2 Sam. 7:16, 19) and of its particular culmination in that greater Son who would be also the Son of God (v. 14; Heb. 1:5). One must incline his ear and hear, or have faith, if he is to participate in the sure mer cies of David (Isa. 55:3). Many at that time may not have distinguished clearly between the ZION present and the Zion future, or between the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. When someone qualified for inheritance under the Davidic covenant, he was blessed with divine reconciliation and guidance in this life (Ps. 32:8), with reception to glory at death (73:24), and with participation in the kingdom of Zion, when the "horn for David" should bud forth (132:17). David's covenant thus began to anticipate the two stages of God's newer testament.

G. The new Covenant. Commencing with the latter days of Solomon, and culminating under such rulers of the divided kingdoms as AHAB and JEZEBEL in the N or MANASSEH in Judah, apostasy once again threatened Israel. The goal of the great prophets from the 8th cent. B.C. and onward was therefore to reactivate national commitment to the "covenant stipulations" (R. E. Clemens, *Prophecy and Covenant* [1965], 69–71; cf. Amos 3:2 or J. Muilenberg's analysis of Jer. 7:2–7 as a development of Exod. 10:5–6 in *VT9* [1959]: 354–55). Among the seven 8th-cent. prophets (Hosea-Micah, plus Isaiah), only Isaiah makes consistent reference to the covenant concept. They knew of it (Hos. 6:7; 8:1), but they may have feared a possible perversion of its judicial character into an externalized or legalistic religion (cf. Mic. 3:11). They therefore defined God's relationship to Israel in terms of a husband or a father (Hos. 2:4, 19) rather than of a testator. Commencing with Hos. 2:18, and developed in Jer. 31 ("new covenant") and Ezek. 37 ("covenant of peace"), they were led of the Spirit to reveal God's yet future *bĕrît* (see COVENANT, THE NEW). See also OLD TESTAMENT

THEOLOGY.

(For a more extensive discussion, see J. B. Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament* [1962]. In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, see G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* [1955]; K. Balzer, *Das Bundesformular* [1960]; J. A. Thompson, *The Ancient Near Eastern Treaties and the Old Testament* [1964]; J. Bright, *Covenant and Promise: The Prophetic Understanding of the Future in Pre-Exilic Israel* [1976]; D.J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament,* new ed. [1978]; W. J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation* [1984]; T. E. McComiskey, *The Covenants of Promise* [1985]; E.

THE SUCCESSIVE REVELATIONS OF THE TESTAMENT

	Objective Features					*Subjective Response*		
Reference and 1st appearance	**Testamental nature (death of Christ)**	**Reconciliation (the promise)**	**Graciousness (monergism)**	**Effective range (eternity)**	**Sign of confirmation**	**Faith**	**Faith manifested in obedience: Moral**	**Dispensational**
THE ANTICIPATORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT								
Edenic, Gen 3:15	Satan shall bruise Christ's heel	Enmity between Satan and mankind	*I* will put enmity	Enoch translated, did not see death (5:24)	Childbirth, sign of the seed (3:16)	Eve *will* bear seed (3:20, cf. 4:1)	If thou doest well (4:7)	Sacrifice (4:4)
Noachian, Gen 9:9	Noah's offering accepted (8:21)	Seed that will crush Satan protected (9:9)	*I* establish My testament (9:9)	All flesh no more to be cut off (9:11)	The rainbow (9:13)	Noah blesses the Lord	A just man with God (6:9)	Sacrifice (8:20)
Abrahamic, Gen 15:18	Sacrifices laid before God (15:9)	I will be God unto Thee & thy seed (17:7)	*I* will make My testament (17:2)	An everlasting testament (17:7)	God's self-malediction oath (15:17, cf. Jer 34:20)	Abraham believed God (15:6)	Be thou perfect (17:1)	Circumcision (17:10)
Sinaitic, Ex 19:5, 6	Blood of the testament sprinkled (24:8, cf. Heb 9:18)	Israel a peculiar treasure of God (19:5)	*I* brought you unto Myself (19:4)	A statute for ever (27:21)	The exodus (20:2)	Believe forever (19:9; Deut 6:5)	An holy nation (19:6)	Mosaism (25:8)
Levitical, Num 25:12, 13	Peace came as Phine has made atonement	The priest turned wrath away (25:11)	*I* give unto him My testament	An everlasting priesthood	Aaronic priesthood	Zealous for his God	He thrust the sinner through!	Mosaism (25:7)
Davidic, II Sam 7:13 (cf. 23:5)	Christ's soul not left in death (Ps 16:10, cf. Acts 2:31)	Salvation in David's kingdom (2 Sam 23:5)	*I* have sworn unto David (Ps 89:3)	His kingdom established for ever (II Sam 7:13)	David's continuing line (II Sam 7:12)	Come unto Me & live, in David's mercies (Isa 55:3)	Walk in My judgments (Ps 89:30)	Mosaism (Jer 17:25, 26)
THE COMMEMORATIVE NEW TESTAMENT								
Future testament anticipated in Hos 2:18–20								
New Testament Jer 31:31-34 (cf. Heb 8:6-12)	My blood of the testament, shed for many (Matt 26:28)	Least to greatest all shall know Me (Jer 31:34)	*I* will make a new testament (31:31)	I will remember their sin no more (31:34)	Christ's resurrection (Rom 4:25)	Whosoever believeth in Him (John 3:16)	My law in their hearts (Jer 31:33)	Lord's supper (I Cor 11:25)
Testament of Peace, Ezek 37:26 (cf. 34:25)	The Lamb that was slain receives power (Rev 5:12)	I will cause evil beasts to cease out of the land (34:25)	*I*, Yahweh, do sanctify Israel, (37:28)	They shall no more be a prey to the nations (34:28)	I with you, face to face (20:35)	Remember and be ashamed (16:61)	Walk in His ordinances (37:24)	My sanctuary in the midst (37:26)

(Source: Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament*, p. 95)

W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* [1986]; J. J. Niehaus, *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and Ancient Near East* [1995]; R. Rendtorff, *The Covenant Formula: An Exegetical and Theologi cal Investigation* [1998]; P. R.Williamson, *Sealed with an Oath: Covenant in God's Unfolding Purpose* [2007].)

J.B.PAYNE

covenant (NT). A legal disposition or agreement, applied in particular to God's work of redemption.

1. Terminology
2. Human covenants
3. Christ's covenant with God the Father
    1. Frequency
    2. Character
4. God's covenant with Israel
    1. History
    2. Limitation

3. Testamentalism

I. Terminology. The Greek noun *diathēkē G1347* occurs thirty-three times in the NT, with over half of these in Hebrews (G. Vos designated this book as "Hebrews, the Epistle of the Diatheke," *PTR* 13 [1915], 587; see the reprint in *Redemption and Biblical Interpretation,* ed. R. B. Gaffin [1980], 161–233). In the KJV the noun is translated thirteen times as "testament" and twenty times as "covenant," though six times with "testament" in the margin. Modern versions, such as the NIV and the NRSV, render it "covenant" throughout except for Heb. 9:16–17, where it is translated "will" (with a marginal note; so also Gal. 3:15 NRSV). At two points the KJV also utilizes the verb "to covenant" (Matt. 26:15 for *histēmi* ***G2705,*** "to set [a price]"; Lk 22:5 for *syntithēmi* ***G5338,*** "to agree"), and on one other occasion the adjective "covenant breaker" (Rom. 1:21 for *asynthetos* ***G853,*** "faithless"). The noun *synthēkē* (from *syntithēmi)* is the normal Greek term for "contract" or "covenant," that is, a legal agreement that has been "put together" by the mutual consent of the parties concerned; however, this word occurs only a few times in the LXX (e.g., Isa. 28:15) and not at all in the NT.

On the other hand, *diathēkē* comes from *diatithēmi* ***G1416,*** meaning literally "to put through," and hence "appoint, confer" (Lk. 22:29). In contrast to the idea of mutual agreement, associated with a dipleuric (two-sided) compact or covenant, *diatithēmi* signifies a monopleuric disposition, which may indeed involve reciprocally binding conditions or promises, but which exists essentially as "put through" or imposed by one party upon another. In pre-NT classical usage, *diathēkē* thus comes to connote that most completely monopleuric type of legal arrangement, the "disposition of property by will, testament" (LSJ, 394; cf *TDNT,* 2:124). The NT accordingly employs the participle *diathemenos* for the "testator" of a last will (Heb. 9:16–17); and PHILO JUDAEUS goes so far as to associate this concept with Yahweh himself: to the person who chooses a blameless life, God "will leave an inheritance by the terms of a will" (*klēron kata diathēkas, Mut.* 6.51; cf. also 6.58; *Leg.* 2.16; *Somn.* 2.224).

At the same time, there existed in classical Greek, from the time of Aristophanes (427 B.C.; *Birds* 440–41), a secondary and limited usage by which *diathēkē* also signified an ordinance or even a dipleuric, treaty-like "convention or arrangement between two parties, a covenant," to which definition the 8th ed. of Liddell and Scott added, "and so in later writers" (p. 346). More recent lexicographers have, however, insisted that by Hellenistic times the term's signification was exclusively "last will and testament" (cf. BDAG, 228a), which was the "ordinary and invariable contemporary [1st Christian cent.] meaning," employed with "absolute unanimity" in the papyri and inscriptions (MM, 148–49).

In the pre-NT usage of the LXX, which so strongly conditioned the phraseology of the apostolic authors, both the monopleuric and the dipleuric connotations of *diathēkē* may be observed, though the former predominate. Of primary influence was the decision of the LXX translators to represent the Hebrew noun *bĕrît,* which identifies God's redemptive arrangement for his people, by the term *diathēkē* (the only exceptions are Deut. 9:15 and 1 Ki. 11:11). Their thinking was apparently determined by the suzerainty and testamentary nature of the covenant in the OT (cf. the even earlier Hittite situation). See COVENANT (OT). Noteworthy in this regard are the following OT characteristics: divine monergism, redemption being initiated and executed by God alone (Exod. 14:13; 2 Chr. 20:17); its symbolism of shed blood (Exod. 24:8; Lev. 17:11), redemption being effectuated through the laying down of a God-given life; and its purpose of bestowing a gift, redemption being defined as a gracious inheritance of life in God's presence (Exod. 15:17; Jer.

31:33).

For none of these situations would the general term *synthēkē,* "contract," with all its connotations of mutual formulation, have been satisfactory. A. Deissmann thus speaks of the testamentary concept as "very frequent" in the LXX *(Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History,* 2nd ed. [1927], 175). Yet the LXX went on to employ *diathēkē,* "testament," to render *bĕrît,* not simply in passages concerning God's grant of redemption (e.g., Gen. 6:18; 15:18), but also throughout the remainder of the OT, including passages where the word refers to ordinary human treaties or covenants (e.g., 21:27; 26:28). In the LXX of Isa. 28:15 *diathēkē* thus appears in synonymous parallelism with *synthēkē.* At eight other points *diathēkē* renders still other words, including ⁾*aḥăwâ H288* ("brotherhood," Zech. 11:14), which clearly connotes covenant and not testament. The force of the term *diathēkē* in the NT, therefore, cannot be determined by etymology or by prior usage, whether in the classics or in the LXX, but must be decided in each case by specific contextual evidence.

The thirty-three NT occurrences of the term break down into three general groupings, determined by the subject or initiator of the "covenant" concerned: whether the subject be people, variously involved (three times); Christ, acting on the behalf of his church (fourteen times); or God, accomplishing redemption for Israel (sixteen times, including Gal. 4:24, which makes reference to the church as well). The last-mentioned group consists primarily of quotations from the OT.

II. Human covenants. Standing in contrast with the OT's frequent descriptions of human agreements and treaties, the NT does not deal with human covenants as specific historical phenomena. In two passages, however, it does allude to a covenant between human beings for the purpose of illustrating Christ's redemptive activity for his own, namely in Gal. 3:15 and Heb. 9:16–17. The first adduces the subject of "a human covenant" (so NIV; the NRSV has "a person's will") for the sake of emphasizing its feature that "no one can set aside or add to" it if the arrangement "has been duly established" (Gal. 3:15). The rendering of *diathēkē* in this verse as "covenant" appears unwise (cf. J. Murray, *The Covenant of Grace* [1954], 30), not simply because of the term's normal testamentary connotations and because of the contextual stress upon an "inheritance" (v. 18), but primarily because covenants are *not,* under most circumstances, incapable of modifications. Bequests, on the other hand, remain fixed, particularly after the death of the testator, and even prior to this point. While the latter characteristic may not have been rigidly established in Roman law, the provisions of a last will in Syro-Grecian law (which applied in Galatia) were not permitted to become subject to modification, once they had received public sanction and had led to such adoption proceedings as may have been involved (cf. G. Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* [1948], 34). The other passage (Heb. 9:16–17) speaks to the dependence of a *diathēkē* upon the death of the party who has set it up: "In the case of a will, it is necessary to prove the death of the one who made it, because a will is in force only when somebody has died." Clearly, then, human "covenants" in the NT refer to what one means by "testament."

III. Christ's covenant with God the Father

A. Frequency. Almost two-thirds of the NT references to the covenant of Jesus Christ (nine times out of fourteen) are found in the epistle to the Hebrews: "Jesus has become the guarantee of a better covenant [testament]" (Heb. 7:22); "the covenant of which he is mediator is superior to the old one" (8:6); "I will make a new covenant" (8:8; also 8:10 and 10:16); "the mediator of a new covenant"

(9:15; also 12:24); "the blood of the covenant that sanctified him" (10:29); "the God of peace, who through the blood of the eternal covenant brought back from the dead our Lord Jesus" (13:20). There remain only five other passages in the NT: Christ's words at the institution of the LORD'S SUPPER ("This is my blood of the covenant," Matt. 26:28; Mk. 14:24; "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," Lk. 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25) and Paul's further Corinthian reference to the apostles as "ministers of a new covenant" (2 Cor. 3:6). Note also Paul's reference to the "two covenants" (Gal. 4:24; see section IV below).

The problem of such relatively slight utilization of the covenant concept, outside of Hebrews, to describe the work of Jesus Christ, especially when one compares the dominant position that it occupies in the OT, has led to no small discussion. Because of an assumed deterioration within the covenant idea during later OT days, G. E. Mendenhall proposes that "the covenant patterns were not really useful as a means of communication" (*IDB,* 1:723). His assertion appears to be based upon negative critical assumptions about the externalized character of the Pentateuchal law and about its initial identification with the covenant only in the time of Ezra. This then leads to his disparaging conclusion that "the NT experience of Christ was one which could not be contained within the framework of a quasi-legal terminology or pattern of thought and action" (ibid.). This same writer later states, with greater plausibility, that it was an overemphasis upon law among the intertestamental Qumran sectarians and the NT Pharisees that worked in combination with the imperial government's opposition to covenanting (anti-Roman) secret societies, so as to "make it nearly impossible for early Christianity to use the term meaningfully" (ibid., 1:722).

G. Vos, on the other hand, refuses to disparage OT thought in the former way and suggests rather that the NT's emphasis upon the person of Jesus Christ caused it to turn primarily to those portions of the OT that were descriptive of the coming MESSIAH, but which were so often separated from God's revelations of his covenant (*PTR* 13 [1915]: 588). Vos proceeds to note that the additional and fresh emphases of Christ and the apostles upon concepts such as the KINGDOM OF GOD or the CHURCH tended to restrict their use of covenant terminology to those passages that consciously sought to compare the older and the newer Testaments—for example, at the Lord's Supper or in the epistle to the Hebrews, where almost the whole of God's redemptive plan is summed up in the doctrine of the two covenants (ibid., 587–90). At these points the newer Christian development may then be compared either with valid Mosaic truths (as in 2 Cor. 3) or with the perversions that are attributable to NT Pharisaism (as in Gal. 4) and that hardly deserve the designation "covenant" in the first place. Early patristic writers exhibited no hesitancy in employing covenant terminology and concepts (e.g., *Barnabas* 13–14; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.11.8). Even Mendenhall grants that "for a time at least, the early Christians did regard themselves as a community bound together by covenant" (*IDB,* 1:722), though he confuses the covenant as a human, organizational compact with its basic character as a divinely redemptive testament (see IV.C. below; also COVENANT, THE NEW II).

B. Character. The NT describes the saving relationship of Jesus Christ with God the Father as an "eternal covenant," made effective by the Lord's triumphant resurrection from the dead (Heb. 13:20). Christ thus exercises an eternal priesthood: for "he always lives to intercede" for his own (7:25), "having obtained eternal redemption" (9:12), and "through the eternal Spirit offered himself unblemished to God" (9:14). Yet his covenant is, at the same time, thoroughly historical, effectuated at a single time and place; otherwise, "Christ would have had to suffer many times since the creation of the world. But now he has appeared once for all at the end of the ages to do away with sin by the sacrifice of himself" (9:26).

While the redemption wrought by Jesus is specifically pinpointed to Jerusalem in A.D. 30, it constitutes also the end point or climax of all previous history, achieved, as Paul said, "when the time had fully come" (Gal. 4:4). Its applicability is retroactive, "now that he has died as a ransom to set them free from the sins committed under the first covenant [testament]"; hence its historicity is combined with an eternal efficacy (Heb. 9:15; 10:16). Indeed, God's former relationship possesses a corresponding prospective applicability, for the truth that God will "remember his holy covenant [with Abraham]" (Lk. 1:72) insures blessings upon NT Israel. Thus "the covenant God made with your fathers" (Acts 3:25) is fulfilled by his Servant Jesus, and the covenanted "seed of Abraham" (Gal. 3:18) *is* Christ (cf. J. Murray, *The Covenant of Grace,* 25, for an appreciation of the exodus as a "prototype" of NT salvation).

As suggested by the above quotations, Christ's *diathēkē* is, moreover, definitely testamentary in character. The implications of the Lord's words, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28), have been analyzed by A. R. Fausset in his comments on Heb. 9. He points out that a testament requires a testator, an heir, goods to be inherited, the testator's death, evidence of his death, witnesses, and a seal ("the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the sign of his blood"). The heir "is ordinarily the successor of him who dies and so ceases to have possession. But in this case Christ comes to life again, and is Himself (including all that He hath), in the power of His now endless life, His people's inheritance" *(A Commentary, Critical and Explanatory on the Whole Bible* [1935], 2:463). Shortly thereafter the Lord affirms, "I bequeath [*diatithemai*] to you a kingdom" (Lk. 22:29), though this literal translation cannot always be insisted upon, since his next words require a broader, nontestamentary usage: "as my Father appointed [*dietheto*] to me" (cf. Vos, *PTR* 13 [1915]: 608). Vos notes a trend, "moving away from the rendering 'covenant' to the

Seder cup used in modern Passover celebrations. For Christians, the ritual is a reminder of Jesus' words, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28).

other translation" (ibid., 593); and, as he later states, "There are passages…for instance, those recording the institution of the Lord's Supper, where a further return to 'testament' may seem advisable" (*Biblical Theology,* 35). The emphasis of the communion supper upon Christ's sacrificial death, not simply upon a mealtime fellowship, with other characteristics of Christ's *diathēkē,* are developed in a separate article (see COVENANT, THE NEW); but this much does appear, that, just as in the case of the "covenants" between human beings, so in the case of Christ's "covenant" with God the Father, the word warrants more precise definition as "last will and testament."

IV. God's covenant with Israel

A. History. The NT could upon occasion subsume God's earlier redemptive revelations under his Sinaitic *diathēkē,* designated as *"the* old testament [NIV, covenant]" (2 Cor. 3:14, cf. v. 15; Heb. 9:18, cf. v. 19); yet it also recognizes a historical progres-siveness, as it refers to various successive covenants of God with Israel (Rom. 9:4; Eph. 2:12). While refraining from explicit comment upon God's primeval covenants with ADAM and NOAH, the NT commences its historical summarization with the aforementioned reference to ABRAHAM, the father of the Hebrews: in Lk. 1:72–73 (which is itself a quotation from Ps. 105:8–9; cf. 106:45), "his holy covenant" stands in parallelism with "the oath he swore to our father Abraham" (cf. Acts 3:25; 7:8). A development, however, is suggested by Gal. 3:16–17, which not only speaks of God's promises to Abraham, but also comments on "a covenant previously established by God," some 430 years before the giving of the law on Sinai. Accepting the latter's date to be 1446 B.C., one may date 1876 for the former, when JACOB and his family, "the sons of Israel," arrived first in Canaan from Haran (Exod. 12:40 LXX; see CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT III.B and IV.A), and when God saw fit to renew his patriarchal covenant to Jacob, the grandson of Abraham (Gen. 35:12; cf. other confirmations in 28:15 and 26:3,24).

Eleven out of the NT's sixteen references to God's covenant with Israel concern his redemptive revelations to the Hebrew nation during their forty years in the wilderness, 1446–1406 B.C. They begin with the Sinaitic covenant (Exod. 19:4–6) and terminate with the Levitical (Num. 25:12–13), when Israel had reached the Jordan, across from Jericho (22:1). The earlier and more fundamental revelation is specified at eight points: Gal. 4:24, the covenant "from Mount Sinai"; Heb. 8:9, God's covenant with the nation's "fathers" when he led them out of Egypt, which is subsequently identified as "my covenant" (8:9) or "the first covenant" (9:15; cf. vv. 18 and 19, which cite Exod. 24:6); Heb. 9:4, "the ark of the covenant"; 9:4 again, "the tables of the covenant"; and 9:20, "the blood of the covenant" (quoted from Exod. 24:8); and Rev. 11:19, "the ark of his covenant," all four of which latter references describe concrete items relating to the events at Mount Sinai.

The remaining passages seem to include both the Sinaitic and the Levitical testaments: 2 Cor. 3:14 speaks of the reading of "the old covenant," which suggests, if not the entire OT, at least those 15th-cent. records that are involved "when Moses is read" (v. 15); while the plural forms in Rom. 9:4 and Eph. 2:12 might even include the Davidic testament (2 Sam. 7:12–16; 23:5), though in the former it seems significant that, within the covenants that pertain to Israel, those factors that receive the greatest contextual emphasis are, specifically, "the adoption" and "the receiving of the law," both of which are distinctly Mosaic in import.

Finally, Rom. 11:26–27 quotes Isa. 59:20–21 in its anticipation of God's still future covenant with Israel: "my covenant with them when I take away their sins." The point of the reference seems to go beyond that of Jeremiah's new testament (Jer. 31:31–34), which was fulfilled in Christ's sacrificial first coming, and to imply Ezekiel's testament of peace (Ezek. 37:25–28), which will some day transform not only the Jewish nation, but also all the nations of the world, at his victorious SECOND COMING. The progressive revelations of the covenant will thus have achieved that same goal of final salvation that the prophets anticipated. In fact, the apostle John closes out human history in the first half of his Apocalypse with an OT covenant-object, "Then God's temple in heaven was opened, and within his temple was seen the ark of his covenant" (Rev. 11:19).

B. Limitation. The NT affirms that the old *diathēkē* was "glorious" (2 Cor. 3:7–11); that it was divine in origin (Heb. 8:9); that it embraced redemptive promises of reconciliation with God (Eph. 2:12–13), which were not annulled by the law (Gal. 3:17); and that it was confirmed by God's own oath (Acts 2:30; Heb. 6:13–17) in both the Davidic (Pss. 89:3, 35–37; 110:1) and Abrahamic (Gen. 22:16–17) testaments. The OT had a preliminary character (Jer. 31:31–32), and the apostolic writers unite in recognizing its temporary nature.

Paul insists that Christ is "the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4), who fulfills its promises (2 Cor. 1:20). Indeed, through its stress on external written revelation and through its more limited appreciation of the internal, infilling power of God's HOLY SPIRIT for all believers (cf. Jer. 31:33–34), it could be said of the older revelation that "the letter kills" in contrast to the newer testament, through which "the Spirit gives life" (2 Cor. 3:6). For even as the OT validates its testamentary promises of the Redeemer who would come to Zion by referring to a continuing presence of the words of God in the mouths of his prophets (Isa. 59:21; cf. Rom. 11:26–27), so too the NT emphasizes the reading of the old covenant (2 Cor. 3:14, meaning "Moses [v. 15] in the form of the OT Scriptures"; see P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* NICNT [1962], 111).

Some have questioned the suitability of this phrase if used in the modern sense as a title for the pre-Christian OT, for the newer covenant of Jesus Christ had attained to only a part of its eventual twenty-seven book form (Vos, *Biblical Theology,* 35). Yet Charles Hodge's exegesis seems correct when he speaks of the apostle's "metonymical use of the word covenant for the books in which that [older] covenant is contained" (*An Exposition of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [1859], 69–70). The older testament simply cannot be dissociated from writing. Furthermore, while Paul does describe the covenant from Mount Sinai as bearing "children who are to be slaves" (Gal. 4:24), it must be recognized that the apostle's specific conflict lay with the legalism of the JUDAIZERS and that a testament need not necessarily suffer spiritual limitation simply because it is in verbal or written form (cf. the NT books); Isaiah's own covenant passage had specifically correlated "My Spirit, who is on you, and my words that I have put in your mouth" (Isa. 59:21).

The epistle to the Hebrews summarizes the limitations of the old covenant under the term *skia* ***G5014,*** "shadow" (Heb. 10:1). It only foreshadowed the good things of divine revelation that were to come, and it failed to attain to the *eikōn* ***G1635,*** "very image," that should characterize the NT's clearer representation (G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the New Testament* [1906], 496). The former lacked faultlessness (8:7), not simply because it was fragmentary (1:1) and mediated in a secondary way through angels (1:14; cf. Acts 7:53; Gal. 3:19) or through Moses (Heb. 3:3), but more fundamentally because of its weakness and even unprofitableness (7:18), due to its shadowy, typical nature (8:5); it prescribed mere ceremonial "copies of the heavenly things" (9:23). In particular its priesthood, which was personally infirm (7:28) and was equipped only with symbolical animal

sacrifices that could "never take away sins" (10:11), existed as an anticipation of Christ in his perfection and in his unique work for the propitiation of God in heaven (7:26–27; 9:24; 10:12).

C. Testamentarianism. God's NT revelation provides his own normative explanation about the nature of the old *diathēkē:* it not only confirms the validity of the OT's affirmations; it also establishes the ultimate character of those aspects of divine redemption that had, perforce, to remain unclari-fied prior to the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Within the context of the NT the most crucial passage is Heb. 9:15–22. The author states, "In the case of a will, it is necessary to prove the death of the one who made it" (v. 16). Marcus Dodds, B. F. West-cott, and a few others have argued that the "death" signifies only a self-imprecation of dismemberment for nonfulfillment (cf. Jer. 34:18–20), which was "brought out" by the ratifying ceremonies of a covenant. Such an explanation appears unlikely, for it is not the threat of death but the death itself that is brought out or adduced. Furthermore, the threat of death does not seem always to have been a necessary element in covenantal, as opposed to testamental, thought (cf. David and Jonathan). The statement in v. 17 is decisive: "because a will is in force only when somebody has died; it never takes effect while the one who made it is living." As Dean Alford stated: "It is quite vain to deny the testamentary sense of *diathēkē* in this [verse]…I believe it will be found that we must at all hazards accept the meaning of testament, as being the only one which will in any way meet the plain requirement of the verse" (*The Greek Testament* [1871–75], 4:173–74).

What then is involved in Alford's "all hazards"? First, the fact that the same term appears twice in Heb. 9:15 in the preceding context and is implied in v. 18 which follows. The former reads, "For this reason Christ is the mediator of a new *diathēkē,* that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance." Here the rendering "covenant" is accepted by most scholars, claiming "amphiboly, or two-fold use, by which the writer of Hebrews in ix. 16 sq. substitutes for the meaning *covenant*...that of testament" (J. H. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* [1885], 137). In this passage one again notes the presence of death. There is also the use of the term *klēronomias* ***G3100,*** "inheritance"; and the whole statement is closely associated with what follows (v. 16). One must conclude that "testament" is the meaning of the word in v. 15 as well as in vv. 16 and 17. Moreover, v. 18 reads, "This is why even the first *diathēkē* was not put into effect without blood." This reference must also be rendered in accordance with the context, and particularly with the prior mention of the *first diathēkē* in v. 15. It cannot, therefore, be translated "covenant" but must be, as in KJV, "testament."

Such a conclusion is required, not only for the sake of consistency, but also for the understanding of the argument of the passage. Meredith Kline (in *WTJ* 23 [1960–61]: 14) has suggested that the explanation for Heb. 9 must lie in the Hittite-type dynastic treaty, particularly as reflected in Moses' "last will and bequest" (Deut. 33–34), Christ being both the dying representative of God (paralleling Moses) and at the same time, together with his redeemed brethren, the resurrected inheritor of universal dominion (paralleling Joshua). The point of reference must be testament. "To adduce the fact that in the case of wills the death of the testator is the condition of validity, is, of course, no proof at all that a death is necessary to make a covenant valid" (M. Dods in *EGT,* 4:336). For some interpreters it remains possible to dismiss this passage as a formal, ad hominem argument, one that alleges proof where no real parallel exists (J. Behm in *TDNT,* 2:131; cf. B.Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* [1883], 2:207), or to say that "the ambiguity of the word covered for the author, as also for the Greek commentators, the logical hiatus" (A. S. Peake, *Hebrews,* Century Bible [1902], 188). These approaches are unnecessary. In what follows, v. 22 explains the entire OT

concept of sacrifice, which for the author of Hebrews "was the centre and soul of Judaism" (Stevens, *Theology of the New Testament,* 490), in terms of the *diathēkē;* for without the shedding of testamentary blood there could be no remission of sins. Throughout Heb. 9 one must conclude that the word means "testament" and that thus both the old and the new "covenants" are testaments.

From this point it follows naturally to conclude with E. Riggenbach *(Der Begriff der* Διαθήκη *im Hebräerbrief* [1908]) that in Hebrews as a whole the term likewise connotes "testament" (contrast Vos, *PTR* 13 [1915]: 617–18). The same conclusion may, however, be applied to all the NT references to the older testament. Vos favors a true testamentalism in Acts 3:25 (following Deissmann, *Paul,* 175; cf. MM, 148), where Luke states that the testament that God made with the Israelite fathers has been realized in Jesus Christ; Paul's stress rests upon legal terminology and the fact of inheritance (Gal. 4:24–30). The testamentary significance of the NT term when used for Christ's newer covenant with the Father and for covenants between human beings has already been noted (see section II above). Concerning Gal. 3:15 Vos contends: "That Paul in an exceptional case and for a concrete reason gives this specific turn to the idea…cannot, of course, give plausibility to the assumption that the Septuagint associated God with the idea of a 'last will' on the broadest scale" (*PTR* 13 [1915]: 601–2; contrast Deissmann, *Paul,* 175).

Furthermore, the fact that the NT uses *diathēkē* for God's covenant with Israel and that it specifies the meaning "testament" does not prove what the LXX translators may have had in mind either. It does show that the divine author of the OT intended the saving *bequest* of his Son Jesus Christ from the very inception of his revelations. Patristic writers even went so far as to say that, since Israel had from the beginning forfeited the covenant by their idolatry, there really was no *"new* covenant" at all, but just the one testament in the death of Jesus, for Christians only (*Barnabas* 4.8–18; 13:1—14:5). (In addition to the standard commentaries on Galatians and Hebrews, and the titles mentioned in this article, see J. Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews* [1992]; N.T.Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* [1992]; E.J. Christiansen, *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study of Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers* [1995]; H. K. LaRondelle, *Our Creator Redeemer: An Introduction to Biblical Covenant Theology* [2005].)

J.B.PAYNE

covenant, ark of the. See ARK OF THE COVENANT.

Covenant, Book of the. This expression occurs in Exod. 24:7 (also in 2 Ki. 23:2, 21; 2 Chr. 34:30 as a general reference to the law of Moses) and is used to designate Exod. 20–23. These chapters contain, in addition to the TEN COMMANDMENTS, a series of laws most of which begin with the word "if" in the English text. They are laws that express particular case types of domestic, economic, and criminal legislation common not only to the Hebrews but to many peoples of the ANE. Most of them are what jurists might call *casuistic* laws.

The famous Leipzig scholar Albrecht Alt noted two main types of legislation in the PENTATEUCH. The first he called *apodictic,* that is, laws that are absolute and universal, such as the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20; Deut. 5); and the second are those which arise from the necessities of a given cultural environment. There is overlapping, of course, but to a large extent Exod. 21–23 contains casuistic law. One need not follow Alt fully to see that he is essentially correct in this observation. The reader need only study the Code of HAMMURABI (*ANET,* 163–80) to see that both in format and in content there are striking similarities to the Book of the Covenant. The usual format runs

as follows: “If a man does such and such and this or that results, then such and such is the law.” For example, Exod. 21:26, “If a man hits a manservant or maidservant in the eye and destroys it, he must let the servant go free to compensate for the eye.” A similar law in Hammurabi’s Code says, “If a man has destroyed the eye of a member of the aristocracy, they shall destroy his eye” (no. 196, *ANET,* 175). The format is the same, but there is a significant difference in the two laws.

Hammurabi’s Code recognizes three classes: the aristocracy, the commoner, and the slave. This system was highly unjust, as may be seen from law no. 198, which says that an aristocrat need only pay one mina of silver for putting out the eye of a commoner and even less for the eye of a slave. The LEX TALIONIS (law of the tooth, Exod. 21:24–25) “eye for eye, tooth for tooth,” far from expressing harsh retribution, was really a setting for the lofty principle of equal justice under law, a concept not present in other early codes. Jesus in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (Matt. 5:38–42) was not contradicting this law in its original purpose, but was opposing a Pharisaical misapplication of the law. It was never intended to be used as a guide to daily interpersonal relationships, but was given to assure equal justice for all before the judges.

While there are many similarities between the Book of the Covenant and Hammurabi’s Code, there are also striking differences. The sentence for kidnapping is the same, death (cf. Exod. 21:16;

The Code of Hammurabi.

Deut. 24:7; Hammurabi’s Code no. 14, *ANET,* 166), but the Hebrew laws on theft never call for the

death penalty, simply manifold restitution (Exod. 22:1–4). Hammurabi's Code shows an evolution from the death penalty for any theft to the death penalty only for theft from the church or state, and finally to severalfold restitution or a fine (*ANET,* 166 n. 45).

Both codes allow for working off debts through servitude and both provide redemption rights and various kinds of protection against permanent slavery for citizens (Exod. 21:2–11; Deut. 15:12–18; Hammurabi's Code nos. 117–19, *ANET,* 170). Where goods or grain have been deposited with another person and subsequently stolen, the two codes handle the cases almost identically. Both require double restitution from either the thief or storekeeper if convicted (Exod. 22:7–9; Hammurabi's Code no. 120, *ANET,* 171).

Hammurabi's Code calls for simple restitution by a careless shepherd who has allowed some ill to befall the sheep (no. 267, *ANET,* 177). The Bible is more flexible, allowing the shepherd or keeper to make an oath regarding his own innocency, especially in the case of domestic animals which are torn by wild beasts (Exod. 22:10–13).

Both codes deal with the case of miscarriage caused by an intended injury. Exodus 21:22–25 allows for restitution to be made according to a just settlement between the husband and defendant, which seems to imply a price could be paid for a lost fetus. But if "harm follows," that is, if the wife is also injured or killed, then the *lex talionis* must be applied by the judge. Hammurabi's Code is more specific, for it sets ten shekels as the price for a lost fetus and states, "If the woman has died then they shall kill the defendant's daughter." The biblical law would call for capital punishment of the defendant himself as the murderer. Furthermore, in the Babylonian system the fetus of a plebeian was only worth five shekels of silver, and if the plebeian's wife died a half mina was sufficient payment. A slave's fetus and wife had still lower values.

The codified laws of the ANE were a reflection of the common laws prevalent at that time in that part of the world. The Book of the Covenant draws on this reservoir, but under divine inspiration raises the standards and includes principles of justice and mercy foreign to these earlier written laws, though the crowning glory of Israelite law was that superior ethical standard called the Decalogue (Exod. 20;Deut.5).

E.B. SMICK

covenant, the new. The legal disposition of Jesus Christ for human redemption, especially when viewed as the goal or accomplishment of God's older, OT covenant(s). See also COVENANT (OT); COVENANT (NT).

1. OT anticipation
    1. History
    2. Characteristics
2. Intertestamental deviation
3. NT fulfillment
    1. Abrogation of the old
    2. Characteristics
4. Relationship to the testament of peace
    1. Liberalism
    2. Amillennialism
    3. Traditional millennialism
    4. Dispensationalism

I OT anticipation

A. History. Throughout its pages the OT had spoken of God's gracious, contemporaneous covenant, which he established for his people. It was only with the 8th-cent. B.C. prophet HOSEA that God first granted a specific revelation concerning a newer covenant that would some day replace and fulfill the older. Seemingly in despair because of his immediate BAAL-worshiping surroundings, Hosea looked forward to a better time ahead when Yah-weh would "make a covenant" (Hos. 2:17–18). This covenant, or testament, was shown to possess both an internal aspect ("I will take you for my wife… and you shall know the Lord," vv. 19–20 NRSV) and an external one ("I will make for you a covenant…with the wild animals…and I will abolish the bow, the sword, and war from the land; and I will make you lie down in safety," v. 18 NRSV). These aspects reached complete expression, respectively in JEREMIAH'S new testament, just prior to the exilic period, and in EZEKIEL'S testament of peace, during it (see section IV below).

Meanwhile ISAIAH, in the latter part of his life, carried forward the internal portion of Hosea's revelation. In his messages of comfort to Judah, subsequent to the devastating attacks of SENNACHERIB in 701 B.C., he spoke of the deliverance that would be accomplished through God's "Suffering Servant" (Jesus Christ, Lk. 22:37), and specifically, of how the future covenant would be embodied in him: "And I will give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles" (Isa. 42:6; 49:8 KJV). That is, what had so far been considered as a legal disposition is summed up as a person. Jesus Christ is not only the everlasting Son of God who *establishes* the testament, but he is also the priest who at the same time *officiates* at the death (52:15). He is also the testator, the offering that *dies* (53:8), and he becomes himself the living blessing of reconciliation; indeed, he *is* the inheritance that is bestowed: "that thou mayest be my salvation" (49:6 KJV). Christ, in other words, is the Testament.

In the year 597 B.C., after the commencement of Jerusalem's depopulation (Jer. 29:1–2), God revealed through Jeremiah the more detailed truth of his new testament (31:31–34). After declaring its name (v. 31), the prophet proceeded to identify four primary elements in the new covenant (see section B below), the anticipation of which represents perhaps the highest point in the whole sweep of OT theology. Across the desert in Babylon, the prophet DANIEL next provided God's date for the termination of the animal sacrifices that played so great a part in the older testament and for the confirming of the new (cf. Dan. 9:24–27 on the seventy "weeks" of years, or 490 years). He revealed also that this confirmation would involve the rejection of the Messiah, followed by a proclamation of the covenant to Israel nationally (cf. v. 24) for approximately three and one-half additional years (cf. Acts 2:28; 3:25; 6:8, but then 8:1; cf. Rev. 12:6, 14, and J. B. Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament* [1962], 276–78). MALACHI, the last of the OT prophets, spoke both of Moses (Mal. 4:4–6) and yet, at the same time, of the need for that future covenant that had been foreseen by Hosea and his successors. He anticipated "the messenger of the covenant," who was the Lord himself (3:1b), whose coming would be preceded only by another human messenger, namely ELIJAH the prophet (3:1a; 4:5–6), whom Jesus in NT times identified with his relative, JOHN THE BAPTIST (Matt. 17:11–13).

B. Characteristics. Even before Jeremiah's enunciation of the major elements of the new covenant, the OT had begun preparing for their announcement. In Jer. 31:34 God said, "I will forgive their wickedness"; this promise, however, assumes an antecedent state of guilt, and within the very year of the founding of the nation of Israel under the old, Sinaitic testament, Moses had commenced warning the people that their breaking of the older covenant could serve only to bring about terror and disaster (Lev. 26:15–16): "the vengeance of the covenant" (v. 25, lit. trans.) or "the curses of the covenant"

(Deut. 29:21; cf. Isa. 24:5; Jer. 11:8). Indeed, almost the entire 800-year course of Israel's existence as an independent nation in Canaan was marked by God's continuous and increasingly severe judgments, a course that could terminate only with the destruction of Judah in 586 B.C. and, ultimately, with a superseding of the older testament altogether. The very testamentary judgment of God would prove to be, in itself, the means for achieving that forgiveness of sin of which Jeremiah prophesied. For Jesus Christ "was pierced for our transgressions, / he was crushed for our iniquities; / the punishment that brought us peace was upon him, / and by his wounds we are healed" (Isa. 53:5).

Though Christ would endure judgment, his work yet constitutes a triumph and accomplishes another feature of Jeremiah's new testament, namely, personal directness. By his acceptance of Israel's punishment, he would fulfill the typical institutions of the older testament and cause the Mosaic offerings to cease (Dan. 9:27), replaced by a direct access of sinners to God. It was only thus that the way into the holy place could be made manifest (Heb. 9:8), that God's elect might "all know me [not just the priests, who served in their ceremonies as types of Christ, but] from the least of them to the greatest" (Jer. 31:34). At the close of the 8th cent., Isaiah anticipated a corresponding, universal-istic outpouring of the Holy Spirit (44:3); and even earlier Joel had described how God's Spirit would fall directly "on all people" (Joel 2:28), whether of priestly descent or not.

While divine judgment brought about the forgiveness and the nontypical directness of Jeremiah's new testament, it was God's positive works of mercy that accomplished its other two characteristics: reconciliation and internality. Concerning the former, God spoke through the prophet, "I will be their God, and they will be my people" (Jer. 31:33), the same promise that is found in all other revelations of the testament, from Gen. 17:7 to Rev. 21:3. By "removing the sin of this land in a single day" (Zech. 3:9), the Messianic Branch would accomplish the fundamental restoration for which mankind had been longing since the disaster of EDEN—he would put enmity between SATAN and the seed of the woman (Gen. 3:15); he would bring into being that reconciliation with God which constitutes the essential inheritance of the testament; and he would betroth Israel to himself as his bride forever, truly to know the LORD (HOS. 2:19–20).

Jesus Christ was also to fulfill Jeremiah's fourth anticipation, that God would some day place his law in the internal consciousness: "I will put my law in the minds / and write it on their hearts" (Jer. 31:33). And Moses had long before promised to his people, "The LORD your God will circumcise your heart and the hearts of your descendants, so that you may love him with all your heart and with all your soul, and live" (Deut. 30:6). The OT had, from the first, been aware of the indwelling presence of Yahweh's Spirit to convert and to guide his own (Neh. 9:21; Ps. 143:10; Hag. 2:5; cf. Isa. 63:10) and of his infilling power for special accomplishments (Exod. 31:3; Jdg. 6:34; 1 Sam. 16:13; Isa. 59:21); but the latter had been restricted to Israel's leaders (Num. 11:17, 29), and even then to intermittent occasions (Jdg. 13:25; 14:6; 1 Sam. 16:14; cf. Ps. 51:11). The Pentecostal fulfillment of JOEL'S prophecy of the Spirit (Joel 2:28) would, however, enable all to live by the love of God, radiating from the inner heart (Rom. 5:5; 2 Cor. 3:6). In consequence, though Jesus could designate John the Baptist as preeminent among those who had lived under the older testament, he could go on to assure his followers that those who were little in his newer kingdom of heaven were yet greater than this greatest forerunner (Matt. 11:11).

II. Intertestamental deviation. Speculation on the concept of the new covenant receives documentation from the DEAD SEA SCROLLS of Qumran. Produced by a sectarian community that existed for about 200 years (up until c. A.D. 68), they bear witness to an intertestamental belief that though God's covenant with the Hebrew patriarchs had been violated by sinful Israel (CD col. I),

God would continue to "make good his everlasting covenant" with the faithful remnant (III, 12). They refer specifically to his "new covenant in the land of Damascus" (VII, 9—VIII, 21), by which they identified their own sect at Qumran, perhaps figuratively designated as DAMASCUS (cf. Amos 5:27, though a literal Syrian exile has also been proposed). The "covenanters" as God's true Israel thus laid claim to the prophecy of Jer. 31, but with an unresolved tension. On the one hand they rightly appreciated the new covenant as a divine enactment, on the basis of which God would forgive the iniquities (IV, 10) of those whom he had "chosen to be the partners of his eternal covenant" (1QS IV, 22); yet on the other hand, Qumran's stress upon rigid observance of the Sinaitic law (CD IV, 8) accords more closely with Pharisaic legalism than with the internal religion anticipated by Jeremiah; and they could speak of their own "entering into a covenant, in the presence of God, to do according to all that he has commanded" (1QS I, 16), namely to observe the Qumranic discipline. To "be admitted to the covenant of the community" (III, 16) thus came to mean simply to join the sect (cf. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1963], 128). In their rituals they might indeed confess their sins and invoke upon themselves the blessings, or curses, of God (1QS I, 16—II, 18); but the covenant became a mere human oath, representing either initiation or subsequent annual resubscription (per Jub. 6:17) to the life of the community. While the concept of "the new covenant" may thus be said to sum up the beliefs of Qumran, it does this not as a God-given arrangement for redemption but as a membership pledge to a secret society that had deviated into self-righteousness.

III. NT fulfillment

A. Abrogation of the old. In contrast with both the orthodox and the sectarian forms of intertestamental JUDAISM, Christianity proclaimed that the anticipatory older testament, particularly as this had come to be embodied in the Mosaic ceremonial law, had now been superseded and fulfilled in Jesus Christ. In a sense, the new testament paralleled the old, since both were based upon the saving intervention of God in human history, first on Sinai and then on Calvary. Furthermore, the old had foretold (1 Pet. 1:10–11), foreshadowed (Col. 2:17), and found its actual effectuation (Heb. 9:15; 11:40) in God's final act of redemption on the cross. In another sense, the two were not parallel. Jesus was made "the guarantee of a better covenant" (Heb. 7:22), "the mediator of a better covenant, which has been enacted through better promises" (8:6 NRSV). Because "God found fault with the people" (v. 8), he "made the first [covenant] obsolete" (v. 13) and abrogated it. NT Christians are therefore "free from the law" (Rom. 7:1–6), so that Sinai's moral curses upon man's failure to keep "the works of the law" have been blotted out (Gal. 2:16—3:13; Col. 2:13–14), and its ceremonial requirements have been antiquated and specifically repudiated (Col. 2:16–22; Gal. 5:1–4).

B. Characteristics. In its place, God has proclaimed through the new covenant how "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us" (1 Cor. 5:7). Even as Jeremiah had looked forward to the new covenant under which God would "forgive their wickedness" (31:34), so Christ brought about "redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins" (Eph. 1:7; Col. 1:14). Christ himself stated of the communion cup at the LAST SUPPER, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28). His words are best understood as a purposeful fulfillment of Jer. 31 ("undoubtedly," *TDNT,* 2:133) and probably of Isa. 42:6 and 49:8 (see above, I.A). R. Bultmann denies, indeed, that the concepts either of sacrifice or of redemption (Mk. 14:24; Lk. 22:20) constituted an authentic part of our Lord's message; he considers them as later additions to the

original idea of sacramental communion (*Theology of the New Testament* [1951], 1:146–51). The NT's repeated references to the blood of Christ testify to the central significance of his sacrificial death; and, as A. Richardson has pointed out (*An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* [1958], 231), Christ's death as a deliberate ransom (Mk. 10:45) accomplishes that new redemption which fulfills Isaiah's prophecies, both of the covenant and of the Suffering Servant (Isa. 53:10–11). It also serves as a PASSOVER sacrifice, "by which a new and better covenant was ratified between God and a new Israel" (ibid., 371; cf. 383); note the constant allusions in Hebrews to ritual forgiveness under the Sinaitic testament (G. Vos in *PTR* 14 [1916]: 1–61).

At the time of Christ's death, the veil of the temple was rent in two (Lk. 23:45), "the sign that through the perfect offering of the Lamb of God the way was opened for every repentant and believing sinner to enter into the most intimate communion with the Holy God without any further offerings for sin" (N. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke,* NICNT [1951], 611; cf. Heb. 10:19). By this "new and living way…that is, his body" (Heb. 10:20), Jesus thus accomplished another feature of Jeremiah's prophesied new covenant, that of unmediated directness; "the temple and the old form of ceremonial religion were no longer necessary" (Geldenhuys, ibid.). The new covenant then resulted in a prophesied enlargement (e.g., Gen. 12:3; Isa. 42:6; 44:5; 56:3; Ezek. 16:61; Zech. 2:11; Mal. 1:11) in the redeemed community of the church, "God's household" (Eph. 2:19). Bodies of Gentiles that had once been "excluded from citizenship in Israel…and without God in the world" (v. 12) were "brought near through the

The whole burnt offerings performed every morning and evening on the altar were a daily reminder of Israel's covenant with the Lord. (Reconstruction of the tabernacle at the Timna Nature Reserve.)

blood of Christ…no longer foreigners and alliens, but fellow citizens with God's people" (vv. 13,19).

On Easter morning, moreover, Christ "was raised to life for our justification" (Rom. 4:25), assuring all Christians of his ever-living presence and his triumph over sin and death. Just as the OT had appealed to the saving event of the exodus ("I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of Egypt," Exod. 20:2), so the NT would appeal to the resurrection: "he who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies" (Rom. 8:11). Here was achieved that reconciliation with God which Jeremiah had long before described. As B. Weiss (commenting on 1 Pet. 1:2, which is in

turn based on Exod. 24:8) has asserted, "God concluded the old covenant with the children of Israel at Sinai…so believers are described as being elect unto obedience and sprinkling with the blood of Jesus Christ…to be the peculiar people of the new covenant…to be cleansed from the stain of guilt which hinders them from enjoying perfect fellowship with God" (*Biblical Theology of the New Testament* [1883], 1:234).

The cleansing, the directness, and the reconciled fellowship all contribute to the fourth characteristic of Jeremiah's new covenant, which he had in fact mentioned first, namely its internality, when God would write his law on their hearts (Jer. 31:33). It is to be noted that God's former law still stands, though synthesized under the more comprehensive "new commandment," that Christ's disciples are to love one another as he has loved them (Jn. 13:34). Even the ritual, though usually abrogated, might be elevated to a higher spiritual significance. For example, as Richardson remarks, "The rabbis spoke of circumcision as a seal, the divinely appointed sign of the individual's standing in the Covenant [cf. *ôt bĕrît,* Gen. 17:11]…Paul thought of baptism as a seal of the New Covenant… the means by which the individual is made a member of the covenant people" (*Introduction,* 352–53; cf. Col. 2:11–12). Primarily, however, the emphasis of the NT centers upon human freedom under the new covenant, contrasted with the legalistic bondage that the Juda-izers had imposed under the older testament (Gal. 4:21–28). The letter of the law had been twisted so as to kill (2 Cor. 3:6); but Christ came, first to change people's hearts through the Spirit, and then to bring them into that living dedication to the moral standards of God of which Jeremiah had spoken; cf. the Lord's declaration of internal priorities in reference to sabbath observance (Matt. 12:8, 12).

IV. Relationship to the testament of peace. Even as Jer. 31:31–34 had spoken of "the new covenant" written on human hearts, so Ezek. 37:24–28 had developed the concept of "the covenant of peace" when the nations of the world should acknowledge God, permanently present in his sanctuary in the land of Israel. The relationship, however, that is sustained between these two programs, particularly in their applicability to the present Christian church, has been defined in at least four major ways.

A. Liberalism. Some OT scholars tend to limit the sphere of predictive prophecy to situations contemporaneous with or immediately future to the prophets themselves. Thus, predictions lacking such immediately observable accomplishment (as appears, for example, in Jer. 31:27–30, with its anticipation of the EXILE and the postexilic restoration that followed it) are relegated to the category of pious but essentially false pronouncements. As M. Noth has concluded, "Shortly before the collapse of the Judean kingdom…the saying about the future new covenant explicitly assumed that the covenant made at the Exodus from Egypt was now at an end…However, the heralding by Jeremiah and Ezekiel of a new covenant seems to have played no special role in later times; it faded before the hope of a speedy restitution of the old order" (*The Laws in the Pentateuch* [1966], 63–67). The CHURCH is thus divorced from the OT: the prophets were no more describing the church of the NT than was Jesus really serving as the testator whose death was proleptically providing salvation for the saints under the older testament. Liberal scholars will concede that Christ and his apostles taught these views, but they are unwilling to accept them themselves.

B. Amillennialism. Among evangelicals, exegetes fall into three distinct categories of scriptural interpretation. Those who hesitate to affirm a literal (millennial) fulfillment for the OT prophecies of a future earthly kingdom tend to equate the spiritual existence of the Christian church with the

achievements anticipated, not simply by Jeremiah's internal new testament, but also by Ezekiel's more external and earth-centered testament of peace. As an amillennial neoorthodox writer has put it, "God would make with Israel, forgiven and restored, a new and everlasting marriage covenant (Ezek. 16:60–63). The NT writers think of this prophecy as having been fulfilled in the marriage covenant between Christ and his church" (Richardson, *Introduction,* 257). Jeremiah's new covenant is thus identified with Ezekiel's and becomes the final word in testamentary revelation, "not to be displaced by any other more complete realization of what covenant grace embodies" (J. Murray in *NBD* [1962], 267).

C. Traditional millennialism. Interpreters who favor a more literal realization for the earthly (millennial) kingdom prophecies of the OT recognize that the newer covenant in Christ's blood is an "eternal covenant" (Heb. 13:20); but they insist also that an eternal program may, at the same time, exhibit a series of progressive developments. Thus, it is maintained that at the SECOND COMING of Christ the four features of Jeremiah's presently existing, church-centered new testament—its internal character, accomplished reconciliation, direct faith, and explicit forgiveness—will be, not transcended, but rather expanded, brought to fulfillment, and rendered determinative for life throughout the entire world, under Ezekiel's testament of peace.

Specifically, internal religion will become productive of a totally consistent external pattern of conduct (Ezek. 37:24); reconciliation with God, expressed at all points in history by the biblical promise, "I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (v. 27), will then eventuate into the fullness of divine fellowship; the Christian's present blessing of direct faith will become that of direct sight (v. 26); and the explicit forgiveness that is now granted to the saints will be honored by the whole creation together (v. 28). The testament of peace will then, after the final judgment, be resolved into the new heavens and the new earth of Rev. 21–22.

D. Dispensationalism. A final segment of evangelicalism seeks to locate *both* Jeremiah's new testament and Ezekiel's testament of peace in the future kingdom of the millennium. Dispensational interpretation springs from J. N. Darby's doctrine of the discontinuity of the church, which forbids its mention within the pages of the OT (C. C. Ryrie, *Dispensationalism Today* [1965], 133). Discussion then revolves about the quotation of Jer. 31:31–34 in Heb. 8–10, with Darby's followers stressing two main points.

(1) The fact that the predicted new testament is to be made "with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah" (Jer. 31:31; Heb. 8:8) is taken to mean that it cannot be fulfilled in the church (C. C. Ryrie, *The Basis of the Premillennial Faith* [1953], 108–10). In the NT, elect Jews did receive the gospel and were for some time the only ones who made up the Christian church (Matt. 18:17), thus continuing as God's people (Rom. 11:5). Faithless Jews, on the other hand, are described as ceasing to constitute the true Israel and as being cut off (9:6), becoming instead "a synagogue of Satan" (Rev. 2:9). After PETER'S experience with CORNELIUS, Gentiles came to be ingrafted into God's people (Rom. 11:17; Phil. 3:3). The NT may also apply the term *Israel to* unbelieving portions of the Jewish nation, especially with reference to their conversion at the Lord's second coming (Rom. 11:25–27); but it seems to guarantee that the standing of the believing Gentiles is to continue without change (v. 22). It is the converted Jews that will rather be rein-grafted into Israel (vv. 23–24).

(2) Dispensationalism then understands the quotations in Hebrews as descriptive, not of God's present relationship with the church, but of his future relationship with Israel. It is granted that the church receives *similar* blessings and that the "better testament" mentioned in Heb. 8:6, of which

Christ is the Mediator and which supersedes the older testament of Moses, refers to the church. But this better testament is then distinguished from the "second testament" in the verse that follows (Heb. 8:7), namely, Jeremiah's new testament with Israel, which is then cited at length (in vv. 8–12). The prophet's words are said to have been quoted in Hebrews to show that, since in the millennium there will be a superseding of the older testament by the new testament that will then be made with the nation of Israel, it is not impossible now to think of a superseding of the old by the better covenant of the church (Ryrie, *Basis,* 117–21).

Such unelaborated subtlety of thought, however, might not have answered the 1st-cent. temptation to lapse into Judaizing as well as the argument that Jeremiah had simply predicted the church. Dis-pensationalism is also faced with three contextual problems. (a) Hebrews 8:13 notes that Jeremiah's new testament is what makes the first old. The period of the first covenant was limited to the pre-Christian era (9:8); and, as Ryrie has said, "In Heb. 9 the Christian order supersedes the sacraments of the mosaic covenant" (ibid., 121; cf. Heb. 9:11). It would seem to follow that the Christian order should itself be Jeremiah's new testament (cf. B. Ramm, *Protestant Biblical Interpretation* [1970], 256). (b) In Heb. 9:14, forgiveness is said to exist for Christians (cf. 8:12 with Jer. 31:34) because of Christ's mediating the new testament (Heb. 9:15), so that Ryrie (*Basis,* 121) concludes there must be two "new testaments" in Hebrews, the future one in ch. 8 and the present one in ch. 9. (c) Since Heb. 10:16–17 again quotes Jeremiah's new testament, this passage should also be understood as future; but because of the remission of sins that "will" result from it the writer adds, "Therefore, brothers, since we have confidence…" (v. 19). It would appear that while the concluding portion of Jeremiah may well present a parallel to Ezekiel's millennial testament of peace (Jer. 31:38–40), his preceding deliverance on the new testament (vv. 31–34) accords best with the chronologically prior, internal covenant of Christ with his church.

J. B. PAYNE

covenant of salt. An expression used in OT times for a perpetual covenant. The ceremonial law called for the use of SALT in all cereal offerings and perhaps in other offerings as well, according to the Mosaic instruction (Lev. 2:13). Being a necessary part of human diet, it is not surprising that it should be included in the prescribed offerings to God. While some of these offerings were consumed on the altar, the greater part was for use by the priests, for they had no inheritance among their brethren by which to obtain food. Therefore, all the holy offerings the people presented to God were given to the priests and their families "as a perpetual due; it is a covenant of salt for ever before the LORD for you [the priests] and your descendants as well" (Num. 18:19 NRSV). From this Levitical concept there evidently arose the expression among the Hebrews that any perpetual covenant is a covenant of salt. Thus JEROBOAM son of Nebat, who split Israel from the Davidic line, is reminded by King ABIJAH that God gave the kingship to DAVID and his sons by a covenant of salt, that is, forever (2 Chr. 13:5).

E.B.SMICK

cover, covering. These English terms are used to translate a large number of Hebrew and Greek words and expressions that occur in various contexts. PAUL, for example, uses the noun *peribolaion G4316* when he says that "long hair is given to [women] as a covering" (1 Cor. 11:15), but he also uses other expressions in the context (vv. 4–7). When the apostle insists that men should pray with heads uncovered, but women should have their heads covered in public worship, he seems to refer to the use of an external material, such as a shawl, but some scholars argue that having the head covered

means wearing the hair long (for a summary of the debate, see A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [2000], 823–26). The

Palestinian village woman wearing a head covering.

covering of the head seems to have been normal among Jews in OT times (Ezek. 24:17; see COVERING FOR THE HEAD); unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct what first-century worship practice may have been.

An important use of the noun "cover" (also "atonement cover") is with reference to the lid that was placed on top of the ARK OF THE COVENANT (Exod. 25:17–22 et al.). The Hebrew term, *kappōret H4114* (traditionally rendered MERCY SEAT), comes from the verb *kāpar H4105,* which in the piel stem means literally "to cover," but is often used of the covering or removal of sin, thus, "to appease, atone" (see ATONEMENT).

covering for the head. Modern archaeological discovery has provided information about ancient head coverings from reliefs or wall paintings. Evidently early Palestinian men were bareheaded. Later a variety of head-coverings came into use. The simplest was the headband (1 Ki. 20:38, 41; Heb. *ăpēr H710).* Women wore either the *šabîs H8667* or *the pĕēr H6996* (Isa. 3:18, 20), both of which were ornamental. The latter term denotes various kinds of headdress, for example, that worn by priests, made of linen (Exod. 39:28; Ezek. 44:18); by ordinary men, who cast it aside for mourning (Isa. 61:3; Ezek. 24:17, 23); by a bridegroom (Isa. 61:10). High priests had a special "turban" (*miṣnepet H5200,* Exod. 28:4; 29:9; 39:28; Lev. 8:13). In time of mourning the head was covered by the hand or with dust (2 Sam. 13:19; Lam. 2:10).

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

coverlet. This English term is used by the RSV once to render Hebrew *makbēr H4802* (2 Ki. 8:15). The word seems to refer to some interlaced material, such as a mat, but its precise meaning is uncertain (KJV and NIV, "thick cloth"; NRSV, "bed-cover"; NJPS, "a piece of netting").

covet. To desire inordinately and with ENVY that which belongs to another. It is a SIN mentioned frequently in both OT and NT, considered a root of other serious and mortal iniquities. The Hebrew verb that appears in the tenth commandment (Exod. 20:17) is *ḥāmad H2773,* meaning "to desire intensely" (cf. also *āwâ H203* in the parallel passage, Deut. 5:21b). This word has in view an intense love and desire for any object or person, a desire that is given more than human and common importance and that becomes a substitute for the devotion and love due to God. Because of its intensity, this desire tends to overshadow the moral demands of the law and to allow the end, the possession of the coveted object, to justify any means for its achievement. (See *NIDOTTE,* 2:167–69.)

The corresponding Greek verb, *epithymeō G2121* ("to desire, long for"), occurs in many NT passages, some of which speak of a positive longing (e.g., Lk. 22:15, where it is used in combination with the cognate noun *epithymia G2123,* which is also frequent). Another common term is the noun *pleon-exia G4432,* meaning literally "greediness, insatiable desire" (Lk. 12:15). See GREED. Very interesting is the word *philargyria G5794,* a compound of "love" and "silver," the clearest illustration of avarice given in Scripture (1 Tim. 6:10; cf. the adj. in Lk. 16:14). (See *NIDNTT,* 1:456–61; for other words in the same semantic field, see LN, §25.B.)

W. WHITE, JR.

cow. Among several Hebrew terms that can be used with reference to cows, the most specific one is *pārâ H7239* (Gen. 32:15 et al.; cf. *FFB,* 62–63). CATTLE are specifically mentioned in the account of the sixth day of CREATION, which deals with conspicuous animals of interest to human beings. NOAH took all the cattle according to their kinds into the ark, seven pairs of all clean animals. Herds were possessed in abundance by the patriarchs. The peasants in Egypt and Syria had a small black breed kept for plowing but not for their milk, since goat's milk was easier to obtain than cow's milk. DAMASCUS, however, had large milk cattle. Some have thought cattle came from bison or Indian buffalo, but more likely they descended from wild forms in Europe and North Africa (*Bos taurus primigenius,* also called Aurochs or Urus). Steers are fattened in abundance in this country, but the Israelites seldom castrated their cattle.

Cows were seldom used for sacrifices (it was more common to offer a BULL), but the two that brought the ARK OF THE COVENANT back to the people of BETH SHEMESH were promptly sacrificed (1 Sam. 6:14). A heifer, along with a goat, a ram, and birds, became the seal of a COVENANT God made with ABRAHAM (Gen. 15:9). (Contrast the Hindu view that cows are sacred.)

Meat was staple food in SOLOMON'S time; ten fat oxen and twenty pasture-fed cattle were provision for one day (1Ki. 4:23). The prodigal son has made the fatted calf famous (Lk. 15:23), but it was a common custom to stuff a young ram with food. Its jaw was even worked up and down so it developed into tender mutton for the diners. The Israelites, however, while in the desert had no beef or mutton and so lusted for the food of Egypt. In Pharaoh's dream there were seven fat cows eaten by the seven lean cows, which was a prophecy of plenty followed by famine (Gen. 41:1–4). Since cows are vegetarian, not meat eaters, the dream was all the more poignant.

When the One comes whom the nations seek, the calf will dwell with the lion, the cow and the bear shall feed together, and "his place of rest will be glorious" (Isa. 11:6–7, 10).

R. L. MIXTER

Coz. koz. KJV form of Koz.

Cozbi koz'b*i* (כָּזְבִּי *H3944,* possibly "voluptuous" [cf. Akk. *kuzbu*] or "deceitful" [by popular etymology, cf. כָּזַב *H3941,* "to lie"]). TNIV Kozbi. The daughter of Zur, one of the chiefs of the Midianites (Num. 25:15, 18; cf. 31:8; Josh. 13:21). See MID-IAN. An Israelite named ZIMRI, who was one of the family heads in the tribe of SIMEON (Num. 25:14), apparently committed open immorality with Cozbi (v. 6, though the meaning of this ambiguous text is debated). PHINEHAS the priest was outraged and executed them on the spot, an act that stopped the plague (vv. 7–8). It has been suggested that Cozbi had played a significant role in leading the Israelites into the immoral worship of BAAL (vv. 1–3). Other interpretations have been proposed. Cozbi's death was followed by war against Midian (vv. 17–18).

R. K. HARRISON

Cozeba koh-zee'buh (כֹּזְבָא *H3943,* "liar"). KJV Chozeba; TNIV Kozeba. A small village located in the SHEPHELAH; it was home to some descendants of SHELAH son of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:22). The town is perhaps to be identified with modern Khirbet ed-Dilb, where pottery from the Early Iron Age has been found. Most scholars, however, think that Cozeba is the same as ACZIB and KEZIB, usually identified with modern Tell el-Beida (3 mi. W of ADULLAM).

R. K. HARRISON

cracknels. This English term is used by the KJV once to render Hebrew *niqqudîm H5926,* probably referring to small hard cakes (1 Ki. 14:3).

crafts. Manual skills requiring special abilities. Those engaged in the various crafts are designated generally by the word *hārāš H3093,* "graver, artificer," and it is used of the skilled metal-worker (Exod. 38:23), whether in COPPER (Gen. 4:22) or IRON (Isa. 44:12), or of those who prepared the basic metal (Jer. 10:9). The word is applied also to stone masons (2 Sam. 5:11), woodworkers (2 Ki. 12:11; Isa. 44:13), lapidarists (Exod. 28:11), and idol makers (Isa. 44:9). On one occasion knowledge of a craft was imparted by direct action of God (Exod. 31:3), but traditionally crafts were learned by the son from the father.

Craftsmen were grouped into guilds after the time of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:8), and the localization of a particular guild in one or another city marked it out particularly; for example, DEBIR was known for dyeing and weaving (1 Chr. 4:14). In other cases certain parts of some cities were known as the quarter of this or that craft (see GE HARASHIM; cf. also "the potter's field," Matt. 27:7). Crafts requiring skill should be distinguished from the common duties that required no particular skill. Slaves were not usually taught such specialized skills.

The Israelites were largely uneducated in the crafts. When they went to Egypt, they were herdsmen (Gen. 46:32) and continued as such for Pharaoh. About the only craft they did learn in Egypt was that of making bricks and building mud-brick structures (Exod. 1:14). Archaeological evidence from Palestine indicates their lack of understanding of better construction methods and materials by the poor character of the remains of their houses. (See ARCHITECTURE.) They did not know IRON making, therefore they resorted to the PHILISTINES for iron implements and files (1 Sam. 13:20). DAVID'S sojourn in Philistia is credited by some with bringing knowledge of iron smelting and working into Israel.

For finer stone work SOLOMON called in stone MASONS from TYRE (1 Ki. 5:15), and for other finer craftwork he was able to procure the services of Huram (see HIRAM #2), a man knowledgeable

in many crafts, to guide, oversee the whole, and train others also (7:13–14). When later AHAB built his palace at SAMARIA, his wife JEZEBEL must have provided the connection by which he secured craftsmen to perform the building work, for, judged by the cessation of fine stone-work after this time until the Greek period, not many learned the art of stone-cutting in order to maintain in Israel the quality of work of Solomon's TEMPLE.

Work in both COPPER and IRON developed before the flood (Gen. 4:22), but afterward copper was not again worked significantly until the advent of the Chalcolithic Age, and BRONZE did not come into use until after 4000 B.C. Tools up to the Iron Age were of hardened copper, or later of bronze. It was only later that iron working was brought into Israel and that good tools of iron, such as the ax, became plentiful (1 Ki. 6:7). In both the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, axes, swords, daggers, spear points, and other tools were made in Syria-Palestine and traveled as far as Greece (J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos* [1966], 54–55). Most occurrences of the word BRASS refer to copper. See COPPERSMITH. The principal crafts were the following:

Pottery making, which appeared first at Jericho c. 5000 B.C., was by hand molding until about 3000 B.C., when the wheel appeared. The process is described in Jer. 18:3. CLAY was trodden by the feet

Egyptian stone mason chiseling stone.

in the pit to refine it for better quality vessels. The pit and kiln at QUMRAN are easily distinguished. See POTTERY.

Building was done according to a plumb line (Amos 7:7–8), and measuring was done with a reed (English rod), marked by the cubit (cf. Ezek. 40:3). The plumb line tested for verticality, metaphorically a test of the truth.

Carpentry was the trade of Jesus (Mk. 6:3), and tools consisted of a marking tool, adz (Isa. 44:13), saw files, bow drill, wooden mallet (Jdg. 5:26), and chisels and awls. These were used to construct beds, couches, tables, chairs, footstools, and carved work for decoration. See CARPENTER.

The SMITH learned to cast by the lost wax method as well as in clay (2 Chr. 4:17). The remains of preliminary stage smelters are found in the Wadi Surhan and in the ARABAH S of the Dead Sea. Solomon's kingdom had its largest revenue through the export of copper. (Cf. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* [1948]; C. Singer, ed., *A History of Technology,* 5 vols. [1957–65]; R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955–64]; L. S. de Camp, *The Ancient Engineers* [1963]; J. Rae and R. Volti, *The Engineer in History,* rev. ed. [2001].) See also OCCUPATIONS.

H. G. STIGERS

Craftsmen, Valley of the. See GE HARASHIM.

crane. The NRSV rendering of Hebrew *āgûr H6315,* a term of uncertain meaning (Isa. 38:14; Jer. 8:7; the KJV reverses the terms "swallow" and "crane"; the NIV translates "thrush"). Some claim that the Hebrew word refers to the wryneck (a type of woodpecker), but this is an uncommon migrant, the size of a sparrow and hard to see. Two cranes pass through Palestine or nest there. The common crane (now a rare visitor to Britain but still nesting in N Europe) is nearly 4 ft. long and has a wingspread of almost 8 ft., making it the largest bird in Palestine. The demoiselle crane is rather smaller. Like storks they fly with head out straight and legs trailing behind. When they were more common, cranes were considered good to eat and were not forbidden to the Israelites (cf. *FFB,* 19–20; G. R. Driver in *PEQ* no vol. [1955]: 129–40). See also BIRD MIGRATION; SWALLOW; THRUSH.

G. S. CANSDALE

Crates kray'teez (Κράτης). Commander of the Cyprian troops who were supporting Sostratus, the commandant of the citadel in Jerusalem during the time of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4:29). Crates was left in charge of the citadel when King PTOLEMY VI Philometor summoned Sostratus and MENELAUS to Antioch because the latter had failed to pay the king for obtaining the priesthood.

A.M.Ross

crawling things. See CREEPING THINGS.

creation. The biblical doctrine of creation is based on divine REVELATION. In the NT, creation is seen in the light of the divine revelation in Jesus Christ and the "new creation" that has already become a spiritual reality through his work.

I. History and creation. The biblical teachings relating to creation should not be identified or confused with any scientific theory of origins. (See COSMOGONY; WORLD.) The narrative material in the early chapters of Genesis consists of ancient efforts at historical composition, and while scientific

procedures were by no means unknown in Mesopotamian antiquity, they had no bearing upon the biblical accounts or doctrines of creation.

"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth" (Gen. 1:1).

A. Mesopotamian cosmogony. No one mythological account has been found to date that deals specifically with the creation of the cosmos in the sense in which the first chapter of Genesis does. Most of the texts referring to creation are part of other literary material involving legendary persons, the organization of early society, and the struggles between the various gods of the pantheons. Some of the Mesopotamian creation stories were linked with particular cities such as Nippur, Lagash, and Shuruppak, and narrated the activities of the creative deity. Thus Enki, the god of the deep and of wisdom, made NIPPUR the base for a subsequent extension of his influence in SUMER, creating mankind after the pantheon had been completed, and developing all the early cultural forms in his favorite city. A further myth relating to the exploits of Enki and Ninhursag told how Enki led his forces against Nammu, the wicked primeval deity of the sea, after which with the help of Nin-mah, the earth mother-goddess, he created man from clay.

Sumerian cosmogony found its most popular adaptation, however, in the creation myth known as ENUMA ELISH ("When from above"), recovered from the ruined library of ASHURBANIPAL at NINEVEH but extant also in fragments from Ashur, Uruk, and Kish. This epic mentioned two mythical divine personages of Sumerian tradition, Apsu, the underground sweetwater reservoir, and TIAMAT, the salt water ocean. MARDUK, patron god of BABYLON, slew the latter in battle, established the earth, and organized the celestial constellations. The sixth tablet of the epic described how man was created from the blood of Kingu, an ally of Tiamat. Following Sumerian tradition, man was regarded as being

vastly inferior to the gods, constituting almost an afterthought of divine creativity.

Another Sumerian myth spoke of the paradise known as Dilmun, a place now identified with the small desert island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, and which in antiquity was a focal point of maritime trade between Mesopotamia and India. In this locale the mother-goddess Ninhursag was believed to have produced offspring painlessly without normal labor. The god Enki decided to eat some of the plants that grew in this paradise, but became ill as a result. The curse was lifted and Enki was restored to health by the intervention of a specially created

Cuneiform tablet with a portion of the Mesopotamian Creation Epic (Enuma *Elish*); it describes a banquet in celebration of Marduk's appointment as champion of the gods following his defeat of the sea-goddess, Tiamat.

goddess Ninti (Nintu), whose name means the "lady of the rib" and "the lady who makes live."

B. Egyptian cosmogony. In predynastic EGYPT the cult of RE at HELIOPOLIS maintained that the god had emerged from the waters of the Underworld and was self-created. From him came the other deities, such as OSIRIS, and these were followed by the creation of human beings. The cult of Ptah in the Thinite period of MEMPHIS gave its chief deity priority over all other gods, regarding him as contemporary with the Underworld waters themselves. Ptah was the great cosmic mind who by the projection of his thought produced the world and its contents. Even the other gods were only manifestations of his creative ideas, and in his utterances there resided almighty power. Yet another ancient cult, that of Thoth of Hermopolis, credited its god with the creation of the world, the control of natural cycles, and the bestowing of culture upon the human race. Thoth was venerated as the god of wisdom and was honored by a number of titles that reflected his creative genius.

C. Greek cosmogony. The deities of ancient GREECE were not generally held to be responsible for creation, but instead were themselves the creatures of antecedent forces they replaced. The *Theogony* of Hesiod gave Chaos the chief position in the pantheon and spoke of his successor as earth who, impregnated by heaven, became the mother of all living things. In the Orphic myth the great creator Phanes emerged from an egg, created the universe and the ancient heroes of the Golden Age, and then retired until his grandson ZEUS swallowed him and his creation, after which Zeus re-created the existing world order. The Greek myths of creation varied considerably in matters of detail, and spoke less of creation as such than of development through procreation from vague beginnings.

D. OT creation narratives. The two accounts of creation in the OT (Gen. 1:1—2:4; 2:5–25) contain certain elements in common with the general ANE tradition: the concept of a primary watery darkness and emptiness, as distinct from a state of chaos; the recognition of creation as a divine act accomplished *ex nihilo;* and the belief that man was created by divine intent for the service of the gods. It is a mistake to assume that the two Genesis narratives are duplicates, for they actually complement one another. The first outlined the broad processes of creation and showed how all things emerged from the creative power of God, while the second paid greater attention to the creation of man and set him with his mate in a specific geographical location.

The first of these accounts is unique for its dignified MONOTHEISM and nonmythological nature. There are no struggles between deities or primordial powers, nor is there any attempt to exalt one race or city at the expense of another. The narrative does not support a "three-storied universe" of heaven, earth, and underworld, as is commonly assumed, and throughout it relates the incidence of phenomena to the control of a consciously organizing Mind. The standpoint of the narrative is an ideal one, being that of a geocentric observer who would experience the unfolding of creation and life differently from what an extraterrestrial observer would. Given this standpoint, the narrative conforms remarkably to what such descriptive sciences as astronomy, biology, and geology have to say about the origins of the world. It would be some time before the initial cloud cover thinned out sufficiently to allow the rays of either end of the spectrum to reach the earth, and longer still before sunlight and moonlight as such were recognizable features of existence. Again, the placing of the vegetable creation before that of the animals is not as accidental as was formerly maintained, since the study of photosynthesis has shown that green plants furnish the oxygen necessary for animal existence.

The first Hebrew word in Gen. 1:1 may be rendered "by way of beginning," while the phrase "the heavens and the earth" is an expression known technically as *merismus,* in which antonymic pairs describe not elements, but the totality of the situation. Thus the phrase should be rendered simply "the cosmos." The perplexing expression "there was an evening and a morning…" is yet another example of *merismus,* and should be rendered "this was the first (second etc.) complete phase of the whole cycle." These are problems of translation, however, and not of the original composer, who under divine inspiration transcended the crudities of ANE polytheism to produce the most magnificent account of creation.

The second narrative gave geographical identity to the home of human beings, placing it in Mesopotamia. There is no difficulty in this identification if the "rivers" PISHON and GIHON are regarded as "irrigation canals," since there was no separate word for these two entities in Akkadian. The expression "tree of knowledge of good and evil" is also an example of *merismus,* and refers to a "tree of the entire range of moral experience." The story of the creation of woman is a classic

example of the way in which the orientals cloaked their deepest and most cherished truths in narrative form so as to protect them from the profane gaze of the scoffer. The word translated "rib" in English versions could be more properly rendered "an aspect of personality," indicating that pristine man was broken down into male and female components, quite similar in character but needing compatible union before the wholeness of the pristine creation could be realized. This fundamental unity, of which MARRIAGE was representative, was emphasized by Jesus (Matt. 19:5; Mk. 10:7–8; cf. 1 Cor. 6:16) and related by Paul to the union between Christ and his church (Eph. 5:31–32).

The material dealing with creation in the first two chapters of Genesis should be treated as a unit for a proper understanding of the theology of creation. The second narrative, which deals more fully with the creation of man and woman, is complementary to the first, which speaks of the world being fashioned for them to occupy. The homogeneity of man with his environment is emphasized in Gen. 2:7, which speaks of his being created from "clay," that is, the basic terrestrial elements. When the divine afflatus permeates man he becomes *nepeš H5883,* "personality." This emphasis upon the integration of the human personality as a normative, healthy condition is found elsewhere in the OT and specifically in the NT, which speaks of the one who is in Christ as a new creation (2 Cor. 5:17).

Because the Genesis accounts of creation are "prescientific" in the Western technological sense, and "unscientific" in the Sumerian sense also, it is necessary to urge caution when attempts are made to "reconcile" them to the accounts of creation furnished by the modern descriptive sciences. While there are numerous points of contact, there are also natural and obvious differences in standpoint. Although it is perfectly legitimate to recognize that both Genesis and biological science propose some concept of derivation by descent, it is equally wrong to imagine that the Genesis account can be proved or disproved by reference to a theory of biological origins that is itself highly suspect in certain important areas.

It has to be recognized that the OT account of creation does not preface the rest of Scripture as though it were an isolated attempt in antiquity to explain the origins of phenomena and human life. Indeed, if the first word of Genesis, *bĕrēšît (H298 + H8040),* is translated to read "by way of beginning" or "to begin with," it will relate to something other than an absolute temporal start to creation. What the position of the creation narratives shows, in fact, is that for the ancient Semitic writers creation was the starting point of history. It formed the necessary stage upon which the drama of human sin and redemption could be enacted, a drama in which the nation of Israel, and later the Christian church, played an important role. Thus it is difficult to separate the creation narratives from the material that follows, since it was the intent of the various writers in antiquity that such a connection should be observed, as much for theological as specifically historical reasons.

II. Biblical doctrine of creation. The thought of the ancient Hebrews consistently related all existing phenomena to God as the one ground or source of existence. Because of this specifically monistic attitude, there could never be any place in their concept of creation for the kind of DUALISM entertained by some other religions. To God as the sole Creator belonged the responsibility for the world of nature and human beings. Although there were facets of his creation that did not reflect his high moral and ethical character, even these were ultimately reconcilable to belief in the activity of one creative deity. The relationship between God and his creation is a contingent one, for it is the Lord who makes all things (Isa. 44:24), and his handiwork is absolutely dependent upon him for its ordering and survival. When the OT writers spoke about the idea of creation, they were making a religious affirmation to the effect that God was sovereign and Lord of the cosmos.

A. Creation by the Word. As a regularized expression of the way in which God formed the world, the idea of creation by the WORD is rather late. It is, however, implicit in Gen. 1, and also in the thought of some OT writers, notably the psalmists (Pss. 33:9; 148:5; cf. Isa. 45:12), who emphasized the transcendent majesty of the Creator. The best expressions of this concept are found in the NT (Jn. 1:1–3; Heb. 11:3; and 2 Pet. 3:5–6), which also attributed dynamic qualities to the Word. See LOGOS. The latter was synonymous with that sovereign power which shaped the course of history and the lives of human beings alike, being supremely manifest in the creation of the world.

The account in Gen. 1 is marked by the phrase "and God said" at the beginning of each new stage in the creative process. This description may be of more than passing interest if the "wave" theory of creation is scientifically correct, since it would depict God at work on the basic units from which the cosmos was constructed. Whatever the meaning of the phrase, there can be no doubt that the narrative as a whole ascribes the processes of creation to the free and spontaneous activity of God. The Word of the Lord is that power which when placed in the mouths of the prophets, makes them spokesmen for God and gives them a position of authority in dispensing the divine oracles (Jer. 1:9 – 10). The Word also has a vitality which makes it sharper than any two-edged sword (Heb. 4:12; cf. Rev. 19:13–15), and in the person of the incarnate Logos (Jn. 1:1–18) establishes a relationship of a particularly efficacious sort between the Creator and his creation.

B. Creation ex nihilo. As a formal expression of belief, this concept is again a comparatively late development (2 Macc. 7:28; cf. Rom. 4:17; Heb. 11:3), enhancing the idea of the creative sovereignty of God. *Creatio ex nihilo* as a philosophical postulate is not specifically stated in Gen. 1, but it is certainly implicit in the narrative. The reader is meant to understand that the worlds were not fashioned from any preexisting material, but out of nothing, and that this proceeded from the activity of the divine Word. Prior to the creative fiat there was thus no other kind of phenomenological existence. *Creatio ex nihilo,* therefore, rules out the idea that matter is eternal, and also rejects any kind of dualism in the universe in which another entity, power, or existence stands over against God and outside his control. The Creator of the world is thus not bound by chaos, as in the Babylonian creation myth, which portrayed the gods emerging from the waters of chaos. Indeed, the concept of a created chaos was foreign to the Genesis narrative, which maintained that creation was an ordered process and as such the opposite of chaos. Furthermore, the concept of creation from nothing affirms that God is separate from his creation, and denies that the latter is a phenomenal manifestation of the Absolute, as pantheism maintains.

C. The place of man and woman in creation. The concept of creation out of nothing applies, of course, to the formulation of the cosmos, and does not exhaust the biblical teaching on the subject of creation. Thus man was not created ex nihilo, but from previously prepared material, the "dust of the ground" (Gen. 2:7), as were also the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air (v. 19). This has been described as secondary creation, to denote an activity that makes use of material already in existence but that is nevertheless integral to the concept of primary creation. The harmony represented in the world and its inhabitants is in fact a divinely imposed order in which each creature fulfills the will of God. In every instance the creative fiat not merely brings entities into existence but relates them to some specific function within the larger structure. Because of the personal relationship that exists between God and his creation, there can be no room in Scripture for the idea of NATURE as an autonomous power set in motion by a First Cause. God is depicted as being at all times in control of the world (cf. Job 38:33; Jer. 5:24; et al.), which needs his continual undergirding if it is to continue

(cf. Ps. 104:29–30). Where there is the expression of the regularity of natural forces, as in the promise given to NOAH (Gen. 8:22), it is based upon the covenant mercies and faithfulness of God.

While the world was intended to display the glory of God, it was also fashioned as the dwelling place for human beings (Isa. 45:18), the crown of divine creation. Man *(ādām H132)* was fashioned from the ground *(ădāmâ H141),* to which he ultimately returns when he dies. While the animals and plants, having been brought forth by the earth, stand in an indirect relationship to the Creator, man is the direct product of creative activity, and is dignified in a special manner by being the recipient of the "living breath" of God. Stress is laid upon the nature of human beings as the highest form of created life in both accounts, and in Gen. 1:26–27 *homo sapiens* is described as having been made in the IMAGE OF GOD. This can only mean that man, male and female, in their complete bodily existence were patterned after God. The fact that the same concept was applied to SETH as a son of ADAM (5:3) argues firmly against any attempts to reduce the *imago dei* to the "spiritual self," "soul," or some such concept. The reference in 2:7 is also illuminating in this connection, for it speaks of man becoming a "living soul," a less satisfactory rendering than "personality," since it is the totality of man that is again in view.

Hebrew thought consistently viewed man as a personality, and the numerous OT references to the relationship between emotions and bodily changes demonstrate a concern for the integration of the personality of a kind that has been reemphasized by modern psychosomatic medicine. Man is not just a "body" into which a "soul" has been placed. Instead he is a living personality that has physical extension in time and place. When living by divine law he is neither "body" nor "soul," but a unified being in whom all aspects of existence are designed to function in an integrated manner to the glory of God. Because human beings are in effect the living image of God upon earth, they are given the task of serving as the divine representatives and ordering the ways of those aspects of creation that are put under their control (Gen. 1:28).

Though human beings have been made in the image of God, they are still inferior to the deity in stature (Ps. 8:6–8). Nevertheless they are crowned with glory and honor because they have been made especially to enjoy fellowship with the Creator. Unlike the animal creation, which has to obey instinctive impulses and laws, man has been given a freedom of will as part of his spiritual heritage. While his prime vocation is to serve God in the world of nature, he is unique in being the only creature that can respond to God in disobedience as well as in faith and trust. He can revile God as well as praise him, and can separate himself from the divine presence just as easily as he can have fellowship with God. Certainly the latter function was the clear intention of the Creator, since no other species can articulate the divine praises. Thus human beings were made to communicate meaningfully and intelligently with God, an ideal that was subsequently attributed to the nation in covenant relationship with him (Isa. 43:21).

D. Threats to creation. The creation narratives contain no hint of foreboding for the future, for everything has the seal of perfection stamped on it. Until the declension of man and woman from pristine grace, the prospect for the future was one of continuous and untrammeled fellowship with God. When SIN entered human experience, it cast a blemish upon all created life (cf. Hos. 4:7; Rom. 8:21–22) and threatened the future of human beings by separating their personality from God. Thereafter it became necessary for the Creator to make specific provision for human spiritual needs, first by the promise of one who should effectively break the power of the tempter (cf. Gen. 3:15), then by the provision of a sacrificial system that would enable the penitent worshiper to renew his fellowship with God, and finally by revealing that at some specific point in history the Creator's

purpose would be entirely realized, and a new heaven and earth would replace the existing order of things.

The end of the sequence does not seem to have concerned the earlier figures in Hebrew history, and it was only as the COVENANT relationship became progressively weakened that an other-worldly perspective came into prominence. Even then the ESCHATOLOGY of both preexilic and postexilic prophets tended to think of a re-created theocratic society upon this earth, rather than the newly fashioned heaven and earth of NT thought (Rev. 21:1), although Isaiah emphasized re-creation in the NT sense (Isa. 66:22). Consistently throughout the OT, however, the greatest menace to the divine creation was the fact of sin, particularly where it represented a violation of the covenant obligations. The covenant community was itself a special creation, intended as a witness in pagan society to the nature and power of the one true God and a means of his expression in the world. Many of the prophets diagnosed the national malaise in terms of sin and rebellion against God (Isa. 1:3; Jer. 8:7; Hos. 14:1; et al.), and Hosea went so far as to assert that the perverted will (cf. Jer. 17:9) of Israel had even affected the natural creation (Hos. 4:3).

III. The new creation in Christ. The NT authors agreed with Judaism that God alone was the creator of the world through his Word, but in the light of the fuller revelation of God in Christ, they viewed the process of creation Christologically. In Jesus all things cohere (Col. 1:17), and the unity of creation in him is demonstrated further as part of the divine purpose in history (Eph. 1:9–10). He it is who upholds the universe by his powerful word (Heb. 1:3) and brings meaning to the historical process as the Savior and Redeemer of the world. In the light of this conviction, it was possible for the members of the primitive church to assert that human salvation was predestined in Christ before the founding of the world (Matt. 25:34; Eph. 1:4; 1 Pet. 1:20; et al.). Everything centers upon the firstborn of all creation (Col. 1:15), since it has been created through him and unto him who is the beginning and the end.

The NT authors were insistent that the new kingdom of grace, long promised by prophecy, had already appeared with the incarnate Christ. The new creation was actually a promise of future glory (cf. Eph. 1:14; Rev. 21:1–4), when all redeemed creatures would laud their creator (Rev. 4:8–11; 5:13). Christ was the new man whom Adam foreshadowed (Rom. 5:12–14; cf. 1 Cor. 15:21–22), the image of the invisible God (Col. 1:15) whose death would redeem the world from bondage to sin and make individual salvation possible. In the work of Calvary, Christ has paid the penalty for human iniquity and has opened the way for renewal of the individual personality through confession, surrender, and the acceptance of his saving grace by faith. When one has identified himself completely with the work of Calvary and has received cleansing and pardon, he is "in Christ." The Savior has restored the human pattern which God planned at the first, and those who are his are themselves new creations by divine grace.

(See B. W. Anderson, *Creation Versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible* [1967]; S. Niditch, *Chaos to Cosmos: Studies in Biblical Patterns of Creation* [1985]; J. P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* [1988]; R. J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible* [1994]; R. A. Simkins, *Creator and Creation: Nature in the Worldview of Ancient Israel* [1994]; P. Copan and W. L. Craig, *Creation out of Nothing: A Biblical, Philosophical, and Scientific Exploration* [2004]; G. H. van Kooten, ed., *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretation of Genesis I in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics* [2005];T. E. Fretheim, *God and World in the Old Testament: A Relational Theology of Creation* [2005].)

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creation, new. See HEAVENS, NEW; MAN, NEW; REGENERATION.

creatures, living. See LIVING CREATURES.

credit. There is no technical term for "credit" in the commercial sense in either OT or NT, yet both include terms for "creditor" in the sense of one who has lent money or goods to a debtor. For example, the participle of the Hebrew verb *nāšā H5957* ("to lend") can be rendered "creditor" or "moneylender." Under the Torah, no creditor could require INTEREST (*nešek H5968*) from an Israelite borrower, but only from a foreigner (Exod. 22:25; cf. Lev. 25:35–38; Deut. 23:19–20). He could only require a PLEDGE (generally some valued possession) to guarantee repayment of the principal. In later times, however, there may have been some evasion of this rule against usury; at any rate many a mortgage was foreclosed and many children of debtors taken off into slavery by heartless creditors (e.g., 2 Ki. 4:1). Ezekiel mentions the exacting of interest as a common practice of the wicked (Ezek. 18:17). The only reference to a creditor in the NT is in Christ's parable about the moneylender *(danistēs G1250)* who generously canceled the debts of two men (Lk. 7:41). See also BORROW; DEBT.

G. L. ARCHER

creed. An authoritative statement of the principal affirmations of the Christian faith. It is generally brief and concise, free of definition, proof, or explanation. It is at once personal, social, and historical in its impact. Insofar as possible, a creed attempts to witness to the universal CHURCH rather than to set forth those points of doctrine that would describe variance within that church. Thus creeds give testimony to those universal beliefs that bind the whole church, not only in the day in which they were written but throughout history.

I. General description. Although creeds were originally individual (the Latin verb *credo* means "I believe"), they shortly became statements of doctrine in which groups set forth their essential beliefs. They became expressive of the life of the church because to have a belief is to express it, and to express it together is creative of the Christian communion or community. In a negative sense they exclude all those doctrines that are looked upon as false or heretical and become, therefore, standards by which certain believers are included within the community of the creed and all others are excluded. For example, the Trinitarian structure of the Apostles' Creed excludes Judaism; the close descriptive terms of the Nicene Creed exclude all lesser or truncated statements of the nature of Christ.

Originally, candidates for BAPTISM accepted a short summary of belief that varied in detail in various localities. By the 4th cent. these baptismal confessions had become more universal, and the Trinitarian structure of Matt. 28:19 became the norm. Finally the Apostles' Creed in the W and the Nicene Creed in the E became as they are now, the baptismal confessions universally used.

A creedal form is first the basis of teaching, and second the substance of what the candidate at baptism declares to be his own faith. The following process seemed to prevail in the life of creeds and may still be characteristic of their use. (1) There is a basis of catechesis in some kind of formal statement. (2) The candidates for baptism declare this to be their belief and they may be questioned regarding their understanding of this belief. (3) All those who are brought into an ecclesiastical community under the demands of a particular creed are unified into a visible church by their common

affirmations. (4) The willingness or unwillingness to agree on the affirmations of the creed of a particular visible church become, therefore, a test of orthodoxy. (5) Orthodoxy in turn becomes the basis for the denunciation of heresy. (6) This common creedal acceptance becomes the basis of lesser enterprises of the church. What is held to be true in the creed is basically the message the church wants to proclaim.

It seems evident, then, that creeds have become both uniting and divisive, bringing together those portions of the Christian community that agree and excluding those who disagree. It is also evident, therefore, that the briefer the creedal statement, the more universal it can become, and the more specific the creedal statement, the more exclusive or divisive it may become. The great classical creedal statements, namely the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, are therefore made up of clear, bold strokes, whereas the later confessions became expansions and definitions of more specific beliefs. The catholic creeds are universal and unite churches, while the later confessions become "denominational" and distinguish Christian communities. Catholics and Protestants alike may join in the Apostles' Creed; it is not possible for a Roman Catholic to join in certain sections of the Westminster Confession.

II. The growth of creeds. Christian creeds take their starting place with the Scriptures of the OT and NT, although the Scriptures themselves contain no formal creedal statement. The Decalogue (Exod. 20:3 –17) could be looked upon as the beginning of a formulation of a creedal position (see TEN COMMANDMENTS), but its immediate expansion in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 21:1—23:19) would seem to indicate that in its first usage the focus of the Decalogue was on legal and social applications rather than on the setting forth of a body of belief (see COVENANT, BOOK OF THE). Close to the heart of the whole OT, however, is the proclamation of the Shema: "Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God, the LORD is one. Love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength" (Deut. 6:4–5; cf. Num. 15:37–41; Deut. 11:13–21).

In the NT one may check and choose signs of creedal affirmation according to text or prejudice. Some examples of the sort of things that are drawn out will suffice: the confessions of NATHANIEL (Jn. 1:49, "Rabbi, you are the Son of God; you are the King of Israel!"), PETER (Matt. 16:16, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God"), and THOMAS (Jn. 20:28, "My Lord and my God!"). These and other passages in the Gospels contain some germ of subsequent creeds. All of them have Christ as their object and express a conviction of his DEITY.

In the epistles, especially in those of PAUL, and particularly in those sections having to do with doctrinal content, there is what might be called a running commentary setting forth a clear, although unstructured, body of Christian belief. Certainly the material is creedal in form. To converts and to the public in general (cf. the church in Acts) and to communities of believers, facts of faith and inferences from the facts are certainly drawn out, especially the meaning of Christ and the truth centering in his person—incarnation, death, resurrection. To these facts the epistles appeal, and it is natural that the unity of the early Christian fellowship demanded some acknowledgement of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." Paul emphasized that some definite belief in Christ is called for by those who would share his redemption: "if you confess with your mouth, 'Jesus is Lord,' and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved. For it is with your heart that you believe and are justified, and it is with your mouth that you confess and are saved" (Rom. 10:9–10). Paul sets forth Christ's deity, death, and resurrection, and the necessity of confession as an assurance of a person's relationship to God. Illustrations and hints from the writings of Paul are numerous (cf. Rom. 1:3–4; 1 Cor. 15:1–8; 2 Cor. 13:14; 2 Thess. 2:13–15; 1 Tim. 1:15; 3:16; 4:8–9; 6:20; 2 Tim.

1:14; 2:11). Elsewhere in the NT one finds an enumeration of the elementary doctrines of the Christian religion: repentance and faith, resurrection, and judgment (Heb. 6:1–2; cf. also 10:23).

Formal creeds appeared much later than the apostles. At least there is no record of them before the time of IRENAEUS and TERTULLIAN (the last decades of the 2nd cent.). The Scripture passages already referred to were given as support for the first forms of creeds and also contributed materials out of which the articles of the church's faith were formulated. Christian preaching and teaching gave rise to the need for explicit statements of the truth reflected through Jesus Christ. With the exception of the VIRGIN BIRTH (as a statement rather than as a historical description), all the main articles of belief can be found in their inception somewhere in the NT, primarily in the epistles of Paul. The leading tenets of the subsequent faith of the church stand out clearly and distinctly in earliest scriptural sources: the Trinity, the Lord's deity and humanity, the atonement, death and resurrection, the Holy Spirit, the catholicity and basic unity of the church.

III. The three classic creeds. The main historical creedal statements which have prevailed are the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Atha-nasian Creed.

A. The Apostles' Creed. Both in its shorter and longer versions (Old Roman Form and Received Form respectively), the Apostles' Creed grew up over the centuries. It is apostolic in content but not in its authorship or format. It represents a slow development in the history of the thought of the church. This creed was the earliest attempt of the church to systematize belief, although the Nicene Creed was the first officially approved statement of belief. There are many points of similarity between them. The Apostles' Creed seemed to have a natural development in which the church in its worship and teaching was discovering basic truths which needed to be affirmed. The Nicene, on the other hand, was a fixed and formal attempt to draw up Christian teachings in such a way as to settle controversy. Numerous early church fathers read and interpreted their own creeds, and thus creeds used to teach converts differed from congregation to congregation. The chief source of the Apostles' Creed as it is known today was probably the creed of the church of Rome. Modification took place with ideas incorporated with creeds of other churches and it was not until the 6th or 7th cent. that the creed assumed its present form. Some of its details are still being debated, for example, "he descended into hell," "the holy catholic church" (as against the "holy Christian" church), and "the resurrection of the flesh." (See also separate article on APOSTLES' CREED.)

B. The Nicene Creed. This document is sometimes called "the creed of the 318" because 318 bishops were said to have been called together for the purpose of clarifying the received doctrine of the church. The Nicene Creed was drawn up by the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325 and completed by the Council of Constantinople in 381. The basis of their operation in the original meeting was a creed presented by EUSEBIUS of Caesarea.

The opinions of ARIUS at the beginning of the 4th cent. had created such unrest that the Emperor Constantine intervened. He called a council at Nicaea and by that act set a pattern for church councils; this decision raised the question in later centuries of the authority of councils as against the authority of the pope (Ephesus in the year 431; Chalcedon, 451; Constantinople II, 553; Constantinople III, 680; Nicaea II, 787). It is notable also that these councils were called by the ruler of the state rather than by the ruler of the church. This was necessitated by the division and strife then rampant in the church. These councils were, as far as possible, ecumenical, and were basically attempts to unify. The Nicene Creed, therefore, as against the slow growth of the Apostles' Creed, was proposed as a

statement of belief in the interests of unity. It is unquestionably a well-structured formal declaration of catholic (universal) doctrine and it still serves its purpose.

One of the strange quirks of history is that there is no known record of the proceedings of the Council of Nicaea. There is no way of knowing whether it lasted for weeks or for days. Arius, who was only a presbyter, had no official status, but was given opportunity to speak and was defeated in debate by Athanasius. The controversy centered on the relationship of the Son to the Father, the key word being *homoousios* ("of one substance with"). The Arians opposed this term, which nevertheless prevailed. The Sabellians or semi-Arians held out for a mediating term, *homoiousios* ("of like substance"), but the stronger word held. A major decision, therefore, in the history of orthodoxy, setting the Christological tone of the church thenceforth hinged on the use of one Greek letter; "being of one substance with the Father" became the central affirmation of this creed.

Also illustrative of the seriousness of theological discussions in those early days was the *Filioque* addition. In the statement that the HOLY SPIRIT "proceedeth from the Father and the Son," the clause "and the Son" (one word in Latin, *Filioque*) was adopted by the Council of Toledo in 589. Later scholarship holds that the word was actually an interpolation rather than an adoption by a council. In the 9th cent., Leo III pronounced against *Filioque,* but Emperor Henry II (c. 1014) prevailed on Benedict VIII "to chant the Symbol at the Holy Mysteries." Thus the interpolation remained. After the 9th cent. this became a divisive matter between the Greek and Latin churches, the Eastern church striking it out, and the Western church, which should have known better, keeping it in. *Filioque* is firmly established in the W and denied in the E, and yet scholarship in both great divisions of Christendom are agreed that the word is an interpolation!

If this kind of debate seems strange to modern ears, one is reminded that the scars of persecution lay on those who in those days drew up creeds. At the Council of Nicaea, two bishops had lost an eye and another had been hamstrung; Bishop Paul of Caesarea had had his hands so severely treated with hot irons that they were paralyzed. If such men seem now to have been overly anxious about words and phrases, one can understand their anxiety in a day when truth and error and their sharp definitions could be matters of life and death. (See J. Burnaby, *The Belief of Christendom: A Commentary on the Nicene Creed* [1959].)

C. The Athanasian Creed. This creed is primarily referred to as the *Symbolum Quicunque,* with the rise of the custom of naming ecclesiastical papers by the first two Latin words of their content (*Quicunque vult,* "Whoever wishes [to be saved]"). As far as scholarship can now determine, this was a fully structured creed when it appeared. It was not the result of creedal growth like the Apostles' Creed, nor the outcome of official approval and authority like the Nicene. It belongs to a class of individual or private confessions of faith that became acceptable to the whole church. It is more a manual of instruction than a creed. Although it bears the name of Athanasius, its appearance was after the time of Charlemagne, and the name of Athanasius was attached to it, apparently to give it authority. Both authorship and date are uncertain, although there is little doubt that it can be identified with "the faith of the holy prelate Athanasius." Whereas the Nicene Creed settled the question of the nature of Christ, the Athanasian Creed established the doctrine of the Trinity. Also, interestingly enough, it carried throughout a note of judgment, a threat against those who do not hold and follow the truth of God. (See J. N. D. Kelly, *The Athanasian Creed* [1964].)

IV. Creeds and confessions. In general it may be said that creeds were the burden of the 4th and 5th centuries, whereas confessions arose primarily in the 16th and 17th centuries. The 20th cent. sees a

revival of the writing of confessions. Speaking in general again, a creed as illustrated by the three classical creeds—Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian—is concerned with the unifying essentials of the universal church in every place and in every age. A confession, on the other hand, is a more comprehensive statement of theology, more denominational than traditional. Whereas in the creed there is a clarification of the fundamentals of the faith, one finds in confessions not only the clarification but an increase of identification of some branch of the church by way of a fuller treatment of those specifics over which churches divide.

This distinction is clearly seen in the differences between the Apostles' Creed and the great classic confession, the Westminster Confession of Faith. It is assumed that the Apostles' Creed is based on the Scriptures, but the Westminster Confession does not begin to describe the faith until in a long series of affirmations and arguments it establishes a view of Scripture on which the remainder of the confession is to be based. Illustrations could be drawn from a whole series of confessions—the Belgic, the Augsburg, the Helvetic, the Scottish, and the Westminster. An interesting case in point is the Presbyterian document referred to as the Confession of 1967 (C-67).This confession builds on the idea of reconciliation and, among other things, illustrates the conscience of the church in the 20th cent. on such subjects as race, poverty, and war. In those areas where C-67 does not refer to what some believe to be fundamentals of the Christian faith, reference is made to a so-called "Book of Confessions" representing the whole tradition of the Reformed church. It is evident on the face of it that the official approach of C-67 (via reconciliation) would not necessarily be suitable for the whole church nor would the emphasis on race, poverty, and war be necessarily catholic principles from the viewpoint of certain branches of the catholic church. In some senses, such a confession is a "tract for the times" and there are those who argue that a true confession is one which speaks for a church in a given historical situation existentially. Some aver that such a confession could be made annually with the church vis-à-vis problems of the contemporary scene.

Protestantism faces a peculiar problem with regard to creeds in the face of the tension between authority and freedom. It is quite impossible for a person to be a Christian alone. He is always a Christian in relationship and community. There is, therefore, the basic necessity of some kind of common agreement. At the same time there is a "givenness" in the gospel discovered in exegesis. The search for meaning assumes a corpus of authoritative material out of which understanding and meaning can and do arise. At the same time such ideas as the "priesthood of believers" or "justification by faith" or the interplay of Word and Spirit in the use of the Scriptures call on the individual for personal decision and involvement in the truth and falsity of Christian claims on his life. It is the genius of Protestantism—as historically it has been its confusion—that a Protestant is forced to decide in the paradoxical position where he is both fixed and free. Luther and Calvin posed the same kind of problem as they broke out from Rome and insisted at the same time that the Anabaptists must not break away from them.

It is the glory of the three great creeds that in their comparative simplicity the "common sense of the church" has emphasized those things most needful, and since their establishment the church has had a fixed position over against the world and over against other religions, which at the same time has led to unity and saved the church from destructive controversy. (Until recently, the standard collection of texts and translations has been P. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom,* 3 vols. [1877]. It has now been superseded by J. Pelikan and V. Hotch-kiss, *Creeds and Confession of Faith in the Christian Tradition,* 3 vols. [2003]; Pelikan's *Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* [2003], functions as an introductory volume to this work. Also useful are E. Routley, *Creeds and Confessions* [1962]; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early*

Christian Creeds, 3rd ed. [1972]; J. H. Leith, *Creeds of the Churches,* 3rd. ed. [1982].)

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creeping thing. This expression is used by the KJV and other versions to render Hebrew *remeś H8254,* a collective term referring to small animals and reptiles (the NRSV has "crawling things" for this Hebrew term in Hab. 1:14, and for the ptc. of *zāḥal H2323* in Mic. 7:17). The term may include most of the invertebrates. The Genesis account lists only three groups of land animals: livestock, wild animals, and creeping things (Gen. 1:24; NIV, "creatures that move along the ground"). In addition, however, the short-legged animals,

This boundary stone defines those responsible for a land survey in S Babylonia. The images on this stone include creeping things that are identified as various Babylonian idols.

such as mice and mink and reptiles, could well be subsumed, while the psalmist has four categories; wild animals, cattle, "creeping things" (NIV, "small creatures"), and flying birds (Ps. 148:10; elsewhere the beasts of the forests are said to creep or prowl, 104:20). One should conclude, then, that no definite group is under consideration, but rather that the various authors of the OT are attempting to include all creatures of whatever sort under God's creative act and his providence. The KJV uses the English expression also in the NT to render Greek *herpeton G2260,* which is better translated "reptile" (Acts 10:12; 11:6; Rom. 1:23).

In the fossil record, reptiles and modern insects are first apparent in the same strata, and mammals in subsequent layers. Because all of these were created on the sixth day, this may indicate long periods of time included in a single day of CREATION. For further discussion, see FAUNA; INSECTS

(as well as separate articles for individuals species). Here it is sufficient to say that the particular insects mentioned in the Bible are grasshoppers, locusts, crickets, scale insects, moths and butterflies, flies, fleas, bees, and ants. In addition to sponges, corals, molluscs, fishes, frogs, and toads, the Bible refers to vipers or adders, asps, serpents, and cockatrices among the poisonous reptiles, and chameleons, geckos, lizards, and tortoises among other reptiles.

R. L. MIXTER

cremation. See BURIAL.

Crescens kres'uhnz (Κρήσκης, from Lat. *Crescens,* "growing"). A companion of PAUL in his last imprisonment (2 Tim. 4:10). He is said to have left the apostle and gone to GALATIA, which could refer to Phrygian Galatia or to Gaul. If the latter (which is implied by the textual variant *Gallian* in several MSS), then this detail, taken with the mission of TITUS to DALMATIA in the same context, seems to indicate that as Paul's life ended, his comrades were penetrating the W with the gospel. Traditions associating Crescens with the churches of Vienne and Mayence are probably no more than inferences from this passage.

A. F. WALLS

crescents. This term is used by some versions to render Hebrew *śahărōnîm H8448* (Jdg. 8:21, 26 [NIV, "ornaments"]; Isa. 3:18 [NIV, "crescent necklaces"]). The word refers to ornaments made of gold, silver, or bronze, and shaped in the form of the new moon. They were worn as necklaces or sewn on garments.

Cretan kree'tuhn. See CRETE.

Crete kreet (Κρήτη *G3207;* gentilic Κρής *G3205,* "Cretan"). A large island in the eastern Mediterranean, SE of the Greek mainland. See GREECE. Crete is 160 mi. long and 7–35 mi. wide. It is dominated by four mountain ranges, but in the eastern half there are fertile plains and upland basins that furnish summer pasturage. For this reason only the eastern half was settled in prehistoric times.

First settled by Neolithic people, Crete enjoyed great prosperity during the Middle and Late Bronze (Minoan) Ages. The unfortified cities first formed a thalassocracy or maritime rule under the semi-mythical King Minos. Extensive trade was carried on with Egypt, the Greek mainland, and eastern countries. The glories of the culture are revealed in gigantic palaces (labyrinths), magnificently decorated vases, frescoed walls, and enormous storage jars for the oil, wine, and grain of the bureaucracy. During the Late Minoan period the island was conquered by the Mycenaeans of the mainland and went into decline soon thereafter. The Palace of Minos at Knossos has been excavated and partially rebuilt by the efforts of Evans and Pendlebury. American archaeologists have excavated on the islands and the mainland in the vicinity of the Gulf of Mirabello. Cyrus H. Gordon (in *JNES* 17 [1958]: 245–55)

Crete.

has theorized by a partial decipherment of Linear A that the Minoans were W Semites. Others have looked for similar eastern origins for them.

During classical times Crete was largely a recruiting area for mercenary soldiers, particularly archers. Numerous Jews lived there in the 2nd cent. B.C. In 141 B.C. Simon MACCABEE interceded with the consul Lucius for the protection of the Jews living in the Cretan city of GORTYNA. Conquered by the Romans in 68–66 B.C., Crete was joined with CYRENE as a PROVINCE. Gortyna is the only Roman city that has been excavated. Numerous large public buildings have been uncovered as well as the ruins of the church of Agios Titos. (See J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* [1939]; R. W. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete* [1962]; R. F. Willetts, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete* [1976]; I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete: An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete* [1982]; G. W. M. Harrison, *The Romans and Crete* [1993].)

Jews from Crete were present at the feast of PENTECOST (Acts 2:11). PAUL sailed on a grain ship along the southern coast on the way from LYCIA to ROME. The ship anchored at FAIR HAVENS just E of Cape Matala, then sailed to the harbor of PHOENIX and the protection of the island of CLAUDA. It is not known who founded the churches on Crete. Paul implied that he did so when he stated that he left Titus on the island to correct the churches and appoint elders in every town (Tit. 1:5). The Cretans were proverbially depraved. Paul quoted the poet Epimenides c. 600 B.C., "Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons" (Tit. 1:12), an opinion shared by many of the ancients.

A. RUPPRECHT

crib. This English term is used by the KJV and other versions to render Hebrew *ēbûs H17,* referring to a box-shaped trough or MANGER covered with bars that hold fodder to assist in feeding livestock in cowsheds, foldyards, and fields (Job 39:9; Prov. 14:4; Isa. 1:3).

H.J. MILES

cricket. Term used in modern versions, such as the NIV and the NRSV, to render Hebrew *ḥargōl*

H3005, which occurs only once alongside other words for various kinds of grasshoppers (Lev. 11:22; KJV, "beetle"). A precise identification is difficult. See LOCUST.

crimes and punishments. Biblical jurisprudence was based upon the assumption that human beings are under obligation to carry out the revealed will of God in leading a holy life, respecting the rights of God and neighbor, not simply upon a utilitarian basis of a pragmatic nature, but rather as creatures made in the likeness of God. This obligation was regarded as unchangeable and absolute, beyond human authority to amend or adapt to any general standard prevailing in current society. The moral requirements of Yahweh were not in the slightest lowered or affected because of the general breakdown of ethical standards prior to the flood (Gen. 6). On the contrary, the entire human race was consigned to destruction for flouting God's law, except for the one family that still upheld it. Even in the Mosaic legislation it was made clear that such basic principles as capital punishment for murder were not subject to modification or abolition; on the contrary, any community that failed to punish murderers with death would incur God's curse and be subject to his retribution (Num. 35:31–34). Even in NT times this responsibility of the community or state to inflict the death penalty for capital crimes is maintained (Lk. 20:16; Acts 25:11; Rom. 13:4), even though in his personal relationships the true believer is to return good for evil and turn the other cheek. But the SERMON ON THE MOUNT has nothing to say about the enforcement of public justice; Jesus' command, "Do not resist an evil person" (Matt. 5:39), applies only to the behavior of the individual Christian who suffers injustice, not to the state charged with the responsibility of protecting society against wrongdoers.

1. Classification of crimes
    1. Crimes against God: religious offenses
    2. Crimes against human beings: civil offenses
2. Torts
    1. Property damage
    2. Bailments
    3. Oppression of the underprivileged
3. Punishments
    1. Capital
    2. Mutilation
    3. Scourging
    4. Imprisonment
    5. Monetary damages and fines
    6. Enslavement

I. Classification of crimes. The Mosaic leeislation does not clearly distinguish between crimes and torts. A *crime* is an offense directly or indirectly against the public, of sufficient gravity to be dealt with through judicial proceedings, brought by representatives of the public interest. Criminal law is that branch of jurisprudence designed to protect the general public from the harmful acts of wrongdoers. A *tort,* on the other hand, is an offense against an individual for which the latter may recover damages for the injury incurred. Since there were no regularly appointed public prosecutors in ancient judicial practice, it normally devolved upon the victims of injustice, or their nearest surviving relative, to bring criminal cases to the attention of the judges in the jurisdiction where the crime occurred. Even in the case of murder, the nearest surviving male relative had the responsibility

of "kinsman-redeemer" and acted as prosecutor, or even as executioner, of the murderer (see AVENGER OF BLOOD); so also with the lesser offenses. This tended to confuse the distinction between torts and crimes.

There was little legislation relative to contract actions; this type of law did not become elaborated until the later development of commerce and industry under settled urban conditions, such as those reflected by the Old Babylonian Code of HAMMURABI. The Mosaic code pertains only to a

This replica of a bas-relief from the theater at Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale, Turkey) portrays prisoners in Roman times.

nomadic culture or to a simple agricultural economy, appropriate to the times of the exodus and the conquest; had it been composed at any later period, it would certainly have dealt with medical malpractice, fraudulent building-contractors and merchants, and class distinctions of various sorts, such as marked the later history of Israel. Its virtual silence concerning the rights of royalty or crimes against the king makes it certain that the Penta-teuchal code was drawn up before the 11th cent. B.C., when monarchy was instituted in Israel.

Broadly speaking, the Mosaic legislation dealt with two main types of offense: the religious and the civil. The term *civil* is probably a better one than *secular,* since all offenses had a Godward as well as a manward reference. Human relations were viewed as a direct concern of the Lord himself.

A. Crimes against God: religious offenses

1. Idolatry. The sanction against the worship of other gods received first attention in the Decalogue, and was the concern of the first two commandments (Exod. 20:3–6; see TEN COMMANDMENTS). The death penalty is specified (22:20), and the mode of execution was normally by stoning (Deut. 13:10). If an entire community was involved in the sin of idol-worship, its inhabitants were to be slain with the sword, and all of their livestock and property were to be put under the ban of complete destruction (13:12–16). The idols must be smashed and all their cult-objects and altars be reduced to rubble (7:5, 25). See IDOLATRY.

2. Infant sacrifice. This custom was a kind of cultic murder perpetrated against helpless infants in the worship of MOLECH and other Canaanite gods with allegedly bloodthirsty appetites; it was to be punished by stoning to death (Lev. 20:2). Later on, in the reign of AHAZ (c. 735–715 B.C.) and

especially in the time of King Manasseh (696–642), this abominable practice found government sanction, and there ensued a general breakdown of moral life and the proliferation of crimes of violence (2 Ki. 21:6, 16).

3. Witchcraft, divination, and spiritualism. These were of course associated with pagan idolatry and were subject to the death penalty. "Let no one be found among you who sacrifices his son or daughter in the fire, who practices divination or sorcery, interprets omens, engages in witchcraft, or casts spells, or who is a medium or spiritist or who consults the dead" (Deut. 18:10–11). "Do not allow a sorceress to live" (Exod. 22:18; cf. Lev. 20:27). King SAUL was noted for his rigor in carrying out these laws against sorcery and witchcraft in Israel (1 Sam. 28:9), even though he finally resorted to the witch of ENDOR before his death. ISAIAH notes the prevalence of soothsaying in his day (in the reign of Ahaz), and speaks of it as a specifically PHILISTINE practice (Isa. 2:6). See DIVINATION.

4. Blasphemy. The third of the Ten Commandments prohibits the taking of the name of Yahweh "in vain" (Heb. *laššāw* ["to uselessness, to no good purpose"], Exod. 20:7; NIV, "You shall not misuse the name of the LORD your God"); such a crime will involve certain retribution from the Lord. All the more stringent was the sanction against reviling God in an impiously defiant fashion (22:28), and the first recorded offender against this commandment in Moses' time was executed by stoning (Lev. 24:11 –23). It will be noted that Exod. 22:28 treats a reviling of duly constituted human authority as tantamount to BLASPHEMY against God himself, who has ordained human government (cf. Rom. 13:1,2).

5. False prophecy. This sin consisted either in prophesying in the name of some false god, or in pretending to speak in the name of Yahweh when in point of fact no message from the Lord had been received. In either case the penalty was death (Deut. 18:20–22). In later times JEREMIAH was nearly lynched by mob action under this law (Jer. 26:8, 9), on the supposition that his prediction of NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S complete triumph would prove false. See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

6. Sabbath-breaking. The principle of hallowing the seventh day of the week existed from earliest times, as a commemoration of God's completed work of creation (Gen. 2:3); even before the lawgiving at Sinai, the celebration of the SABBATH was binding upon the Israelite race (Exod. 16:23). It was to be observed by a cessation from manual labor on the part of the entire family, even including the farm animals (20:9 –10); it was also to include a solemn public assembly (Lev. 23:3), which presumably included the reading of Scripture, preaching, and prayer. The Sabbath was to be a sign of the COVENANT relation between Yahweh and his people (Exod. 31:13), and its violation by the performance of work was to be punished by death (vv. 14–17). This sentence was actually carried out against a man who was caught gathering firewood on the Sabbath (Num. 15:32–36) and who was at God's direction stoned to death. The clear implication was that disregard of the Sabbath would lead to national disaster (as subsequent history proved, after Jeremiah had earnestly warned his people in the closing days of the Jewish monarchy, Jer. 17:27).

7. Defiance of the authority of God's law. In contrast to an offense committed by inadvertence (which could be atoned for by sacrificing a she-goat, Num. 15:27), a crime committed "defiantly" (lit., "with a high hand," *byād rāmâ)* involved a deliberate rejection of the authority of God the Lawgiver, and was punishable by death, or at least by being "cut off" from Israel (15:30–31). The

same was true of the refusal to abide by a decision of the priests at the tabernacle or temple (Deut. 17:8–12); such an impious rebel was to be stoned to death. To defy the authority of the supreme court of the nation was equivalent to treasonous subversion, and had to be sternly dealt with.

B. Crimes against human beings: civil offenses. These consisted of offenses of such gravity as to endanger SOCIETY or the state. They went beyond matters of controversy between private individuals, posing a threat to the safety of the community as a whole.

1. Homicide. The basic sanction against murder is contained in Gen. 9:6: "Whoever sheds human blood, / by human beings shall their blood be shed; / for in the image of God / has God made humankind" (TNIV). Since murder is a crime against God, in whose image human beings were created, it demands the extreme penalty of capital punishment. The concept is clearly retributive justice; there is no room for the modern principle of seeking the rehabilitation of the murderer to persuade him to desist, if possible, from committing further homicide. Nor does the sixth commandment in the Decalogue raise the slightest question as to the right and duty to take the life of anyone guilty of murder (Exod. 20:13, where the proper translation is "You shall not murder," since the verb *rāṣaḥ H8357* is never used of executing a criminal or slaying an enemy in battle). In the chapter following the Decalogue, it is required that murder must be punished by death (Exod. 21:12), that is, if it was committed with malice aforethought. One who commits accidental or inadvertent homicide may flee to one of the CITIES OF REFUGE (v. 13), where he may find ASYLUM until the decease of the high priest currently in office (Num. 35:22–25). For the guilty, however, the penalty of death was mandatory (35:31); no monetary damages were allowable as a substitute (as was permitted by the HITTITE codes, for example).

In the Mosaic age the agent of vengeance responsible to carry out the death penalty was the able-bodied male most nearly related to the deceased; he was called the "kinsman redeemer," or more exactly the AVENGER OF BLOOD (cf. Num. 35:19). In later times the king seems to have assumed partial, if not complete, jurisdiction over matters of homicide (cf. 2 Sam. 13:19; 14:7, 11; 1 Ki. 2:34). It is significant that in the case of unsolved murders a public hearing had to be held in which the ELDERS of the community within whose borders the crime had occurred would have to take an oath of innocence and then offer a sacrifice to God with an accompanying prayer for forgiveness, lest their land should remain polluted (Deut. 21:1–9).

As for second-degree murder, no clear-cut or comprehensive rule is given. One special case is mentioned in Exod. 21:22–25: if two men are fighting with each other, and the pregnant wife of one of them is mortally injured (presumably because she tried to assist her husband in the combat), the one who injured her must forfeit his own life. Even a bull who gores a man fatally must be stoned to death; and if its owner had known of the animal's propensity to gore and yet failed to keep it properly fenced in, the owner was subject to capital punishment. In the case of a nighttime burglar, the householder had a right to kill him in defense of his home and family; but a daytime intruder who broke into the home could not be summarily killed without penalty, for in such a case the householder could more accurately gauge the intentions of the intruder. The penalty for homicide under these circumstances is not clearly specified (22:3).

2. Assault and mayhem. The penalty for felonious assault resulting in serious or permanent injury to another was governed by the LEX TALIONIS; that is, the same injury must be inflicted upon the offender as he dealt out to his victim—rather than the multiple and excessively harsh punishment allowed by

some of Israel's neighbors, who prescribed mutilation for violation of property rights, in addition to monetary damages, public flogging, and a term of hard labor for the government (cf. *ANET*, 186, from Middle Assyrian Laws). But assault and battery against one's own parents was regarded as a crime so heinous as to be punishable by death (Exod. 21:15), involving a rejection of the entire basis of family solidarity and of obedience to all human authority (as well as the solemn sanction of God the heavenly Father). As for injuries inflicted on slaves, the loss of an eye or even of a tooth entitled the injured to manumission (21:26–27).

3. Robbery and larceny. Remarkably little is said about robbery in the Mosaic code. Provision is made for the repentant robber to make amends by restoring what was taken away by violence with an additional twenty percent by way of punitive damages (Lev. 6:2–7). Only after such restitution could he approach the Lord with his guilt offering. Robbery is grouped with defrauding or oppressing (the Hebrew verb used is *āšaq* ***H6943***) one's neighbor, and with the withholding of the wages of a day-laborer, as a category of crime strictly forbidden (19:13); yet no particular penalty is specified (as it was in the Code of Hammurabi, no. 22, which prescribed capital punishment). Burglary, of course, could be repelled by the householder even to the taking of the intruder's life, as mentioned above.

More is said of larceny in general; in particular the theft of livestock is singled out for severe treatment (Exod. 22:1, 4): the rustler must pay back two for every one that he has stolen, provided the original animal is recovered. But if it has been killed or sold off, then he must replace it fourfold for a sheep, or fivefold for a bull or cow. Possessions stolen from a home were apparently to be restored without any additional damages (Exod. 22:3), but inability to pay back would result in the selling of the thief into slavery until the amount of the theft had been earned for restitution. (For matters involving bailments and embezzlement, see below under *Torts*.)

4. Sex crimes. In common with other ANE law codes, the Mosaic law devotes much attention to matters pertaining to MARRIAGE and the preservation of a pure line of descent. But in sharp contrast to the pagan codes (Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite), no religious PROSTITUTION is allowed, and premarital or extramarital relations of every sort are dealt with as heinous crimes. Sodomy or homosexuality is to be punished by the death of both parties involved (Lev. 18:22, 29; 20:13); carnal relations with a beast required the execution of both the man and the animal (18:23; 20:15). All crimes of unchastity were regarded as grievous offenses against God, adversely affecting the whole community; failure to punish them would mean the moral decline of Israel to the degenerate level of the pagan Canaanites before them. This, in turn, would lead to their expulsion from the land of promise (18:24–29). Even the remarriage of a divorced wife who had been married to someone else constituted an abomination that would "bring sin upon the land" (Deut. 24:4).

In other words, sex relations were by no means to be regarded as the personal business of individuals; unchastity so deeply affected the status of a nation before God as to entail condemnation and curse if allowed to go unpunished. It should be carefully noted that this high concept of purity was no natural product of Hebrew thought; it went entirely counter to the viewpoint of the entire ancient world, and to the legal systems of Mesopotamians and Hittites preserved to us (which devoted much attention to regulations dealing with common prostitutes and temple harlots). The Mosaic standard can only be accounted for as imposed upon them by God, against their own natural bent and tendency —as the historical books and the book of Proverbs abundantly show.

Adultery. Extramarital intercourse between married persons, categorically forbidden in the seventh commandment (Exod. 20:14; the Hebrew verb is *nāap H5537),* was to be punished by

stoning to death both the man and the woman (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:24). Even prior to actual marriage a betrothed woman would commit adultery by having intercourse with another man; both would be subject to the death penalty (22:23–24). See also ADULTERY.

Fornication. Sexual intercourse between a man and an unmarried woman was forbidden, and fathers were especially enjoined from permitting their daughters to become prostitutes, "or the land will turn to prostitution and be filled with wickedness" (Lev. 19:29; evidently, the sex life of individuals was regarded as profoundly affecting the welfare of the entire community, rather than being a mere private matter). No standard penalty was set for fornication, however, and it appears that an Israelite who was not a priest could marry a repentant and reformed harlot (since such a marriage was expressly forbidden only to priests, 21:7). Fornication was a capital crime for a priest's daughter; she was to be burned at the stake as one who had disgraced her father (21:9). It should also be noted that God commended PHINEHAS, the grandson of AARON, for killing an Israelite who was involved in immoral behavior with a Midianite woman (Num. 25:7–15). See also FORNICATION.

Rape and seduction. If a man forcibly ravished an unmarried woman out-of-doors (away from the protection of the home), he was to be put to death, without any penalty attaching to the woman (Deut. 22:25–27). Rape of a woman who was married or betrothed was regarded as adultery and hence subject to the death penalty. If a man seduced a consenting virgin, not betrothed, then he was bound to pay her father the high indemnity of fifty shekels and to take her into his home as his legal wife (unless her father refused outright to permit him to marry her); moreover, he was not allowed to divorce her for the rest of his life (Exod. 22:16–17; Deut. 22:28–29).

Incest. Attempted marriage or intercourse between persons closely related to each other constituted a capital crime; Lev. 20:11 so specifies in the case of a son who has mated with his father's wife, or a father-in-law with his son's wife. Death by fire is indicated for one who mates with the mother of his wife (Lev. 20:14); all three are to be so executed. Also included as incest are relations between brother and sister, nephew and aunt, brother-in-law and sister-in-law (Lev. 20:11–12, 17, 19–21); an exception to the latter is in the case of levirate marriage (where a surviving brother marries the childless wife of a deceased brother, Deut. 25:5–10). Likewise incestuous is a union between a man and his mother-in-law (Deut. 27:23), and apparently also marrying two sisters (Lev. 18:18, a passage that some construe as a prohibition of all polygamy, understanding "sister" as equivalent to "another woman," according to a common Hebrew usage). Union between mother or stepmother and son, between grandparents and grandchildren, between a man and his half-sister, are added to the list (18:7–18).

Intercourse during menstruation. Since unwanted pregnancies were impossible during her monthly period, a woman was especially subject to male aggression at this time, and so stringent sanctions were set up to guard against promiscuity and defilement by blood (Lev. 18:19; 20:18). Even her husband was rendered ritually unclean for a week if he lay in bed with her (15:24), even though he had no intercourse with her.

5. Dishonor to parents. Not only was assault upon parents regarded as a capital offense (Exod. 21:15), but so also the verbal assault of a curse: "Anyone who curses his father or his mother must be put to death" (21:17; "his blood will be on his own head," adds Lev. 20:9). Furthermore, a son could become guilty of death if he proved to be consistently disobedient and willful, or even lazy and addicted to liquor. In such a case it was his own parents who had the responsibility of accusing him before the local court and the elders of the city (Deut. 21:18–20); all the adult males of the community

were then to stone him to death, in order that the young man's evil example not infect the others of his generation and thus bring about disaster and chaos upon them all. This drastic measure may not have been often resorted to, but the mere fact that it was included in the list of capital crimes undoubtedly served to enforce a sense of respect for parental authority, and for all duly constituted authority in Israelite society.

6. Kidnapping. The death penalty was prescribed for this offense as well: "Anyone who kidnaps another and either sells him or still has him when he is caught must be put to death" (Exod. 21:16; cf. Deut. 24:7, which specifies "one of his brother Israelites"). The motive for kidnapping was not the extortion of ransom, as it is in modern times, but rather for selling into slavery, presumably to an alien and heathen master.

7. Malicious prosecution and perjury. Anyone bringing a false accusation against another might, upon conviction of guilt, suffer the same penalty as would have been imposed upon the defendant, had he been proven guilty. The same was true of a witness for the plaintiff or for the prosecution; if he knowingly gave false testimony before the court, "then do to him as he intended to do to his brother" (Deut. 19:19). (Interestingly enough, this was the first law mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi: "If a man accused another man and brought a charge of murder against him, but has not proved it, his accuser shall be put to death.") The express purpose of this severe regulation was not only to deal appropriately with the offense itself, but to deter others in the community from thus misusing the courts to gratify their own malicious purposes (19:20). See LIE.

II. Torts. As indicated above, a tort is a personal wrong inflicted by one upon another, calling for a personal action at law rather than any kind of public prosecution. The case normally would be argued before the elders of the town, sitting as a panel of judges in the open space inside the city wall near its principal gate.

A. Property damage. The damage or destruction to a neighbor's vineyard, crops, or field because of straying cattle or sheep had to be compensated for by an equivalent amount of crops or produce (Exod. 22:5). Similarly, one who was responsible for the death of a neighbor's livestock would have to replace it with another of the same kind and quality (Lev. 24:18, 21). The same was true if a neighbor's animal fell into an uncovered pit and died; it was the landowner's responsibility to cover over any dangerous holes, so that even trespassing cattle might be protected from harm (Exod. 21:33–34). If the man at fault repaid the loss with money (silver bullion, usually), he was entitled to keep the dead animal for his own use. In the case of property damage through the accidental spread of fire from one man's land to another's, any crops thus destroyed would have to be repaid in kind (22:6).

B. Bailments. In cases where the plaintiff had entrusted personal property to another for safekeeping, a dishonest bailee was required to pay double indemnity if convicted of bad faith (Exod. 22:9). But if the property was stolen from the bailee by a thief, or the animal was killed by some predatory beast, then he simply had to repay 100 percent damages. He was obliged, however, to take a solemn oath before God that he had been entirely innocent in the matter in cases where the theft or damage occurred in the absence of any human observer (22:10-11).

C. Oppression of the underprivileged. Three classes of people were particularly subject to unfair

treatment and exploitation in ANE society: the widow, the fatherless orphan, and the foreigner (usually an immigrant from another race or tribe who had not obtained citizenship). It was difficult for them to obtain fair treatment in the community or before the courts when wealthy and influential citizens chose to exploit or oppress them. For this reason they came under the special protection of Yahweh himself, and those who afflicted them came under his judicial wrath and curse (Exod. 22:21–24); those guilty of oppressing them would eventually be removed, so that their own wives would become widows, and their children orphans. Their sympathy and consideration for sojourners was to be based upon their own past status as oppressed sojourners in the land of Egypt (23:9).

III. Punishments. The TORAH prescribed at least three modes of capital punishment: stoning, burning at the stake, and smiting with the sword. There is at least one reference to hanging (Deut. 21:22), in connection with an execution for crime, but it is so worded as to suggest that it was the corpse of the dead criminal which was suspended for public warning, rather than the actual mode of death ("If a man…is put to death and his body is hung on a tree"). In such a case the suspended body was not to be left hanging after sundown of the day of execution (21:23)—a provision that still held true on Good Friday, when the bodies of Jesus and the two thieves were taken down from their crosses (Jn. 19:31). Even in the case of enemy leaders slain in war, JOSHUA honored this rule and had the corpses of the five Canaanite kings taken down and buried on the same day they were hanged (Josh. 10:27; cf. also Gen. 40:19 and the references to gallows in Esth. 2:23 et al.).

A. Capital

1. By stoning. This was the most usual mode of capital punishment, and it usually involved the participation of representatives of the entire community, including the prosecuting witnesses themselves (Deut. 17:7). Those offenses which were so dealt with included the sacrificing of infants to Molech (Lev. 20:2–5), divination by spiritism and witchcraft (20:27), blaspheming the name of Yahweh (24:15, 16), violation of the Sabbath by performing manual labor (Num. 15:32–36), the worship of false gods (Deut. 17:2–7), prophesying in the name of a false god (13:1–5), rejection of parental authority (21:18–21), adultery (22:22–23), and the sin of violating a BAN (as in the case of ACHAN, Josh. 7:25). It was on a charge of blasphemy that STEPHEN was put to death by stoning (Acts 7:57–58).

2. By the sword. This was apparently the usual mode of inflicting the death penalty upon murderers, especially when apprehended by the nearest male relative of his victim, who had the responsibility of killing him on sight (Num. 35:19, 21). It was certainly the mode used in putting to death the population of a community that had fallen into idolatry (Deut. 13:15); it was first practiced in the case of the apostasy of the golden calf (Exod. 32:27), where large numbers of offenders were involved.

3. By burning. This mode was specified for all three involved in a case where a man had intercourse both with a mother and her daughter (Lev. 20:14). The same was true with the daughter of a priest who committed fornication (21:9).

B. Mutilation. This punishment is explicitly prescribed for a woman who violently lays hold of the male organ of her husband's adversary: her hand is to be cut off (Deut. 25:12). It is also clearly implied for all those who commit mayhem: "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,

burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise" (Exod. 21:24–25). Presumably the penalty was carried out by the injured party in the presence of the court, although this is not actually spelled out. It was obviously reserved for cases where the injury was inflicted on purpose, or by criminal negligence and recklessness. It should be noted that there was no requirement of retaliatory punishment upon the family of the offender, as there was in Babylonian or Assyrian law, for example. (Thus the Middle Assyrian Law Code, A 55, provides that the wife of a seducer be turned over to the father of the seduced girl that he might employ her for prostitution.) "Fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor children put to death for their fathers; each is to die for his own sin" (Deut. 24:16). Doubtless the same principle applied to cases of mayhem, although

Jebel el-Qafse (Arabic for "mountain of the precipice"; the highest protruding ridge in the foreground). This site lies outside of Nazareth and is traditionally known as the place where, according to Lk. 4:29, Jesus was taken to be stoned. (View to the N.) According to early rabbinic literature, stoning involved throwing someone from a precipice at least twice the height of the person being stoned (m. *Sanh.* 6:4).

it is nowhere made explicit; the offender personally bore the punishment for his crime and he alone.

C. Scourging. This penalty is mentioned as a form of public justice, although Deut. 25:1–3 does not specify what types of offense were to be so dealt with. The miscreant had to lie face down before the judges and receive the number of blows (not to exceed forty) of which he had been deemed worthy. It may be fairly inferred from Deut. 22:18 that the chastisement meted out to one who falsely accused his wife of unchastity prior to marriage consisted of public scourging; but otherwise there seems to be no specific offense for which scourging was reserved in the Torah. It was employed for domestic discipline, but even in the case of an offending slave the master was criminally liable if death resulted from the beating.

D. Imprisonment. This measure seems to have been restricted largely to the detention of accused persons awaiting trial; technically speaking, it was not rated as a punishment under the law of Moses. It seems quite clear that JOSEPH (in Egypt) was given an indefinite term of years in the royal prison, in lieu of the death penalty, which his master might normally have given him for the disgraceful charge leveled against him. In later times, however, the prophet JEREMIAH was consigned to a dungeon on a charge of treason (Jer. 37:15–16), but apparently without a formal hearing. The fact remains,

however, that there is no recorded instance of a sentence of imprisonment meted out to a convicted criminal in an Israelite court, in OT times at least. See PRISON.

E. Monetary damages and fines. These are frequently mentioned for noncapital offenses. Sometimes the amount to be paid to the injured party is well in excess of the damage itself, as in the case of stolen property. If the stolen animal was recovered alive, then the thief had to pay only double damages; but if he had killed it or sold it, he had to restore fourfold (Exod. 22:1–4). Or again, if a man falsely accused his bride of unchastity prior to marriage, he was not only subjected to public scourging, but he also had to pay back to his father-in-law the entire dowry of fifty shekels, plus fifty more (Deut. 22:18–19). Furthermore, he had to keep his slandered wife and never divorce her. There was also a provision that no guilt offering could be presented to the Lord unless full restitution first was made to the injured party (plus an additional fifth where the amount of the injury could be computed). But this seems to have been for the most part a voluntary act on the part of the repentant sinner, rather than any kind of criminal procedure.

Apart from these, however, the damages awarded were intended to cover the loss entailed without any punitive addition. In the case of a death from goring by a vicious bull, the surviving family was to be paid whatever they considered to be fair in the light of the circumstances (Exod. 21:30)—unless the bull had not previously been known to its owner to be dangerous. Or if a woman suffered a miscarriage from some assailant brawling with her husband, then the man responsible had to pay a fine agreed upon by the husband and the judges before whom the case was tried (21:22). The man who deflowered a virgin (that is to say, by seduction, since rape was a capital offense) had to pay her father the amount of dowry that would normally go to a son-in-law (apparently fifty shekels, according to Deut. 22:29), unless the father consented to his marrying her (Exod. 22:16–17). Monetary damages of unspecified amount were required for the offense of seducing a betrothed slave woman; in such a case she would be subjected to public scourging, and the man would be required to present a guilt offering before the Lord (Lev. 19:20–22).

F. Enslavement. This punishment was for a term of years not to exceed six in the case of an Israelite (Exod. 21:2). Enslavement was prescribed as the penalty for a thief who could not repay the twofold or fourfold damages required for the theft of livestock (22:3). Other types of enslavement were the result of civil actions rather than criminal, notably for the non-payment of debts (cf. 2 Ki. 4:1; Neh. 5:5; Amos 2:6). Voluntary servitude is discussed as a measure resorted to under economic pressures (Lev. 25:39–43). This topic also had nothing to do with criminal law. See SLAVE.

(See H. B. Clark, *Biblical Law,* 2nd ed. [1944]; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], ch. 10; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law* [1970]; R. Westbrook, *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law* [1988]; F. Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law* [1996]; A. Phillips, *Essays on Biblical Law* [2002].)

G.L.ARCHER

crimson. A vivid (or deep) red COLOR, similar to SCARLET (the latter usually refers to a brighter red). The term "crimson" is used a few times by the KJV and the NIV, primarily as a rendering of Hebrew *karmîl H4147* (2 Chr. 2:7, 14; 3:14; cf. also *tôlā H9355,* Isa. 1:18). It is found more frequently in the NRSV, which uses it also to render *šānî H9106* (e.g., Exod. 28:5–6; KJV and NIV, "scarlet"). The SEPTUAGINT renders both terms with *kokkinos G3132,* "scarlet"; Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 21.45 –46) described the color as a red shading from the dark rose into Tyrian PURPLE. The dye is extracted from

the body of female cochineal insects. The crimson cochineal of Armenia was preferred by the Hebrews after Sar-gon II (R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955–64], 4:102).

H. G. STIGERS

cripple. See LAME.

crisping pin. An instrument for curling the hair. It is the KJV rendering of Hebrew ḥārîṭ *H3038* ("bag, handbag, purse") in Isa. 3:22. The Hebrew word occurs also in 2 Ki. 5:23, where the KJV correctly translates with "bag."

Crispus kris'puhs (Κρίσπος *G3214,* from Lat. *Cris-pus,* "curled, curly"). A superintendent of the SYNAGOGUE in CORINTH and an early convert there with his family (Acts 18:8); he was one of the few Corinthians baptized by PAUL (1 Cor. 1:14). Despite his Latin name, he was not necessarily a PROSELYTE; a Rabbi Crispus is mentioned in the Palestinian TALMUD *(y. Yebamoth* 12:2). Most Corinthian Jews opposed the gospel, and synagogue preaching became impossible (Acts 18:4–8, 12); the conversion of a prominent synagogue official must have been striking. (This name occurs, mistakenly, for CRESCENS in some ancient versions of 2 Tim. 4:10.) See also RULER OF THE SYNAGOGUE; SOSTHENES.

A.F.WALLS

criticism. See BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

crocodile. According to many scholars, the name LEVIATHAN (*liwyātān H4293*) in Job 41:1 refers to the NILE crocodile *(Crocodilus niloticus;* the NEB uses "crocodile" also in 40:15 [see BEHEMOTH]). The passage is highly figurative, but contains several points that seem to confirm the identification and suggest personal knowledge: "Can you fill his skin with harpoons?" (41:7); "The sword that reaches him has no effect" (v. 26). The skin is indeed very hard to penetrate (cf. vv. 13, 15), and a wounded crocodile can make a tremendous disturbance (cf. v. 31). This chapter can hardly refer to another aquatic animal. (Some scholars, however, argue that various items in the description cannot apply to a crocodile and suggest such renderings as "sea dragon" and "whale"; cf. *FFB,* 73–74.)

In historic times the crocodile was found from the mouth to the source of the Nile, but powered river craft and then rifles quickly reduced its numbers and range. By a century ago it had almost gone from Egypt. Its former status N of Egypt is hard to determine, but Pleistocene remains have been

This Egyptian crocodile mummy measures 8 feet.

found in the Mount Carmel caves and some lived in the Zerka river, still known as Crocodile River, near Caesarea, until the first decade of the 20th cent. and perhaps rather later. Thus the crocodile

would be well-known to the Israelites before the exodus and familiar to at least some of the writers throughout the biblical era.

In EGYPT it was venerated as a symbol of sunrise. Crocodiles were sometimes reared and cared for in the temples, and embalmed when they died; because they fed on corpses and carrion they were regarded as utterly unclean by the Israelites. These two facts, and especially their place in pagan worship, could explain why crocodiles are not specifically mentioned. (A few scholars, including F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands, 2* vols. [1960–72], 1:200, see the Nile crocodile in Ezek. 29:3; most regard this dragon as figurative of Pharaoh.)

Although its average size is smaller today, an occasional individual reaches 16 ft. and may weigh up to a ton. It is entirely carnivorous, feeding at first on aquatic insects and then fish, later taking birds and mammals, both dead and alive. Crocodiles sometimes become man-eaters, but in some parts of Africa this habit does not develop. Throughout their range their numbers are decreasing, mainly because of hunting. See also LIZARD.

G. S. CANSDALE

crocus. A perennial herb with variously colored flowers. The word is used by some modern versions, such as the NIV and the NRSV, to render Hebrew *ḥăbaṣṣelet H2483* in Isa. 35:1 (this Hebrew term also occurs in Cant. 2:1, where it is traditionally rendered "rose [of Sharon]"). Other proposed renderings include "asphodel" (in the lily family), "narcissus," and "red tulip" (see *FFB,* 150–51). There were fifteen different types of crocuses known in PALESTINE, and four were found in the LEBANON area (where SOLOMON may have written the Song of Songs): the gray-blue *Crocus canclelatus damascenus;* the pale blue *C. zonatus;* the white and lilac, orange-throated *C. lyemalis;* and the orange yellow *C. vitellinus.*

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

crookbackt. KJV rendering of Hebrew *gibbēn H1492,* "hunchbacked" (Lev. 21:20).

crop. This English noun, when referring to a bird's enlarged gullet (craw), which was to be removed in sacrificial rites, occurs once as a rendering of Hebrew *mur<supâ H5263* (Lev. 1:16). Otherwise, the word (usually in the pl. "crops") occurs frequently in Bible versions with reference to the yield of cultivated plants and agricultural produce. Major crops in biblical culture were wheat, barley, grapes, olives, figs, and pomegranates (Deut. 8:8). Supplementary crops included products from the fields (e.g., flax, lentils, millet, sesame, and spelt or "rye"), from gardens (e.g., beans, chick peas, cucumbers, garlic, leeks, melons, and onions), and from trees (e.g., almonds, dates, pistachio nuts, and walnuts). See AGRICULTURE; HARVEST.

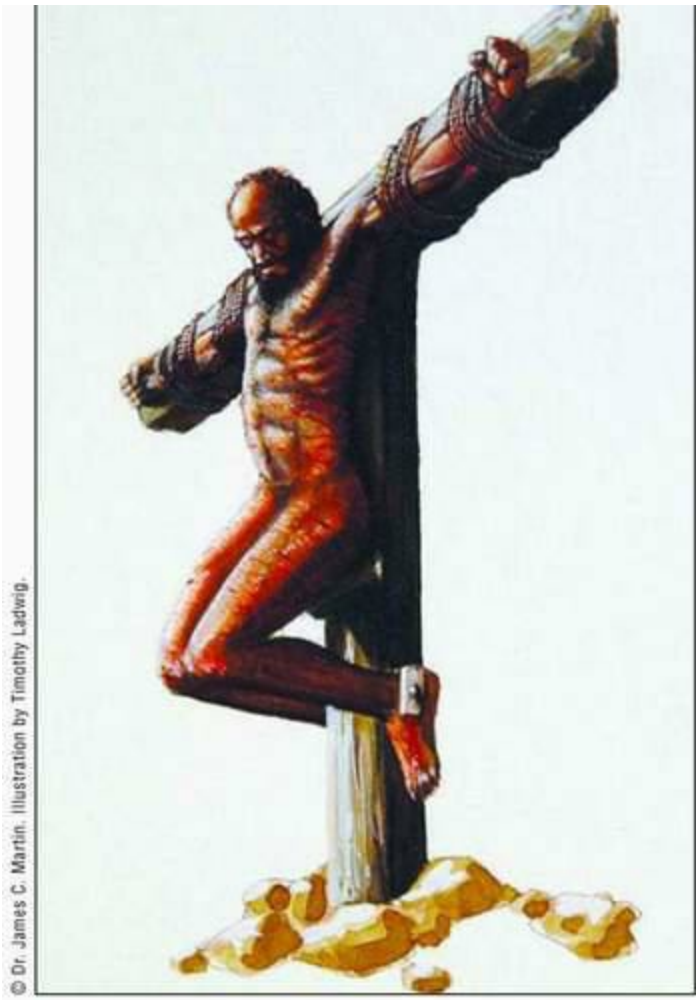
G.JENNINGS

cross, crossbearing. The Greek noun for "cross," *stauros G5089* (from the verb *histēmi G2705* [root *sta-*], "to stand") originally meant an "upright pointed stake" or "pale." Criminals were either tied to or impaled upon it. In the NT, however, the word apparently refers to a pole sunk into the ground with a crossbar fastened to it, thus giving it a "T" shape. Often the word "cross" referred only to the crossbar.

I. Background. Death by CRUCIFIXION originated somewhere in the E. ALEXANDER THE GREAT seems to have learned of it from the Persians. Rome borrowed the idea from the Phoenicians through

Carthage, and perfected it as a means of capital punishment. The Romans reserved crucifixion, however, for slaves, robbers, assassins, and the like, or for rebellious provincials. Only rarely were Roman citizens subjected to this kind of treatment (Cicero, *Verr.* 1.5.66). The tradition, therefore, which relates the beheading of PAUL and PETER'S crucifixion accords well with this distinction.

Upon receiving the sentence of death, the condemned person was flogged with a leather whip loaded with metal or bone so cruelly that it became known as the intermediate death. He was then required to shoulder the crossbar upon which he was to be extended and carry it to the place of his crucifixion (Plutarch, *Sera* 9.554A). He wore about his neck a placard naming his crime. At the execution site he was stripped and tied or nailed to the crossbar, which then was fastened to an upright



Artistic reconstruction of a T-shaped cross used in crucifixion. In certain cases the arms may have been attached to the cross beam by ropes.

post. A projecting peg gave the condemned a place to sit to relieve the strain on his arms. Death, therefore, was slow in coming, except when it was hurried by soldiers breaking the crucified man's legs (Jn. 19:31).

According to JOSEPHUS, crucifixion in Palestine was a most common sight (*Ant.* 17.10.10; 20.5.2; *War* 2.12.6; 2.13.2; 2.14.9; 5.11.1). The fact that two robbers were crucified with Jesus in Jerusalem tends to confirm this claim. The Jewish nation, unlike the Romans, did not crucify living persons. Frequently, however, they did suspend the bodies of the executed upon a tree to intensify their punishment and to expose them to public shame (Num. 25:4; Josh. 10:26; 1 Sam. 31:10). Men thus hanged were considered accursed by God (Deut. 21:22–23). Crucifixion, therefore, was

abhorrent to the Jew (1 Cor. 1:23; Gal. 3:13), but no less so to the Roman. Cicero wrote: "Let the very name of the cross be far away not only from the body of a Roman citizen, but even from his thoughts, his eyes, his ears" (*Rab. Perd.* 5).

II. Jesus' cross. In the NT, when used of Jesus, the word *stauros* has both a literal and a figurative meaning. Literally it meant that physical instrument by which Jesus was put to death. After being flogged (Matt. 27:26), Jesus was forced to carry his own cross (Jn. 19:17), probably a reference to the crossbar; though not a heavy piece of wood, the crossbar was nevertheless too heavy for him in his weakened condition (Mk. 15:21; cf. 2 Cor. 13:4). He was then fastened to it by nails (cf. Jn. 20:25) and hoisted with it up onto the upright stake already in place at the execution site (Matt. 27:35). Here he was left to die—a death Jesus himself had anticipated (20:18–19) and from which he could not escape (Mk. 15:32).

Figuratively Jesus' cross became the mark of God's redemptive action in history. It was symbolic of the means God employed for releasing into this world a power for good sufficiently strong to save sinners (1 Cor. 1:18), to break down otherwise insurmountable barriers between people, thus making it possible for them to live at one with one another (Eph. 2:16), to bring everything back into peace and harmony with God (Col. 1:20), to effect for humankind forgiveness of sins and a release from that which continually made sinners feel their guilt (2:14), and to free them forever from the cosmic forces of evil that everywhere surrounded them (2:15).

Since the cross was reserved for criminals and those accursed by God (see above), it symbolized, too, the suffering, shame, and humiliation Jesus endured for the human race (Heb. 12:2), indicating the depths to which he was willing to go to lift up the worst and lowest of men. Jesus' cross also stood as the symbol of God's unique purpose for him. That is to say, since dying was planned by God as Jesus' supreme mission (Acts 2:23; cf. Matt. 16:21 with 20:18–19 and Jn. 18:11), the cross, therefore, became a metonym for mission, a symbol both of the divine will for Jesus and of his voluntary submission to that will (Mk. 14:36; Phil. 2:8).

The so-called "seven words from the cross" form an important part of the Savior's self-disclosure. Taken together, they reveal the great strength and beauty of his character, and indicate in two instances the extent of his spiritual and physical distress. Three sayings belong to the early morning before the scene was enveloped in mysterious darkness. (1) The first, an intercessory prayer (Lk. 23:34), shows that Jesus perfectly exemplified his own ethical standard (Matt. 5:44) under the severest test. (2) The response to the robber's prayer (Lk. 23:43) reveals his unselfish pity, clear knowledge of what awaited him beyond death, and his ability to rescue the dying penitent from utter ruin and bring him directly to the region of enduring blessing. (3) The comments to his mother and the beloved disciple (Jn. 19:26–27) make plain that he did not fail in his duty and concern for his earthly parent: his last word about a human being expresses care for Mary.

After these sayings, there was a considerable interval during which the deepest suffering was experienced in silence. Then (4) the cry of spiritual desolation (Matt. 27:46; Mk. 15:34) disclosed in the words of Ps. 22:1 acute awareness that he no longer enjoyed a sense of God's fellowship. (5) The admission of physical need (Jn. 19:28) fulfilled Ps. 69:21 and betokened real physical distress. (6) The proclamation of success (Jn. 19:30) tells of satisfaction and relief, marking the completion of the work essential to salvation. (7) With the seventh saying (Lk. 23:46), the words of Ps. 31:5 preceded by "Father," Jesus entrusted his spirit to God. (See further R. G. Turnbull, *The Seven Words From the Cross* [1956].)

III. The Christian's cross: crossbearing. The cross was used also, both literally and metaphorically, with reference to the followers of Jesus. Because crucifixion was a frequent occurrence, and because the spectacle of condemned men carrying their crosses to the place of execution was common, Jesus' words about taking up the cross and following him (Matt. 16:24; cf. Jn. 12:26) must first of all have been interpreted literally. These words must have been understood as a prediction of the same physical means of death for Jesus' followers as for him (Matt. 23:34). This prediction was soon fulfilled in the early years of the church's history (cf. the tradition about Peter's crucifixion; see also Ignatius, *Rom.* 5.3; Hermas, *Vis.* 3.2.1).

Jesus also interpreted metaphorically the cross his followers must bear. It was for him the symbol of their self-sacrifice: "If anyone would come after me," he said, "he must deny [perhaps, 'lose sight of'] himself and take up his cross [Luke adds, 'daily'] and follow me" (Mk. 8:34–36). "To bear the cross," therefore, means a continuing loyalty to Christ along with a continuing death to self. It means "we must refuse, abandon, deny self altogether as a ruling or determining or originating element in us. It is to be no longer the regent of our action. We are no more to think 'What should I like to do?' but 'What would the Living One have me do?'" (*George MacDonald: An Anthology,* ed. C. S. Lewis [1947], no. 157).

If in the experience of Jesus the cross was a metonym for his mission, there is a sense then in which the cross also stands for that mission in life to which the Christian has been called. "To bear the cross," therefore, means further that the Christian is called upon to imitate Jesus' commitment to doing that particular task assigned to him by God and doing it completely (Lk. 14:27, noting esp. the word *heautou, "his own* cross"; cf. Jn. 17:4). The cross is a symbol, then, of life lived under Christian discipline, marked by voluntary obedience to the will of God.

The cross is also a symbol of the shame and humiliation that the Christian must be prepared to endure for the sake of Christ (Heb. 12:2 with 13:12, 13; cf. also Ignatius, *Trall.* 11.2; Hermas, *Vis.* 3.2.1). It is a symbol, further, of the destruction of everything that interposes itself between the sinner and God, whether it be an institutionalized religion, as in the case of Paul (Gal. 6:14), or material things, as in the case of Ignatius (*Rom.* 7.2), or whatever else there might be. The cross, too, is a symbol of that mystical union of the Christian with Christ, wherein one's old evil impulses are crucified with Christ, and new desires and powers are released in his life (Gal. 2:19–20; Rom. 6:6). See UNION WITH CHRIST.

The Christian's cross is always a voluntary thing. Unlike the convict, he never is compelled to carry it: "If anyone would," Jesus said (Mk. 8:34). Nor is there ever any hint that the Christian, like Christ, by bearing his cross acts redemptively or becomes accursed in behalf of others or thereby atones for another's sins. Yet there is a sense in which the Christian who bears the cross fills up (supplements) on his part the things lacking of the afflictions of Christ (Col. 1:24); that is, by continued acts of self-denial on the part of successive individuals through the years in the interest of God and humanity, the work Christ began continues even to the present. (See F. W. Dillistone, *Jesus Christ and his Cross* [1953]; L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* [1955]; id., *The Cross of Jesus* [1988].)

G F. HAWTHORNE
W.J. CAMERON

crow. See RAVEN.

crown. This English word is used, with more than one meaning, to render several Hebrew and Greek

terms.

I. Nonsymbolic use of crown. As used in NRSV Job 2:7 (*qodqōd H7721,* of the top of Job's head) and in KJV Exod. 25:11 et al. *(zēr H2425,* of a part of the ornamentation of the ARK OF THE COVENANT), "crown" merely connotes something of a particular form or shape, with no symbolic meaning.

II. Crown as a symbol of kingship. In the OT this use occurs in connection with both the theocratic rulers of Israel and the rulers of Gentile nations (for the latter, cf. *keter H4195,* Esth. 1:11; 6:8). In Ps. 21:3 Yahweh is spoken of as placing a crown *(ăṭārâ H6498)* of fine gold upon the head of DAVID, the theocratic king. According to 2 Sam. 12:30, the crown of the Ammonite king of RAB-BAH, weighing a talent of gold and set with a precious stone, was taken from his head and placed on the head of David, king of Israel, as a symbol of sovereignty over the country and people of AMMON. JEHOIADA the high priest placed the royal crown (*nēzer H5694*) upon the head of JOASH, the seven-year old legitimate heir to the throne, which had been usurped by ATHALIAH (2 Ki. 11:12 = 2 Chr. 23:11).

III. Human beings crowned as God's image-bearers. In Ps. 8:5 human beings, as the representatives of God in ruling all the created existences of the world, are spoken of as crowned *(āṭar H6497)* with glory and honor. The passage means that ideally this is man's true position and function in God's creation—he is crowned king to rule the world under God. While the Psalm speaks of "man" (*ĕnôš H632,* also "son of man," *ben-ādām H1202 + H132)* generically and ideally, the NT shows that the absolute and ultimate fulfillment of this truth is in Jesus Christ, the truly ideal and perfect Man (Heb. 2:6–9).

IV. Symbol of rule in the NT. In the NT the term *diadēma G1343* is used twice to mean a symbol of evil ruling powers, demonic or anti-Christian (Rev. 12:3; 13:1), and once of Jesus Christ (19:12; NRSV, "many diadems"). Though the significance of "diadem" is usually royal or ruling power, it may be that in 19:12 this idea is combined with that of a crown of victory.

V. Christ's crown of thorns. Roman soldiers are said to have "twisted together a crown [*stephanos G5109]* of thorns" (Matt. 27:29; Mk. 15:17; Jn. 19:2). What material or kind of tree or bush was used is unknown. The crown of thorns evidently

Dating to c. 3200 B.C., this copper crown used in religious ceremonies was discovered above the W shore of the Dead Sea in the area of En Gedi.

served a double function as intended by the soldiers: to mock and humiliate Jesus with a travesty of royal honor, and to increase the physical torture that was inflicted upon him. One cannot suppose that the crown of thorns was gently laid upon his head; it was doubtless forced down with a cruel violence that emphasized their contempt for him. See also CROWN OF THORNS.

VI. The crown as symbol of victory. In the NT the usual word for this concept is *stephanos*. The background of the concept is the Greek athletic contests, in which the victor was crowned with a garland or wreath of foliage. This crown had no intrinsic value; its worth consisted solely in the honor of victory that it symbolized and recognized (cf. a ribbon or medal given to the winner in an athletic contest today). This idea was lifted by the NT into the terminology of religion, and the crown became the symbol of victory over the forces and powers of evil. A crown was given to the rider of a white horse (Rev. 6:2), and the idea of victory in conflict is prominent: "he was given a crown, and he rode out as a conqueror bent on conquest." Several texts speak of the Christian's crown: "Be faithful, even to the point of death, and I will give you the crown of life" (2:10); "Hold on to what you have, so that no one will take your crown" (3:11). Near the end of his earthly life the apostle PAUL

asserted that "the crown of righteousness" would be given to him by the Lord "on that day," and that the same crown would be given also to all faithful Christians (2 Tim. 4:8). The "crown of life" and "crown of righteousness" are not to be thought of as separate or distinct glories to be received by the Christian at the Lord's coming; rather, both signify absolute and total victory, the "crown of life" emphasizing the idea of victory over death, and the "crown of righteousness" stressing the idea of victory over sin.

J. G. Vos

crown of thorns. The soldiers who were at the CRUCIFIXION placed on Jesus' head a wreath made of thorns (Matt. 27:29; Mk. 15:17; Jn. 19:2, 5). They may have used what is now known as the Syrian Christ-Thorn (*Zizyphus spina Christi*), which is a 12-ft. shrub, having two large, sharp recurved thorns at the bottom of each leaf. More likely, the reference is to the *Paliurus spina Christi* (the Christ Thorn), a dwarf, easier-to-pick shrub, 4–8 ft. high. The branches are easy to plait or curve, and the thorns are stiff, spiky, and in pairs of unequal length. Another possibility is the *Poterium spinosum,* found throughout Palestine; its thorns "are numerous and cover the bush completely" (*FFB,* 185). The "crown of thorns" is certainly not *Euphorbia splendens,* which is grown under this name today. See also THORN.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

crucible. A melting pot, probably made of POTTERY that can resist great heat, for refining metals like silver and gold. This word is used to render Hebrew *maṣrēp H5214* (Prov. 17:3; 27:21). See REFINE.

crucifixion. A method of torture and execution that consisted of nailing or binding a person to a CROSS. Having originated in the E, this method was practiced by the Medes and Persians, then passed to the W among the Greeks and especially the Romans.

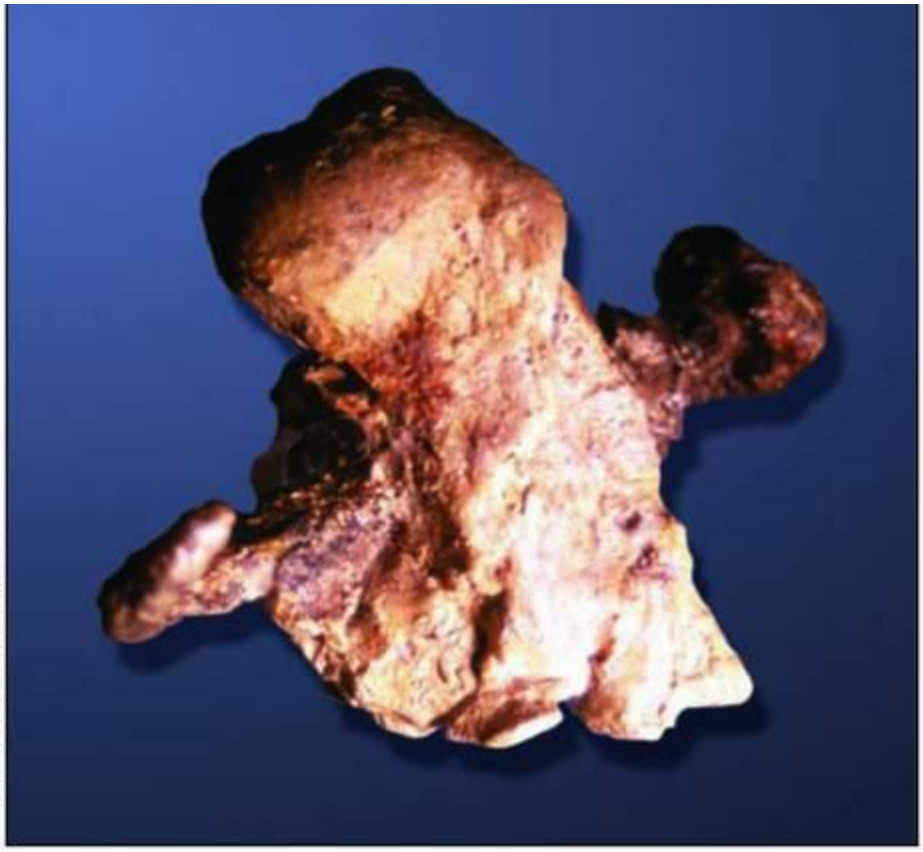
I. Crucifixion as a means of torture. The cross consisted of a perpendicular stake with a crossbeam either at the top of the stake or shortly below the top. The height of the stake was usually little more than the height of a man. A block or a pin was sometimes driven into the stake to serve as a seat for the condemned person, giving partial support to his body. Sometimes also a step for the feet was fixed to the stake. Victims of crucifixion did not usually die for two or three days, but this was determined by the presence or absence of the seat (*sedile* or *cornu*) and the foot rest, for a person suspended by his hands lost blood pressure quickly, and the pulse rate was increased.

Usually the victim had been severely scourged before crucifixion took place. Orthostatic collapse through insufficient blood circulating to the brain and the heart would follow shortly. If the victim could ease his body by supporting himself with the seat and footrest, the blood could be returned to some degree of circulation in the upper part of his body. To fix the hands to the crossbeam (*patibulum*), either cords or nails and cords were used; sometimes the feet were nailed also. When it was desired to bring the torture to an end, the victim's legs were broken below the knees with a club. It was then no longer possible for him to ease his weight, and the loss of blood circulation was accentuated. Coronary insufficiency followed shortly.

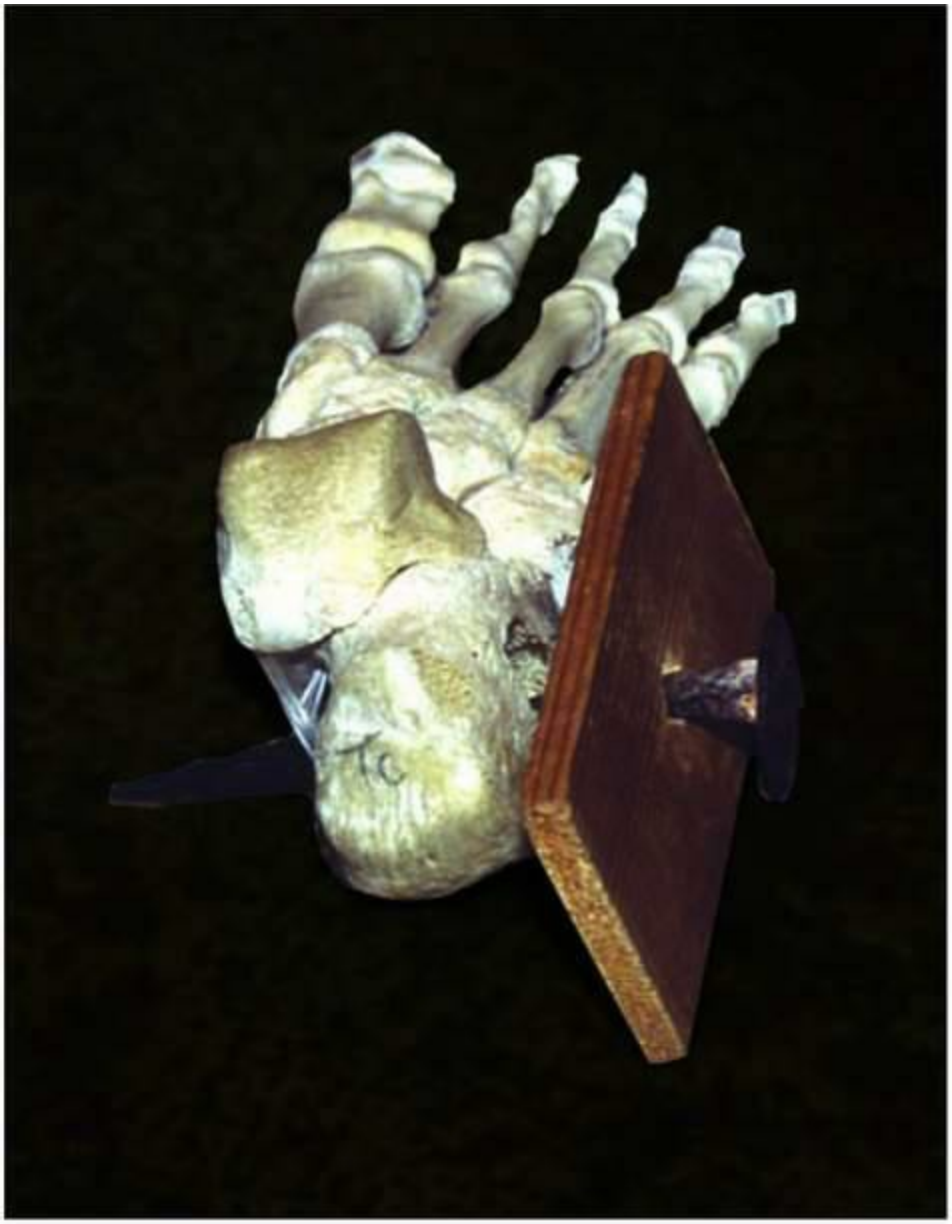
The victim's offense was usually published by a crier who preceded him to the place of execution. Sometimes the charge was written on a tablet (called *titulus*), which the condemned man himself had to carry. Or if he carried the crossbeam, as was sometimes done, someone else bore the tablet with its charge before him. Later the charge or *titulus* was fixed to the cross at the time of

execution.

II. Crucifixion among the Romans. The Romans were the chief practitioners of this form of execution. There was no uniform method of fastening the victim to the cross, since Roman law authorized crucifixion only for slaves and degraded persons. AUGUSTUS Caesar boasted that he had captured 30,000 fugitive slaves and had crucified all who had not been claimed. Large numbers of people were crucified in mass executions. Over 6,000 of the rebellious slaves who had followed Spartacus were caught by Crassus and crucified beside the Appian Way from Rome to Capua; and, as was customary, their bodies were left to rot as a



Remains of a heel bone with embedded nail. Discovered in a suburb N of Jerusalem, this is to date the only skeletal example of a crucified person. The victim was a man around 25 years of age, and the Aramaic inscription on the ossuary (bone box) identified him as *yhwḥnn bn ḥgqwl* (Johanan ben Ḥagqol).



Reconstruction of how the nail was fixed to the heel in crucifixion (presumably, the victim's feet were placed on either side of the upright).

warning against such insurrection. Julius CAESAR caught the pirates who had formerly held him captive for ransom and crucified them all, having cut their throats first as an act of kindness. In Palestine the Romans crucified 2,000 followers of the rebel Judas, who had captured the city of Sepphoris and operated from it throughout Galilee until his forces were killed or captured by Varus and his Syrian legions (see JUDAS #4).

Martial described the spectacle of a robber's being crucified in the arena for the amusement of the citizens of Rome. NERO crucified many Christians, blaming them for the burning of the imperial city. ORIGEN reported that PETER was crucified head down. Emperor after emperor persecuted the Christians, crucifixion being the means of death for many of them. Finally under Constantine, because of his vision and the celestial sign of the cross, crucifixion was abolished throughout the empire as a means of punishment.

III. The crucifixion of Christ. The ministry of Jesus ended in crucifixion. The duration of his ministry has been thought by some to have lasted three years (because of the Passovers supposedly mentioned in Jn. 2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 13:1). The feast of the Jews in Jn. 5:1, however, was probably not a

PASSOVER. The Synoptic Gospels mention only one Passover, which would give a ministry of less than two years. The two-Passover theory would add a year to the public ministry; and according to the Julian calendar, it placed the date of the crucifixion as April 7, A.D. 30. See CHRONOLOGY (NT) II.E; JESUS CHRIST V.F.

The cross that Jesus bore (Jn. 19:17), and which was subsequently carried for him by SIMON of CYRENE (Matt. 27:32), was probably only the crossbeam (*patibulum*), customarily borne by the condemned man to the place of execution, where the stake upon which it was to be fixed had already been set in the ground. Because the charge (*titulus*) was ordered to be placed over the cross, it has been deduced that the crossbeam did not rest on the top of the stake but intersected it a short distance below the top. The height of Jesus' cross has been estimated from the length of the reed (hyssop, Jn. 19:29). The reed was probably about 3 ft. in length, and thus the height of the cross was probably 7–9 ft.

Jesus was offered a drink, a wine mixed with myrrh, which was possibly intended as an anesthetic, but this he refused (Mk. 15:23). He was crucified at the third hour (15:25), which was probably about 9:00 A.M., and he died at the ninth hour (15:34, 37), about 3:00 P.M. His legs were not broken as was customary, because he was found already to have died (Jn. 19:32–33). The Jews had requested the hastening of his death because it appeared he would linger until the next day, which was the SABBATH and also the preparation for the Passover (Lk. 23:54). John records the spear thrust into his side to guarantee death. Crucifixion was never practiced by the Jews; because of OT law (Deut. 21:23), the bodies of those crucified were not allowed to remain on the cross over night. The charge (*titulus)* specified Jesus' crime, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews" (Jn. 19:19).

Death on a cross was judged by the Jews as a CURSE (Deut. 21:23). Thus Jesus' crucifixion became to them a most serious obstacle to the acknowledgment of Jesus as the MESSIAH. The cross, however, became the universally recognized symbol of Christianity, being acknowledged from the beginning of Christianity as the heart of the gospel (Gal. 6:14). (See M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross* [1977]; A. E. McGrath, *The Mystery of the Cross* [1988]; G. S. Sloyan, *The Crucifixion of Jesus: History, Myth, Faith* [1995].) See also CROSS; DEATH OF CHRIST.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

cruse. This English term, meaning "a small earthenware jar (for holding water, oil, etc.)," is used by the KJV to render several Hebrew words, especially *ṣappaḥat H7608,* which seems to refer to the two-handled traveler's flask or canteen (1 Sam. 26:11–12, 16; 1 Ki. 19:6). It was ill-suited to contain olive oil, but perhaps necessary in the case of the poverty-stricken widow (1 Ki. 17:12; 14, 16). See also POTTERY.

J. REA

cry. This English word is often used as a rendering of various terms, such as the Hebrew verb *ṣāaq H7590* (e.g., Gen. 27:34) and the Greek noun *kraugē G3199* (e.g, Matt. 25:6). The "cry" may or may not be uttered; it may express the anguish of the soul under dire and prolonged stress or burden and the lifting of perpetual petition in search of fulfillment, deliverance, or the answer to the riddles of life (cf. Heb. 5:7). At times the idea of prayer was uppermost, as in the cry of Jesus from the CROSS (*anaboaō G331,* Matt. 27:46). The two terms "pray" and "cry" are used interchangeably in Ps. 39:12: "Hear my prayer, O LORD, listen to my cry for help [*šawâ H8784*]." Many emotions and attitudes are expressed by the various forms of "cry," such as distress (Exod. 2:23; Matt. 27:46), fear (Matt.

14:26; Lk. 9:39), joy (Isa. 54:1; Gal. 4:27), confidence (1 Sam. 7:8; 2 Chr. 20:9), doubt or uncertainty (Exod. 17:4; Ezek. 9:8), triumph (Jdg. 7:20; Jn. 12:13), appeal (1 Sam. 7:9; Jas. 5:4), agony (Job 30:24; Matt. 27:46), sorrow (1 Sam. 15:11; Isa. 65:14; Mk. 15:34), petition (Matt. 9:27).

H.J. S. BLANEY

cryptogram. See ATBASH.

crystal. A homogeneous solid bounded by surfaces, usually flat, arranged on a definite plan that is an expression of the internal arrangement of the atoms. Crystals are formed by the process of crystalization of minerals from the gaseous or liquid state or from solution. The mineral quartz (silicon dioxide) in forms having a characteristic shape, bounded by flat surfaces, was observed by the ancient Greeks. Because of the transparency of the mineral (cf. *krystallizō G3222,* Rev. 21:11) and its common occurrence in veins, it was thought to have been formed by freezing of water in the intensely cold Alps. It was known to the Greeks as *krystallos G3223,* meaning "clear ice" (cf. Ezek. 1:22; Rev. 4:6).

Many other crystals, bounded by flat faces, were known to the ancients, and to these the general term of crystal was given (Rev. 22:1). The similarity in appearance of GLASS to quartz and other transparent crystals was also known (cf. Job 28:17 NEB mg.). Quartz crystals are usually hexagonal prisms determined by forms giving the appearance of a pyramid. The purest and transparent form is known as rock crystal and is sometimes used in jewelry. The presence of small amounts of manganese, or possibly organic matter, results in a violet or purple transparent variety called AMETHYST, which is used as a precious stone. (Cf. H. H. Read, *Rutley's Elements of Mineralogy,* 26th ed. [1970], 73, 438–41.) See also JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

D. R. BOWES

Cub kuhb. Also Kub. Transliteration of Hebrew *kûb (H3915* not in NIV), a place mentioned only once (Ezek. 30:5 ASV; the KJV has "Chub" and identifies "Put" as "Libya"). On the basis of the SEPTUAGINT (which however seems to give a list of different countries), the Hebrew text is usually emended to read *lûb H4275,* that is, LIBYA. Cf. Nah. 3:9, where Libyans are referred to along with CUSH and PUT, as here.

cubit. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES I.A.

cuckoo. The KJV rendering (some editions have "cuckow") of Hebrew *šaḥap H8830,* referring probably to the sea GULL (*Larus*) or the related tern (*Sterna fluviatilis*), although some scholars think the word means BAT; it is included in a list of unclean birds (Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15). Others have suggested that the term *barbur H1350* refers to the lark-heeled cuckoo (1 Ki. 4:23 JB; the NIV and other versions have the generic "fowl"). The European cuckoo passes through Palestine, and the larger, more conspicuous great spotted cuckoo nests there in small numbers, laying its eggs only in nests of the hooded crow. (Cf. *FFB,* 39, 71.) See also OWL.

G. S. CANSDALE

cucumber. Rendering of Hebrew *qiššuââ H7991,* which occurs only once (Num. 11:5). Some translations, such as the NRSV, render Hebrew *miqšâ H5252* with "cucumber field" (Isa. 1:8; Jer. 10:5; NIV, "field of melons, melon patch"). Cucumbers were grown and were eaten raw as a salad.

The market gardeners would have a roughly built shelter on their cucumber acreage so that a farm laborer could be "on guard" to prevent stealing; this lodge would fall to pieces at the end of the season (thus the desolation mentioned in Isa. 1:8).

Cucumbers grow well where there is water. Hence, in Palestine they are found near Lake GENNESARET, and S of BETHSAIDA. Together with MELONS, cucumbers were much grown in EGYPT with NILE water irrigation. The Israelites obviously ate and liked the cucumbers, and moaned when they could not have them in the wilderness (Num. 11:5). The main cucumber grown was similar to the one seen today, *Cucumis sativus,* known since early biblical days. BREAD and cucumber was food for the poor. The biblical reference, however, is probably to a hairy cucumber still found growing in the market gardens near Cairo, called *Cucumis chate.* This is more of a melon, larger and sweeter, given the name "The King of Cucumbers." Some believe the word refers to the *Cucumis melo* (muskmelon). (Cf. *FFB,* 112–13).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

cult. See WORSHIP.

culture. See RACE; SOCIETY.

cumi. See TALITHA CUMI.

cummin. Also *cumin.* This term is found in two biblical passages as a rendering of Hebrew *kammōn H4021* (Isa. 28:25, 27, which describes the planting and harvesting of this herb) and Greek *kyminon G3248* (Matt. 23:23, which speaks of the PHARISEES' tithing small things but neglecting important matters). An aromatic annual herb, *Cuminum cymi-num*(of the *Umbelliferae* family), it is valued for its flavor. It is a Mediterranean plant, which grew 2 ft. tall in Palestine from the earliest days (in Europe, it grows only 9 in. high). The seeds are used to spice stewed meat, and to give flavor to bread. It is a stimulant. In the E, cummin seeds are said to have a medicinal value, particularly for the eyes. In the Middle Ages in Great Britain, cumin (as it was then called) was a cheap spice. In India, it was used as a flavoring of curry powder. Along with cummin, Isa. 28 mentions *qeṣaḥ H7902,* usually rendered DILL (NRSV) or CARAWAY (NIV), but this word may refer to the black cummin (i.e., the nutmeg flower, *Nigella sativa;* cf. *FFB,* 114–15, 153–54).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Cun kuhn (כּוּן *H3923*). TNIV Kun. An Aramean town located in the northern part of ZOBAH (1 Chr. 18:8). Even though the parallel passage reads BEROTHAI (2 Sam. 8:8), this does not mean that they are necessarily the same place. DAVID took bronze booty from a number of the towns in this area. Some scholars identify Cun with modern Ras Baalbek, about 55 mi. NE of Beirut. (See Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible,* rev. ed. [1979], 296, 433.)

G.GIACUMAKIS,JR.

cuneiform. This term (meaning "wedge-shaped"; cf. Lat. *cuneus,* "wedge") refers to a type of script used by the Sumerians, after the earlier pictographic period, to represent the syllables and nonphonetic determinatives of their agglutinative language (see SUMER). From them it was borrowed by the Babylonians and Assyrians to put into writing their own language, Akkadian, employing the

same syllabic values and determinatives, but often employing Sumerian words for the sake of brevity (rather than spelling them out as they were actually pronounced in their own language—much as one uses such Latin abbreviations as "etc." and "e.g."). See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. The same general technique was used also by the Elamites, who adapted the Sumerian characters to their own totally different language. See ELAM (COUNTRY). Some centuries later the HITTITES followed suit, incorporating both Sumerian and Akkadian words for convenience' sake, even though they doubtless pronounced them with the equivalent words in Hittite.

This terra-cotta octagon, recounting in cuneiform the achievements of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.), was buried at one corner of a temple-tower (ziggurat). In 1857, four scholars were invited to submit independent translations of this document to a learned committee. Their versions were sufficiently similar to confirm that the cuneiform script had finally been deciphered.

The cuneiform style of writing adapted well to the inscribing of CLAY tablets, which received the wedge-marks while soft and moist, but became as hard as stone after being fired in the kiln. About the mid-2nd millennium, the Canaanites of UGARIT adopted the cuneiform technique, but evolved a genuine alphabet of thirty letters, largely expressing the consonants only and omitting the vowels. It should be noted that during this period Babylonian cuneiform enjoyed the status of an international mode of communication, and much diplomatic correspondence was carried on between nations to whom Babylonian was a foreign tongue (e.g., the TELL EL-AMARNA letters between Canaanite kings and the court of Egypt).

Lastly, in the 7th cent. the Persians developed a cuneiform system of their own, consisting of forty-two signs, thirty-six of which were phonetic, all consisting of open syllables (i.e., syllables ending in a vowel), even though in actual practice some of these vowels were dropped. For example,

what was spelled *da-ha-ya-a-u-sa* was pronounced *dah-yaus.* The shapes of these syllabic signs bear no demonstrable resemblance to the equivalent syllables in Akkadian, and so it looks as if they were largely invented by the Persians and Medes themselves. (Cf. C. Walker, *Cuneiform* [1987]; M. T. Larsen, "What They Wrote on Clay," in *Literacy and Society,* ed. K. Schousboe and M. T. Larsen [1989], 121–48; J.-J. Glassner, *The Invention of Cuneiform: Writing in Sumer* [2003].) See also LANGUAGES OF THE ANE; WRITING.

G.L.ARCHER

cunning. This word (from Middle English *cunnen,* "to know") is used by the KJV often in the sense of "skillful" or the like. It occurs prominently in the latter part of the book of Exodus, especially in the expression "cunning work," which renders Hebrew *maăśēh ḥošēb* (*H5126 + H3110,* lit., "work of the ingenious [weaver]," Exod. 26:1 et al.). The word is used elsewhere to render other Hebrew terms, such as the participle of the verb *yāda H3359,* "to know"; for example, DAVID is described as "a cunning player on an harp" (1 Sam. 16:16, cf. v. 18). An unfavorable sense, which is the usual meaning of the word today, is applicable in Eph. 4:14 (Gk. *kybeia G3235;* cf. also the adverb in the phrase "cunningly devised fables," 2 Pet. 1:16). The word occurs less frequently in modern versions (the NIV uses it only in Pss. 64:6; 83:3; 2 Cor. 11:3; Eph. 4:14).

J.H SKILTON

cup. A drinking vessel of POTTERY or METAL. The most common Hebrew term is *kôs H3926* (e.g., Gen. 40:11), but other words are also used, especially *gābîa H1483* (e.g., Gen. 44:12). The standard Greek term is *potērion* ***G4539*** (e.g., Matt. 10:42). The usual form of a cup in Bible times was a shallow, handleless bowl made of a variety of materials: gold, silver, bronze, pottery, etc. (cf. *ANEP,* nos. 451 and 604, for bas-reliefs showing drinking from royal wine cups).

The word *cup* is often used figuratively. It stands, especially in Psalms, for prosperity or blessing experienced in one's earthly walk, the believer being thought of as receiving this portion from the hand of the Lord, as the guest receives the wine cup from the hand of his host (Pss. 16:5; 23:5; 116:13). Conversely, the wicked receive a cup of punishment from an offended God (Pss. 11:6; 75:8), even as Christ drank the cup of suffering in our place (Matt. 20:22–23; Mk. 10:38; 14:36; Lk. 22:42;Jn. 18:11). The guilty, Israelites and heathen alike, must drain the cup of God's wrath to the dregs (Isa. 51:17, 22; Ezek. 23:31–34; Hab. 2:16; Rev. 14:10; 16:19), which is equivalent to his sword of judgment (Jer. 25:15–28). The cup also represents drunkenness and other illicit pleasures (Prov. 23:31; Jer. 51:7; Rev. 17:4; 18:6). The expression "cup of consolation" (Jer. 16:7 NRSV) stems from the oriental custom of sending to bereaved friends food and drink for their mourning feast (cf. Prov. 31:6–7).

The "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. 10:16; NIV, "cup of thanksgiving") is so named from the *kôs habbĕrākâ* of the Jewish PASSOVER. PAUL refers to the communion cup, also called "the cup of the Lord" (v. 21), over which the blessing is said prior to the supper which commemorates the Lord's death. The cup from ancient times signifies fellowship. Thus, when the believer takes the cup of the Lord, he enters into fellowship with him. The "cup of demons," mentioned in the same verse in opposition to the cup of the Lord, may be understood similarly. Paul states that one cannot have fellowship with Christ and with Satan's forces at the same time. At heathen feasts the cup was sacred to the name of the deity in whose honor the feast was being held. At the communion service, the cup is sacred to the name of the Redeemer who instituted its practice (Matt. 26:27; Mk. 14:23–24; Lk. 22:20). See LORD'S SUPPER.

cupbearer. This English term (also "butler" in the KJV) renders Hebrew *mdšqeh H5482* (lit., "one who gives to drink"). The cupbearer was an important official who served wine to the king (cf. Gen. 40:21, which says that the cupbearer "put the cup into Pharaoh's hand"). Due to the ever-present possibility of intrigue, the position was one of great responsibility and trust. The officer's chief duty was to guard the king's person.

The first mention of a cupbearer is in the JOSEPH story (Gen. 40:2); since the man is called "chief cupbearer," several must have held a similar position under him. Some Egyptian cupbearers seem to have been of high political power; the tomb paintings of Egypt show these officials at work. Under SOLOMON, this office was apparently very important, for his cupbearers highly impressed the QUEEN OF SHEBA (1 Ki. 10:5; 2 Chr. 9:4). NEHE-MIAH was cupbearer to the Persian king ARTA-XERXES I Longimanus (Neh. 1:11), and he tells us that after he "took the wine and gave it to the king" (2:1), the two had a conversation involving new political action. The office of cupbearer was thus highly influential. The international nature of the Persian court is seen in this high elevation of a man who came from a small conquered nation.

The nature of this office obviously allowed intimate contact with the king and queen. Whether the official was also a EUNUCH is debatable. (Some important MSS of the LXX have *eunouchos* "eunuch" rather than *oinochoos* "cupbearer" in Neh. 1:11.) Persian reliefs picture the high position of the cupbearer and indicate he was probably a eunuch, at least from the time of XERXES. The RABSHAKEH of SENNACHERIB (2 Ki. 18:17) may also have been his cupbearer.

R. E. HAYDEN; J. L. KELSO

curds. Fresh milk, churned in goatskins or clay vessels, with residue from previous batches, formed curds that were part of the regular ANE diet. The KJV has several references to BUTTER as a rendering of Hebrew *ḥemâ H2772* (Gen. 18:8; Jdg. 5:25; 2 Sam. 17:29; et al.), suggesting that people in the biblical period were well acquainted with it. The term, however, refers to curdled milk, comparable to yogurt (cf. the verb *qāpā H7884,* hiphil "to curdle," Job 10:10). Thus later versions prefer the rendering "curds," though "butter" is sometimes retained (e.g., Prov. 30:33 NIV); "cream" is also a possible translation (Job 20:17; 29:6 NIV). Since some adjacent countries knew and used butter (e.g., the HIT-TITES), and with their sheep, goats, and cows were butter makers, it seems probable that the Hebrews also had it. The mere action of transporting milk from place to place would produce churned butter, and the churn-type vessels known from archaeology would be ideal for the purpose.

Even today, Arabs produce curds (Arabic *leben*) by churning somewhat fermented milk, resulting in a kind of butter and buttermilk. This is put into cloth bags, and the water is squeezed out, leaving the *leben.* Thick curds (Arabic *rauba*) may be made by boiling the *leben* and hardening it into granulated cakes, which may later be pounded up and mixed with water to reconstitute *leben.* This product is much used by desert BEDOUIN, during the non-milking season of the herds. (Cf. H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert* [1959], 41, 192, 402; D. and P. Brothwell, *Food in Antiquity* [1969], 50–52.)

M. H. HEICKSEN

curse. The expression (as by prayer) of a wish that evil fall on someone. This English term (as a noun or as a verb) can be used to render a variety of words, such as the Hebrew verbs *ārar H826* (e.g.,

Gen. 3:14) and *qdlal H7837* (e.g., Gen. 8:21), and the Greek verbs *kataraomai G2933* (e.g., Matt. 25:41) and *kakologeō G2800* (e.g., Matt. 15:4). (Cf. *NIDOTTE,* 4:491–93; *NIDNTT,* 1:413–18.) See also ACCURSED; ANATHEMA; BLASPHEMY.

I. Primitive and pagan beliefs. Primitive people believed that one could pronounce a curse on his enemy and that deity or superhuman beings could be enlisted to execute it. By this means all kinds of disaster, sickness, and hardship could be inflicted. Crop failure, mortality in herd and flock, defeat in battle, and general misfortune were believed possible by curses or spells. Indeed, the validity of pronounced blessings and the antithesis of cursing in early Bible history is amazing. NOAH pronounced a curse on CANAAN and a blessing on SHEM and JAPHETH (Gen. 9:25–27), and subsequent history confirmed his invocations. ISAAC proclaimed distinctive blessings on his twin sons, and added a curse to anyone who cursed JACOB (27:27–29). The most elaborate of these paternal blessings was that of Jacob on his twelve sons (49:1–27), "giving each the blessing appropriate to him" (v. 28). The eminence of virtue in ancestral blessings held by Jacob (v. 26) shows by contrast the contemporary respect for curses. It was believed that the blessing and the curse released a power that effectively determined the character and destiny of the recipient (27:12). See also BLESS.

BALAAM, diviner, soothsayer, and prophet, was well reputed in the art of blessing and cursing (Num. 22:6). He lived near the upper EUPHRATES where he was surely influenced by Babylonia, long famed in the art of DIVINATION. Consequently, when Transjordania was threatened with invading Israelite hordes, BALAK king of MOAB sent for Balaam. The sword had failed, so a curse was sought from the king of cursers, who had special access to superhuman powers. Divine interference blasted Balak's hopes, causing Balaam to bless instead of curse Israel (Num. 22–24; Deut. 23:5). Later, GOLIATH "the Philistine cursed David by his gods" (1 Sam. 17:43). And SHIMEI, of SAUL'S house, cursed DAVID in his flight from Jerusalem when threatened by ABSALOM (2 Sam. 16:5–14). Both imprecations proved futile against God's elect. (See T. G. Crawford, *Blessing and Curse in Syro-Palestinian Inscriptions of the Iron Age* [1992].)

II. Curses of the covenant. As MOSES was concluding his liturgies and exhortations, he declared triumphantly, "Be silent, O Israel, and listen! You have now become the people of the LORD your God" (Deut. 27:9). Therefore, he said, they were to obey God's laws, and thereby receive his blessing—but disobedience would invite the curse. He then programmed a cultic ceremony, to be inaugurated at SHECHEM, to dramatize Israel's COVENANT responsibilities. Israel was to make the choice between the goals of "a blessing and a curse" (11:26). At Shechem six tribes were to "stand on Mount Ger-izim to bless the people," and six were to "stand on Mount Ebal to pronounce curses" (27:12–13; see 11:29). The blessings are not listed here, but twelve curses representing the twelve tribes are spelled out, after each of which all the people were to respond, "Amen!" (27:15–26).

The curses were as follows: (1) "Cursed is the man who carves an image or casts an idol." (2) "Cursed is the man who dishonors his father or his mother." (3) "Cursed is the man who moves his neighbor's boundary stone." (4) "Cursed is the man who leads the blind astray on the road." (5) "Cursed is the man who withholds justice from the alien, the fatherless or the widow." (6) "Cursed is the man who sleeps with his father's wife." (7) "Cursed is the man who has sexual relations with any animal." (8) "Cursed is the man who sleeps with his sister." (9) "Cursed is the man who sleeps with his mother-in-law." (10) "Cursed is the man who kills his neighbor secretly." (11) "Cursed is the man who accepts a bribe to kill an innocent person." (12) "Cursed is the man who does not uphold the words of this law by carrying them out." These twelve curses are old laws, and all except the last

two are found in other codes of the PENTATEUCH.

In concluding his second address, MOSES listed six blessings and six corresponding curses in short, emphatic style. They represent a different approach from those given above, and were probably a part of the old covenant ceremony. These are curses on the disobedient wherever he is, in city, in field, coming in or going out; on his food; on his offspring and the offspring of his flocks and herds (28:16–19). The meaning of curses was further expanded in the balance of this long chapter.

Later, JOSHUA led the Israelites into the heart of Canaan to the twin mountains of GERIZIM and EBAL, and there in a great outdoor drama carried out Moses' commands (Josh. 8:30–35). The awesome solemnity of this ceremony must have made a profound and lasting impression on Israel. The penalty of these curses (Deut. 28) was often cited to call Israel back to the worship of Yahweh. It was probably the reading of them that alarmed King JOSIAH and resulted in his great reforms (2 Ki. 22:8–13). When Judah was heading toward Baby-lonian exile, JEREMIAH in his passionate appeal cited the twelfth curse listed above (Jer. 11:3). Likewise other prophets interpreted Judah's disaster as the curse of the covenant. (See H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible* [1963].)

III. Curse as an entity. "The curse," often referred to, was considered a visitation of the judgment of God. It appears first in the sundry laws of Moses in connection with the trial by ordeal of a woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5:18–27). Moses set before Israel "the blessing and the curse" (Deut. 30:1). Jeremiah doubtless had the same curse in mind when he said, "because of the curse the land lies parched" (Jer. 23:10). To this other prophets agreed (Isa. 24:6; Dan. 9:11; Zech. 5:3; Mal. 2:2). In a broader sense a divine curse was on all evildoers. "The LORD'S curse is on the house of the wicked" (Prov. 3:33; cf. Job 24:18; Mal. 1:14).

A curse of some kind had been the common lot of humanity since EVE ate the forbidden fruit. Because of ADAM'S sin, God placed a curse on the serpent and on the ground (Gen. 3:14, 17). He placed a curse on CAIN because he slew ABEL (4:11). A curse was a characteristic entity, a power, force, or energy, expressing itself in hurt to people or damage to property. Even a person or a place could become a curse. It was to be feared and shunned. JACOB feared invoking a curse on himself by deceiving his father (27:12). JEREMIAH said a curse was on ZEDEKIAH and his house, and on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (Jer. 24:9; 25:18; 42:18; 44:8, 12, 22; 49:13). PETER, in confusion, invoked a curse upon himself (Matt. 26:74). Cursing in Bible use was not profanity in the modern sense; neither Peter in this instance nor Jesus in cursing the fig tree used profanity (Mk. 11:21). Jesus said those unfit for the kingdom would be cursed at the judgment (Matt. 25:41); Paul rejoiced that "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law" (Gal. 3:13).

IV. Laws governing imprecations. A curse was not considered a mere wish for misfortune on one's enemies, but a potent force capable of translating pronouncements into tangible results (cf. A. C. Thiselton in *JTS* 25 [1974]: 283–99). The fact that one was an enemy made him an eligible victim regardless of his character. Curses were sometimes written on pieces of parchment and left to chance or some deity to make proper delivery. Curses also were inscribed on tombs, as in Egypt, to deter grave robbers. Certain curses were prohibited: "Do not curse the deaf" (Lev. 19:14). "Do not blaspheme God or curse the ruler of your people" (Exod. 22:28). "Do not revile the king even in your thoughts, / or curse the rich in your bedroom, / because a bird of the air may carry your words, / and a bird on the wing may report what you say" (Eccl. 10:20). To curse God would certainly bring death (Job 2:9; cf. 1 Ki. 21:10). The Christian view on curse was spoken by Jesus who said, "Bless those

who curse you" (Lk. 6:28); and by Paul, "Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse" (Rom. 12:14).

G. B. FUNDERBURK

curtain. This English term is used to render several Hebrew words, especially *yĕrî⁽â H3749* (Exod. 26:1 et al.) and *pārōket H7267* (Exod. 26:31 et al.). The NIV uses it also to render *qela H7846* and *māsāk H5009* (cf. Exod. 27:9, where the NRSV has "hangings" and "screen" respectively). The curtain was much more familiar in the oriental household than elsewhere. Change from nomadic tent to settled house made it more necessary. The nomad's tent was sewn together of narrow lengths of cloth woven from goats' and camels' hair mixed with sheep's wool.

The majority of references to curtains are in Exodus in connection with the TABERNACLE; in fact, the word *yĕrîâ* became virtually synonymous with the tent itself (2 Sam. 7:2). The weaving of the curtains was the work of the women (Exod. 35:25–26). In the tabernacle the curtains hung on 60 acacia pillars set in brass sockets 5 cubits apart. Curtains for the N and S sides were each 5 cubits high by 100 cubits long of fine white linen; that for the W side was 5 by 50 cubits. On the E side (the entrance) hung two short curtains, each 5 by 15 cubits, on three pillars.

In the NT, "curtain" renders Greek *katapetasma G2925,* used primarily of the curtain of the temple (Matt. 27:51 and parallels; cf. also Heb. 6:19; 9:3; 10:20). See also VEIL.

C. L. FEINBERG

Cush (country) koosh (כּוּשׁ *H3932;* gentilic כּוּשִׁי *H3934,* "Cushite"). Also Kush. A land lying to the S of EGYPT, in the upper NILE region (Nubia), and corresponding roughly to ETHIOPIA. The SEPTUAGINT regularly translates the word *Aithiopia,* gentilic *Aithiops G134* (except Gen. 10:6–8 and 1 Chr. 1:8–10, where it has *Chous*), and many English versions, including KJV and NRSV, have followed its lead rendering "Ethiopia, Ethiopian." The NIV transliterates "Cush, Cushite" (except in Jer. 13:23, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin / or the leopard its spots?"; cf. also Dan. 11:43, "Nubians").

Cushites (Nubians) being taken prisoner by Assyrian soldiers after capturing a fortress in Egypt. Panel from a palace in Nineveh (c. 640 B.C.).

It would appear that Cush originally referred to a piece of territory lying between the second and the third cataracts of the Nile. Then it came to refer to a broader area corresponding to what is

commonly known as Nubia. In 2 Chr. 21:16 the Arabians are said to be near the Ethiopians; the two areas may be thought of as being separated merely by the RED SEA. According to Ezek. 29:10, Ethiopia lay at the southern extremity of Egypt, for SYENE is the modern Aswan and lies at the first cataract. Some passages (e.g., Pss. 68:31; 87:4; Zeph. 2:12; 3:10) indicate that for Israel it lay on the edge of the southern horizon. Although the Greek word *Aithiops* means "burnt face," some contend that Ethiopia did not have a negro population and allow only for the possibility that it was negroid but of an olive complexion (Jer. 13:23 does not necessarily conflict with this claim).

The earliest historical reference seems to indicate that Ethiopians first appear as part of Egypt in the days of the Egyptian monarch Sesostris I (1971–1930 B.C.). Around the year 1000 B.C., Ethiopia broke with Egypt and set up an independent capital at Napata. A few centuries later, in the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty (715–663 B.C.), Ethiopia ruled over Egypt. During this time TIRHAKAH "king of Ethiopia" (Isa. 37:9 KJV) came up to make war against HEZEKIAH. He was driven off by the Assyrians, when ASHURBANIPAL got the upper hand of them, somewhere between 689 and 676 B.C.

At times the reference to Cush is merely one that implies a country lying as far off as possible (cf. Ezek. 29:10). During the new kingdom (c. 1570–1085 B.C.) the term takes on a much wider meaning, including at least all of what later became known as Nubia. (See B. G. Trigger, *Nubia under the Pharaohs* [1976]; W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa,* rev. ed. [1984]; R. A. Lobban, Jr., *Historical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval Nubia* [2004].) From passages like Isa. 45:14 one may deduce that the land of Cush was a land of merchants. It may also be inferred that there were Arabian Cushites (2 Chr. 21:16). Lastly, one may correctly assert that the Cushites, as Judah knew them, were a race of striking appearance (see Isa. 18:1–2).

A few problems are encountered in connection with the use of the term *kûš.* The first of these is that "the entire land of Cush" is said to be encircled by the GIHON RIVER (Gen. 2:13). This reference demands a location near MESOPOTAMIA and lies therefore almost as far N as Cush lies S. There is also the problem of the wife of MOSES, the CUSHITE WOMAN (Num. 12:1). She either came from the area adjacent to the SINAI peninsula (the ZIPPORAH of Exod. 2:21) or possibly after Zipporah's death may have been an Ethiopian who, in a manner not known to us, came into that same peninsula. Another problem has to do with ZERAH the Cushite, who appeared in the land of Judah in the days of King ASA with a huge army (2 Chr. 14:9, 12–13). History has yet to find an answer to the question how in a time when Ethiopia had no power in Egypt, Zerah should have been able to muster so large a force.

In addition to Tirhakah and Zerah, other Cushites are mentioned in the OT. One of them is the runner who brought the news of ABSALOM'S death to King DAVID after the great battle near MAHANAIM (2 Sam. 18:21–23). Another one is EBED-MELECH, "an official in the royal palace" who took pity upon Jeremiah and secured permission to draw him up out of the cistern into which he had been cast by his adversaries (Jer. 38:7–13). (See E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible,* rev. ed. [1988]; L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* [1997]; S. Burstein, *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum* [1998].)

H.C.LEUPOLD

Cush (person) koosh (כּוּשׁ *H3932* [#1 below] and *H3933* [#2]). (1) One of the sons of HAM; his name is included in the Table of NATIONS (Gen. 10:6–8; 1 Chr. 1:8–10). From him descended several tribes, including the southernmost peoples known to the Hebrews. See CUSH (COUNTRY).

(2) A Benjamite mentioned in the title of Ps. 7. In this psalm of lament DAVID "prays for deliverance from his enemies, especially from a colleague who has betrayed him" (M. Dahood,

Psalms I, AB 16 [1966], 41; some have speculated that the name Cush is a reference to SAUL). According to some scholars, however, Cush was not necessarily an enemy of David, and it has even been suggested that he should be identified with the Cushite messenger of 2 Sam. 18:21–32 (cf. P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel,* AB 9 [1984], 408).

R. E. HAYDEN

Cushan koosh'an (כּוּשָׁן *H3936,* derivation uncertain). Speaking of Yahweh's coming in judgment, the prophet says, "I saw the tents of Cushan in distress, / the dwellings of Midian in anguish" (Hab. 3:7). The SEPTUAGINT understood the passage to refer to ETHIOPIA (see CUSH), but this area is much farther S than the context suggests. Because of the parallelism in the verse, most scholars assume that Cushan was near (or even the same as) MIDIAN, in the desert E of the SINAI peninsula. Others see a connection with CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM ("king of Aram Naharaim," Jdg. 3:8) and place Cushan in N SYRIA.

Cushan-Rishathaim koosh'an-rish'uh-thay'im (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם *H3937,* possibly a deliberate disfigurement of an uncertain name). A king of ARAM NAHARAIM (MESOPOTAMIA) who ruled over Israel for eight years during the period of the judges (Jdg. 3:8, 10; see JUDGES, PERIOD OF). The Israelites had done evil and forgotten their God, serving instead the Baalim and the Asheroth (Jdg. 3:7; see BAAL and ASHERAH). God consequently sold Israel into the hands of Cushan-Rishathaim, soon after the death of JOSHUA, a little later than 1200 B.C. After eight years of subjection to this king, the Israelites cried to God who gave to them a deliverer, OTHNIEL, the nephew of CALEB. Othniel, by God's Spirit, prevailed over Cushan-Rishathaim.

The identity of this king and his kingdom are uncertain. According to some scholars, the word Aram (ארם) should be emended to EDOM (אדום; note that the Edomites lived near the Midianites and that CUSHAN is associated with MIDIAN) and that "Rishathaim" should be either dropped or corrected (e.g., "Rosh-hattemani," chief of the Teman-ites). It is argued that the ending *-an* in Cushan is like many Edomite tribal names and that the form Rishathaim (which appears to mean "double wickedness," from *reša H8400)* is a deliberate attempt of the writer to corrupt the name and denounce him before Israel (as the English might corrupt the name Adolph Hitler to be "Adolph Hater").

Since this view is highly speculative, it is better to retain the reading of the MT. There was in fact a district in N SYRIA (part of Aram Naharaim) known as Kûshân-rōm, though it is not certain whether this name should be related to Cushan-Rishathaim (cf. J. Bright, *A History of Israel,* 4th ed. [2000], 178–79). The people of this land could have been the MITANNI. It is also possible that Cushan-Rishathaim was a HITTITE ruler of that area. Furthermore, in the latter part of the 12th cent. B.C. forerunners of the great empires came into power both in Assyria (TIGLATH-PILESER I) and in Babylonia (NEBUCHADNEZZAR I). Cushan-Rishathaim was possibly from one of these dynasties, both properly in the Mesopotamian area.

J. B. SCOTT

Cushi koosh'*i* (כּוּשִׁי *H3935;* this form can also be used as the gentilic "Cushite," for which see CUSH). (1) The great-grandfather of JEHUDI, who was a prince in the court of JEHOIAKIM (Jer. 36:14).

(2) The father of the prophet ZEPHANIAH (Zeph. 1:1).

(3) KJV form of Cushite (2 Sam. 18:21–32).

cushion. This term is used to render Greek *pros-kephalaion G4676,* referring to a head rest or pillow used by rowers in a boat (Mk. 4:38).

Cushite woman koosh'*i*t. According to Num. 12:1, MIRIAM and AARON criticized MOSES because "he had married a Cushite" (KJV, "an Ethiopian woman"). CUSH (corresponding more or less to Nubia or ETHIOPIA) was the region S of the first cataract of the NILE, an area to which Moses never traveled, according to the biblical records. The ancient SEPTUAGINT and VULGATE versions consider the woman to be from Ethiopia, but ancient Jewish tradition identified her with ZIPPORAH the Midianite, thus linking Cush with CUSHAN (cf. Hab. 3:7; might the term Cushite then have been a racist epithet?). Moses' Cushite wife, however, should probably be distinguished from Zipporah; if so, one may speculate that she was a Nubian residing in Egypt who joined the Israelites and who eventually became Moses' second wife. According to some legends, Moses was commander-in-chief of a campaign against Ethiopia during the years before he fled to the desert. Tharbis, the king's daughter, saw him, fell in love with him, and helped him capture the city. Subsequently, she married him.

C. F. PFEIFFER

custodian. This term is used by the RSV to render Greek *paidagōgos G4080* (lit., "boy's guide"), a word used by PAUL to describe one of the functions of the law (Gal. 3:24–25). The word was wrongly translated "schoolmaster" by the KJV, while the NRSV uses a negative term, "disciplinarian" (the NIV uses descriptive phrases, "put in charge of," "under the supervision *of"*). The *paidagōgos* was a trusted, often well-educated slave who was given constant supervision of a boy between the ages of six and sixteen. He was responsible for the disciplined training and the moral development of his charge, going to and from school with him and assisting with his home studies. This practice was characteristically Greek and was adopted by the Romans and modified to include some teaching.

Paul's point in using this image has been debated: is he calling attention to the oppressive character of the law or to its positive function in leading sinners to Christ? The apostle seems to indicate that the purpose of the law in the economy of God was to prepare a people, and thereby perfect his plan, for the coming of Christ. It was necessary to place upon them severe restrictions in order to develop their racial and cultural identity, and to lay them under the moral discipline of the law. In addition, they needed to be instructed in the "promises" that pointed to Christ. The intent of the law went no farther than this.

Israel's perverted interpretation of the law as a means of justification produced a conflict of functions between the law and Christ. JUSTIFICA-TION is by faith—first in the "promises" and then in Christ—not by deeds of the law. The law and Christ represent complementary categories in the redemptive plan of God. Paul sought to point out both the purpose and the limitations of the law in his teaching on justification by faith. See also GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; LAW (NT).

In addition, Paul uses the term in 1 Cor. 4:15 ("you have ten thousand guardians in Christ") not as an analogy of the law but in reference to the many people who were proclaiming the gospel, with the strong inference that their teaching was less than acceptable in comparison to the truth (cf. the "false brothers" in 2 Cor. 11:26).

H.J. S. BLANEY

custom. This English term, referring to habitual practices, is used to translate a variety of words and

phrases. For example, Hebrew *mišpāṭ H5477,* which usually means "judgment, legal decision," can refer to legal precedent, established tradition, or customary behavior (1 Ki. 18:28; 2 Ki. 11:14; et al.); similarly, the word *derek H2006,* "way," can be used metaphorically to convey the idea of usage or practice (Gen. 19:31 et al.). The KJV and other versions often use the word "manner" to represent these concepts. In the NT, "custom" is usually the translation of Greek *ethos G1621,* which can be used of the regulations governing the priesthood (Lk. 1:9),

This inscription, discovered in 1976 during the restoration of a church in Ephesus, gives the text of a customs law for the Roman province of Asia (first enacted in 130 and 75 B.C., then revised by Nero in A.D. 62). It regulates slave traders, taxes, confiscated goods, and smuggling.

habitual behavior (2:42), burial practices (Jn. 19:40), and Jewish customs in general (Acts 6:14 et al.).

custom, receipt of. This phrase is used by the KJV to render Greek *telōnion G5468,* which occurs in connection with the call of MATTHEW (Levi) to become a disciple of Jesus Christ (Matt. 9:9; Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27). This Greek word refers to the table or booth where the *telos G5465,* "duty, tax" (cf. Matt. 17:25 and Rom. 13:7), was collected from the taxpayer. The *telos* was an indirect TAX or customs duty levied on goods or in connection with a business transaction of some sort, in contradistinction to a *phoros G5843* (Lk. 20:22; 23:2; Rom. 13:6–7), which amounted to a poll tax or head tax. Another term for this latter type of tax was *kēnsos G3056,* which appears in the episode of the "tribute penny" (Matt. 22:17, 19; Mk. 12:14; cf. also Matt. 17:25). The *telos* seems to have furnished the principal source of revenue for the government (and for the publicans like Matthew who made their living thereby). See TAX COLLECTOR.

G. L. ARCHER

cut. This term, which renders several Greek and Hebrew words, is often used in a literal sense. A few examples are the following: DAVID dropped GOLIATH with a stone and "cut off" his head (*kārat H4162,* 1 Sam. 17:51); on another occasion, David "cut off" part of SAUL'S robe (24:4–5); the sacrificial animals were slain and "cut" into pieces for the particular sacrifices (*nātaḥ H5983,* Lev. 1:6); images of the Canaanites were to be broken and "cut down" (*gāda H1548,* Deut. 7:5); trees

were "cut down" for various reasons (*gāzar H1615, 2* Ki. 6:4; *ekkoptō G1716,* Matt. 3:10).

Figurative uses abound. Precaution was to be taken that the Kohathites (see KOHATH) should not be "cut off" from the Levites (Num. 4:18; NRSV, "be destroyed"); JOSHUA succeeded "cutting off" the peoples between the Jordan and the Great Sea (Josh. 23:4; NIV, "conquered"); the people of Israel were warned that disobedience would result in their being "cut off" from their land (1 Ki. 9:7); the peoples and their images around Israel were to be "cut off" or destroyed as a result of God's acts of judgment against them (Isa. 14:22; Mic. 5:10–13; Nah. 1:14; Zeph. 1:4; Zech. 9:6). A specific, punitive usage is found in certain passages in Leviticus: persons guilty of breaching particular Mosaic laws shall be "cut off from among his people" (Lev. 17:10; 20:3, 5–6; cf. *exolethreuō G2017* in Acts 3:23).

Cutting or mutilating the body was expressly forbidden for Israelites in contrast to the customary practice of slashing and gashing the body among neighboring peoples. The people of MOAB in brokenness and lament shaved their heads and slashed their hands (Jer. 48:37), but the people of Israel were not allowed to cut their bodies as a way of mourning for the dead (Lev. 19:28; cf. also 21:5). The prophets of BAAL slashed and gashed their bodies in frenzy in order to prevail against or move their god to action (1 Ki. 18:25–29); this practice was strongly condemned by the prophets (Jer. 47:5; Hos. 7:14). Note also that PAUL condemns the JUDAIZERS' insistence on the CIRCUMCISION of Gentiles by associating it with pagan mutilation (Gal. 5:12; Phil. 3:2).

H.E.FINLEY

Cuth kooth. See CUTHAH.

Cutha kooth'uh (Κουθα). The head or ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from Babylon (1 Esd. 5:32). The name does not occur in the parallel passages (Ezra 2:52; Neh. 7:54).

Cuthah kooth'uh (כּוּתָה *H3940* or כּוּת *H3939,* from Akk. *Kūtū*). Also Cuth; TNIV Kuthah. One of the key cities of ancient Babylonia—perhaps even the capital of an early Sumerian empire (2 Ki. 17:24, 30). Today the site is marked by Tel-Ibrahim (c. 20 mi. NE of BABYLON), which was excavated by Hor-muzd Rassam (1881–82). The ruins are described as c. 3,000 ft. in circumference and 280 ft. high. Contract tablets were found that give the name as *Gudua* or *Kūtū.* To the W lies a smaller mound crowned with a sanctuary in memory of *Ibrahim* (ABRAHAM). Cuthah had a temple (*E-shid-lam*) dedicated to NERGAL, king of the underworld. The city was probably important commercially because it had two rivers (or canals). SENNACHERIB boasts that he destroyed Cuthah in one campaign; NEBUCHADNEZZAR later rebuilt its beautiful temple. Cuthah is one of the cities from which SARGON II deported colonists to repopulate N Israel after SAMARIA had capitulated (721 B.C.). Apparently these aliens were predominant, for the inhabitants of Samaria were long after called Cutheans (cf. in the MISHNAH, *m. Ber.* 7:1).

R. C. RIDALL

Cuza k*oo*'zuh (Χουζᾶς, from Aram. כּוּזָא, "jug"). Also Chuza. The husband of JOANNA, one of the women from GALILEE who followed Jesus and helped support him and his disciples (Lk. 8:3; she also went to the tomb of Jesus to anoint his body with spices, 24:10). Cuza is said to have been a steward *(epitropos G2208)* of Herod Antipas (see HEROD V). If taken literally, this would mean he was the

manager of Herod's property; however, the term may refer to a political office. Some speculate that Cuza had died before the time when Joanna followed Jesus. Others suggest that he was the royal official who believed in Jesus after his son was healed (Jn. 4:46–53), and that therefore he was willing to have his wife minister to Jesus' needs.

G. H. WATERMAN

Cyamon s*i*'uh-muhn (Κυαμων). A place facing ESDRAELON near which the forces of HOLOFERNES encamped (Jdt. 7:3). The site is otherwise unknown, but some scholars have thought that the name is a corruption of JOKNEAM.

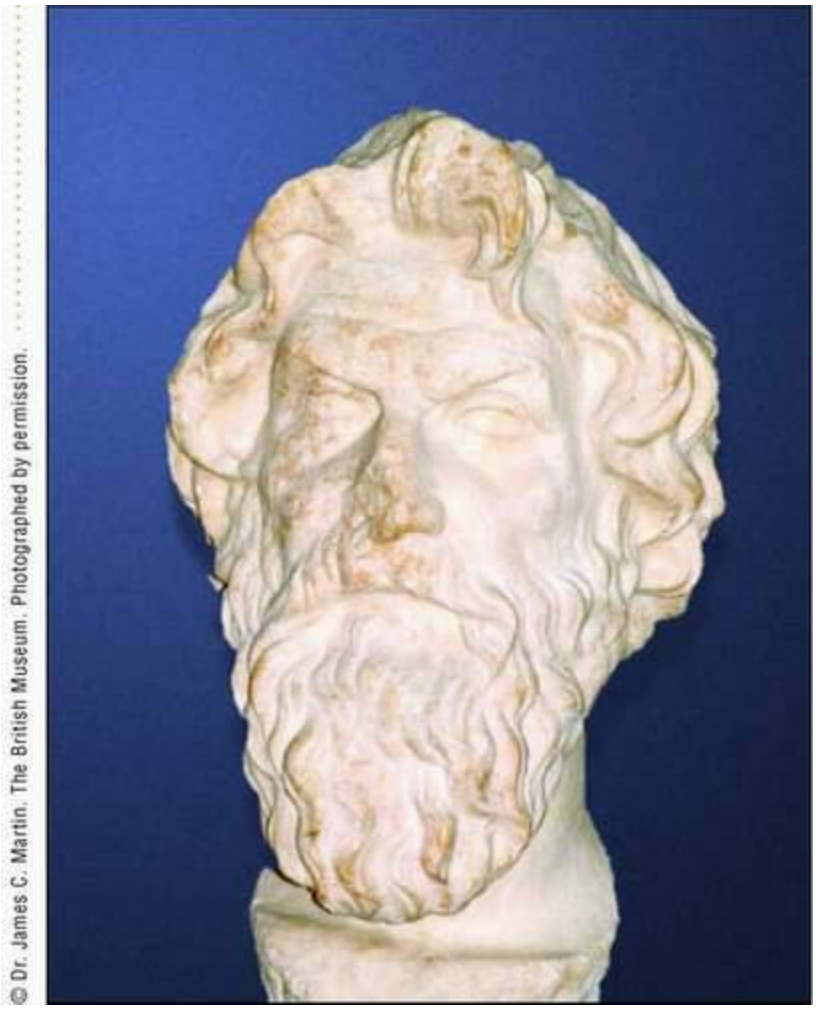
cylinder seals. Small cylindrical objects made of metal, stone, baked clay, frit, or other hard substance on which was usually engraved a design (commonly a religious scene) and/or the name and patronymic of the owner. Before the introduction of WRITING and until the 7th cent. B.C., such SEALS were used alongside stamp seals. Thereafter the seal set in a signet RING gradually predominated (Jer. 22:24; Hag. 2:23). Seals were used to mark personal attestation (1 Ki. 21:8), ownership, or security (Job 14:17; 41:15). They were worn mounted on a pin attached to a garment or strung longitudinally and hung about the neck (Gen. 38:18), and by some were considered to have amuletic powers. The seal was applied by rolling it over the clay when a document was still soft, thus leaving a clear impression (cf. Job 38:14). Periodic changes in fashions both of designs or materials mean that the seal is useful for typological and chronological purposes. (Cf. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals (A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*)

Cylinder seal made of goethite (Old Babylonian, c. 1800 B.C.). A standing goddess faces a seated god who rests his feet on a dragon, while a king carrying an animal offering approaches a god who stands on two human-headed bulls. The cuneiform text identifies the owner as a servant of the Mesopotamian ruler Shamshi-Adad. (The cylinder itself is on the upper left; the other objects are impressions, actual size and enlarged, that show the whole surface.)

[1939]; D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* [1987]; B. Teissier, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age* [1996]; H. Pittman in *CANE,* 3:1589–1603.)

cymbal. See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.A.

cynics. Cynicism, though not a formal school of thought, was an influential Greek philosophical movement that originated in the 4th cent. B.C. through the teachings of Antisthenes (a disciple of Socrates); it declined two centuries later but continued to attract adherents in the Roman period and beyond. The Cynics taught that self-reliance and self-control are the essence of virtue (the only good) and emphasized the principle of living "in accordance with nature." So-called "hard" Cynicism derives from Diogenes of Synope (d. 324 B.C.), who adopted a primitive and outrageous way of life (the term *kynikos* means "dog-like"). Others followed a milder approach. Cynic ethics, though controversial, influenced many, especially the STOICS. Some scholars argue that early Christianity shows some points of contact with Cynicism (e.g., Jesus' injunction that his disciples go barefoot, Lk. 10:4). Possibly



Antisthenes (c. 450-370 B.C.), founder of the Cynic school of philosophy. This bust, found near the Appian Way, is a Roman copy of a lost Greek original (c. 200 B.C.).

some features of Paul's language (e.g., 1 Thess. 2:7) reflect knowledge of Cynic debates (cf. A. J. Mal-herbe in *NovT* 12 [1970]: 203–17). (See further D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism from Diogenes to the 6th Century* A.D. [1938]; A. J. Malherbe, *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition* [1977]; F. G. Downing, *Cynics and Christian Origins* [1992]; id., *Cynics, Paul, and the Pauline Churches: Cynics and Christian Origins II* [1998].)

cypress. This term occurs only once in the KJV as a rendering of *tirzâ H9560,* which seems to refer to a conifer (Isa. 44:14; NIV also "cypress," but NRSV has "holm tree"). In addition, the NIV uses the term to render *gōper H1729,* another *hapax legomenon* of uncertain meaning (Gen. 6:14), as well as *tĕaššûr H9309,* which occurs two or three times (Isa. 41:19; 60:13 [prob. also Ezek. 27:6]; NRSV, "pine"). Another and more frequent word, *bĕrôš H1360,* is usually rendered "cypress" by the NRSV (1 Ki. 5:8 et al.; NIV, "pine"). There were certainly cypress forests in ancient Palestine. This evergreen *(Cupressus sempervirens horizontalis),* usually 30–40 ft. high, has spreading branches, and its durable wood was used for building purposes and coffins (cf. *FFB,* 115–16). Cypress wood coffins containing mummies have been found in Egypt. See also PINE.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Cyprians sip'ree-uhns (Κύπριοι). Natives of CYPRUS. The term appears only in the APOCRYPHA (2 Macc. 4:29 KJV; the NRSV has, "Cyprian troops").

Cyprus si"pruhs (Κύπρος *G3251,* derivation uncertain). A large island measuring roughly 140 by 60 mi.; it lies in the NE corner of the Mediterranean Sea, S of CILICIA, with its major promontory thrusting toward Syria. In shape it looks like the flayed skin of an animal. In configuration it is a long plain closed on the N and SW by mountain ranges, once heavily forested, but denuded in historical times by the same exploitation of natural timber resources that bared the LEBANON ranges, and changed the face of the whole Mediterranean basin (Ezek. 27:5–6).

The name Cyprus, as a rendering of *kittiyyîm H4183,* appears several times in the NIV OT (Isa. 23:1, 12; Ezek. 27:6; elsewhere the Hebrew word is transliterated as KITTIM, Gen. 10:4; Num. 24:24; 1 Chr. 1:7; Jer. 2:10; Dan. 11:30 [NIV, "western coastlands"]). Kition, the old Phoenician foundation where Larnaka now stands, no doubt reflects this name, though the area of geographical reference, both of Kittim and Kition, is difficult to determine exactly. (See PHOENICIA.) The name *Kypros* is of unknown origin, but gave a term for the metal for which, in the Bronze Age and in the heyday of Phoenician trade, the island was an important source. COPPER from Cyprus and TIN from Cornwall, carried in the holds of Phoenician ships, made the alloy BRONZE from which the 2nd millennium B.C. derived its historic name. It was for the sake of copper ore, no doubt, that the Phoenicians founded Kition and other trading centers in the island, and it was the same people who established the worship of the female deity whom the Greeks called Aphrodite and the Romans named Venus. In both Greek and Latin, "the Cyprian" was a common appellation for this goddess of fertility and carnal love.

Culture was ancient in the island, and a long period of vigorous life in neolithic times preceded the prosperity of the Bronze Age. Archaeological investigation has revealed its high quality. In the mid-2nd millennium, when Cyprus entered Mediterranean history, there was active interchange and communication, perhaps through RHODES, with the tribes of Mycenaean GREECE. Relations with the communities of ASIA MINOR to the N and SYRIA to the E were simultaneous, but the influence of the Mycenaean culture, according to the record of archaeology, penetrated deeper, developing urban life, road systems, customs of burial, and a mode of writing that survived for a thousand years (see WRITING V.A.). Finds at Ras Shamra (UGARIT) show that relations with Syria were almost equally close. In short, the picture that the archaeologists construct of Cyprus in the Mycenaean Age is one of diversified and active life, of vigorous trade and widespread international relations.

The city of SALAMIS was perhaps the chief center at this time, and both Hittite and Egyptian texts

suggest that the name of the island was Alashia. This may be equated with ELISHAH of the OT, which traded purple with TYRE (Ezek. 27:7) and which, according to the Hittite texts, exported copper. The same geographical vagueness that haunts the name Kittim attaches also to the name Alashia.

Cyprus.

It seems clear that Cyprus was an Egyptian sphere of influence around 1450 B.C., in the days of Egypt's imperial strength.

The Dorian invasions that closed this millennium and ended the Mycenaean culture seem to have had little effect on Cyprus. Archaeological investigation, which finds Rhodes full of Dorian remains, has discovered little of like origin in Cyprus, where the Greek stock, rooted for almost a millennium, seems to have remained Achaean (see ACHAIA). This ethnic continuity is further demonstrated by the survival of Achaean dialect forms in the Cypriot Greek of the classical period. Similarly, the continuity of the Bronze Age script is argument against any such catastrophic change as came to so many parts of the middle Mediterranean world at the dawn of the Iron Age.

Iron Age tribes from Syria, however, do seem to have moved into Cyprus, somewhat modifying Cypriot art. There appears to have been a large influx of Phoenicians about 800 B.C. Evidence from a century later points to periods of Assyrian rule, and the 6th cent. saw another long span of Egyptian domination. In short, the fragmentary picture reveals the fated pattern of history in a land so crucially located that rival empires and systems necessarily vie for its possession, and so endowed that neighboring peoples inevitably cast covetous eyes on its wealth or facilities. Cyprus in modern times reveals the same ebb and flow of history.

The Greek city-state seems never to have established its form in Cyprus. The Achaean system of

petty autonomous kingship seems to have maintained itself in some recognizable fashion, even through periods of alien intrusion and down to Ptolemaic times (see PTOLEMY). In 525 B.C. CAM-BYSES brought Cyprus under Persian rule, and an attempt by the islanders to assert their freedom in 498, at the time of the great revolt of the Greek Ionian cities of western Asia Minor, was successfully frustrated by the Persians. After the Persian wars, Cimon, the Athenian soldier, boldly liberated the island. It was a major symptom of Persian decline that he was able to do so. It was on this campaign (449 B.C.) that Cimon died, and peace with Persia followed.

Phoenician control, however, seems to have ensued until 411 when a great Cypriot, Evagoras

Aerial view of the western section of the island of Cyprus (view to the N). The harbor of Paphos is located at the bottom right of the picture.

of Salamis, reasserted the independence of the island, an independence that was maintained for twenty years or more. Persia was dominant again in 387 B.C., but in 350 a league of Cypriot kings again asserted the island's freedom. In 333 Cyprus declared for ALEXANDER THE GREAT. With the death of the great conqueror, the island became part of Antigonus's heritage. Later Ptolemaic Egypt gained control, and held it firmly for two and a half centuries, one of the longest periods of stability in the long history of so disputed a territory. It was during this period that Jewish immigration began, probably from ALEXANDRIA, the largest center of the Dispersion (see DIASPORA).

Cyprus became a Roman possession in 58 B.C. During the earlier period of Roman rule, Cyprus was under the control of the governor of Cilicia, and a fortunate turn of politics in Rome secured in the year 51 the appointment of Cicero, the famous orator and statesman, as governor of this province, much against his will. The purity of his administration in that age of callous Roman exploitation of the provinces forms one of the brightest pages in the brave record of Cicero. Some of his intimate letters to Atticus leave a fearful impression of the cruel victimization of the island of Cyprus, and particularly of Salamis, by the Roman financiers and their *publicani,* or tax officials, a scandal in which Brutus, the tyrannicide, was deeply involved. The political organization called the *empire,* or more properly the *principate,* put a salutary end to republican corruption. The year 27, with AUGUSTUS'S reorganization of the Roman world, saw Cyprus become a separate PROVINCE, first "imperial," that is, under the prince's direct control, and then "senatorial," governed, as Luke properly stated (Acts 13:7), by a PROCONSUL.

Luke's account gives a few details of PAUL'S mission on the island, which had perhaps been originally evangelized from the active center of Christian witness in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA. Note the

"men from Cyprus" of Acts 11:20. The reason for the choice of Cyprus on Paul's first journey was no doubt the fact that his friend and colleague in the project, BARNABAS, was a Cypriot Jew of wide connections (13:4–12). The party landed at Salamis, the natural ingress from Syria, and activity began as was customary with Paul by diligent preaching in the Jewish SYNAGOGUE. A three or four days' journey followed, taking the visitors through the whole island to PAPHOS in the SW.

New Paphos, as the town could be called, like Old Paphos, was a center of the worship of Aphrodite. The old town, a Phoenician foundation, stood somewhat inland. The new town grew up after the Roman annexation and was the seat of the proconsul's residence and administration. Here Paul met the proconsul Sergius (Acts 13:6–7, 12), an encounter that may have helped form his vision of a Christian strategy in the empire (see PAULUS, SERGIUS). Here, too, he met ELYMAS, the renegade Jew. Another early Christian from Cyprus was MNASON (Acts 21:16). With these brief references in Luke's narrative, the history of early Christianity in Cyprus passed from view, and little more is known until the island contained fifteen bishoprics.

The Jews of Cyprus took part in the great revolt of their race in the Eastern Mediterranean while TRAJAN was preoccupied with his Parthian campaign, from A.D. 115 to 117. Nearly a quarter of a million Gentiles are said to have been massacred in this uprising. The result was merciless suppression and expulsion of all Jews from the island.

Under the Byzantine emperors, Cyprus was too perilously exposed to the E not to suffer much on all occasions when the strength of Byzantium failed to hold and control its more distant marches. Saracens, Richard of England, Knights Templars, and Venetians repeated through the succeeding centuries the old forms and movements of history. British rule came in 1878 by a convention that recognized the nominal authority of the Sultan. The rest of the island's story, not dissimilar in the pattern of its detail, is contemporary history. (See S. Cas-son, *Ancient Cyprus* [1937]; G. H. Hill, *A History of Cyprus,* 4 vols. [1940–52]; A. H. M.Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 13; V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans* [1982]; id., *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean* [2002]; K. Tofallis, *Cyprus: From the Ancient Times to the Present,* 2nd ed. [2002]; *CANE,* 3:1435–36, 1447.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

Cyrene si'-ree'nee (Κυρήνη *G3255,* from the name of the nature goddess, Kyrana). Chief city of Cyre-naica (Pentapolis), an ancient district of N Africa (see LIBYA). Located 17 mi. from the sea on a plateau, the city (modern Shahat, Libya) was settled by Greek colonists from the island of Thera under a certain Battus in the 7th cent. B.C. (Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.150–58). The city derived its importance from trade with the natives of the interior and from agriculture. The land was very fertile, particularly in the production of silphium, a spice which the ancients prized. The five cities of the Pentapolis enjoyed great prosperity until competition from the Ptolemaic cities, internal disruptions, and careless use of the soil caused them to decline. From a city of 100,000 in its greatest era, Cyrene was reduced to a vast ruin by the 5th cent. A.D.

The city was ruled by the Battiadae until the establishment of a democracy in the 4th cent. B.C. It surrendered to ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 331 and was soon incorporated into the Ptolemaic empire (see PTOLEMY). During late Hellenistic and Roman times, much of the populace were Greek-speaking Jews who encouraged other Jews to settle there. The city was bequeathed to the Romans in 96 B.C. and joined to Crete as a senatorial province in 27 B.C. A major revolt of the city's Jews broke out in A.D. 115–116. Pagan monuments were destroyed and, according to Dio Cassius (*Rom. Hist.* 68.32), over 200,000 inhabitants were killed. HADRIAN rebuilt much of the city, but its harbor Apollonia

replaced it in importance.

The city was excavated by American archaeologists in 1910–11 and by Italians just before World War II. The finds have included an archaic temple of APOLLO, rebuilt several times, the tomb of Battus in the center of the agora (marketplace), a Roman theater, numerous temples and shrines, and a large Roman bath. Exceptional examples of archaic sculpture and important inscriptions have also come to light.

A number of Cyrenians figured in events of the NT. SIMON, who carried the cross of Christ (Matt. 27:32; Mk. 15:21), and Lucius, a prophet

Cyrene.

and teacher of the primitive church at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (Acts 13:1), were Jews of Cyrene. STEPHEN witnessed at a synagogue of foreign freedmen that included some men of Cyrene, ALEXANDRIA, CILICIA, and ASIA. They instigated the people against Stephen, who was brought before the SANHEDRIN, convicted of blasphemy, and then stoned. Converted Cyrenians, who were scattered because of the persecution that started with Stephen, preached to Gentiles at Antioch (Acts 11:20).

Cyrene was an important intellectual and medical center in antiquity. Among its famous citizens were the poet Callimachus, the philosopher Carneades (founder of the New Academy at ATHENS), and the mathematician and geographer Eratosthenes (who calculated the circumference of the earth). The name Cyrenaics was applied to a school of Greek philosophy because Cyrene was the birthplace of its founder, Aristippus. One of the earliest Socratic schools, the Cyrenaics emphasized the pursuit of pleasure and thus may be regarded as forerunners of the EPICUREANS. (See U. von Wil-amowitz-Moellendorff, *Kyrene* [1928]; A. Rowe, *A History of Ancient Cyrenaica* [1948]; A. H. M.Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 12; S. Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene* [1979]; G. Barker et al., eds., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* [1985].)

A.RUPPRECHT

Cyrenius si-ree'nee-uhs. KJV form of QUIRINIUS.

Cyril of Jerusalem. Born c. A.D. 315, Cyril was Bishop of Jerusalem from 350 until his death in 387. Cyril was deposed from his position and reinstated on more than one occasion during the Arian controversy (see ARIUS). Finally, the Council of Constantinople (381) confirmed him in this office.

He is the author of several homilies and tracts, but his most important work is *Twenty-three Catecheses,* the first real compend of the Christian faith. "Discourse Twenty" is an exposition of Rom. 6:3–14, with particular emphasis upon the symbolism in the rite of baptism.

D.M.LAKE

Cyrus si"ruhs (כּוֹרֶשׁ *H3931).* Although this name was borne by more than one Persian ruler (see PERSIA), the most important by far was Cyrus II the Great (559–530 B.C.), founder of the Achaemenid empire, which continued for two centuries to the time of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (331 B.C.).

I. Background and early conquests. Cyrus's father, Cambyses I (600–559 B.C.), was king of Anshan, a region in eastern ELAM, and his mother was Mandane, a daughter of Astyages king of MEDIA (585–550 B.C.). When Cambyses I died in 559 B.C., Cyrus inherited the throne of Anshan and, after unifying the Persian people, attacked the weak and corrupt Astyages. The Median general Harpagus, whom Astyages had previously wronged, deserted the king and brought his army to the side of the young Cyrus. Astyages was soon captured and the Persians took the capital city of ECBATANA in 550 B.C. without a battle.

Cyrus succeeded in welding the Medes and Persians into a unified nation. Moving swiftly to the W, he absorbed all of the Median territories as far as the River Halys in ASIA MINOR. When Croesus, the very wealthy king of Lydia, refused to recognize the sovereignty of Medo-Persia, Cyrus defeated him in battle and took over his empire (546 B.C.). Seven years later, he was ready to launch the great assault against BABYLON itself.

II. Conquest of Babylon. The Neo-Babylonian empire was in no condition to resist a Medo-Persian invasion in the year 539 B.C. During the preceding fourteen years, NABONIDUS the king had not so much as visited the capital city, leaving the administration of that metropolis to his profligate son BELSHAZZAR, to whom he also "entrusted the kingship" (cf. "Verse Account of Nabonidus," *ANET,* 313). Nabonidus further weakened the empire by concentrating his favors upon the cult of the god Sin at Haran at the expense of Babylonian deities, thus incurring the displeasure of the priesthood in Babylon.

Realizing that danger was near, Nabonidus came to Babylon in the spring of 539 B.C. and brought the images of Babylonian divinities into the city from surrounding areas, but it was all to no avail. Toward the end of September, the armies of Cyrus under the command of Ugbaru, governor of Gutium, attacked Opis on the Tigris, and defeated the Babylonians. On October 10 Sippar was taken without a battle and Nabonidus fled. Two days later Ugbaru's troops were able to enter Babylon while Belshazzar, completely oblivious to the doom that awaited him, was engaged in a riotous banquet within the "impregnable" walls of the city (Dan. 5). The fateful day was 12 October 539. In that same night Belshazzar was slain.

III. Cyrus and the Jews. Cyrus entered Babylon on October 29 and presented himself to the priests and people as a gracious liberator and benefactor. He reversed the cruel policies of the Assyrians and Babylonians by permitting transplanted populations to return to their homelands. The Jews were not only permitted but were actually encouraged by Cyrus to return to Palestine and to rebuild their TEMPLE (2 Chr. 36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–4). Furthermore he gave them the vessels that NEBUCHADNEZZAR had plundered from Solomon's temple (Ezra 1:7–11; 6:5), and contributed financially to the construction of their second temple (6:4). About 50,000 Jews responded to this royal proclamation

and returned to Palestine under the leadership of ZERUBBABEL and JESHUA (2:64–65).

IV. Isaiah's prophecies of Cyrus. In his decree to the Jews (Ezra 1), Cyrus referred to "Yahweh, the God of heaven" as the one who gave him "all the kingdoms of the earth," and who charged him "to build a temple for him at Jerusalem" (Ezra 1:2). How did Cyrus know this? Probably not through dreams or visions, but through confrontation with the prophecies of ISAIAH written 150 years before. It is highly probable that DANIEL, who lived at least until the third year of Cyrus (Dan. 10:1) and who was greatly concerned about the fulfillment of JEREMIAH'S prophecy of the return of Israel to her land after seventy years (Dan. 9:2; cf. Jer. 25:11–12), was the one who presented a scroll of Isaiah's prophecies (see below) to the Persian monarch. JOSEPHUS, who had access to many historical records long since lost, states that "when Cyrus read this, and admired the Divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfill what was so written" (*Ant.* 11.1.2). There is every reason to accept the testimony of Josephus at this point, in spite of modern critical views on "the Second Isaiah" and the supposed impossibility of predictive prophecy.

Brick from Ur. The cuneiform Babylonian inscription reads, "Cyrus, King of the World, King of Anshan, son of Cambyses, King of Anshan. The great gods delivered all the lands into my hands and I made this land to dwell in peace."

Isaiah's prophecies concerning Cyrus begin with Isa. 41:2, 25, and end with 46:11; 48:15. The critical view that these prophecies were written after the time of Cyrus is untenable, for they are set forth as final proof of Yahweh's *unique ability to predict future events* (see 41:4, 21–26; 44:25–26; 45:11, 21; 48:14). The climax comes in 44:28—45:7, where Cyrus is actually named. Here the Lord is described as the one "who says of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd / and will accomplish all that I please'; / he will say of Jerusalem, 'Let it be rebuilt,' and of the temple, / 'Let its foundations be

laid.' / This is what the LORD says to his anointed, / to Cyrus, whose right hand I take hold of…" (44:28—45:1; cf. 1 Ki. 13:2 for a similar case of advanced naming).

Isaiah foresaw that Cyrus would command the rebuilding not only of the temple but also of the city (Isa. 45:13; cf. 44:28). In the unfolding of history, it was not Cyrus personally, but a successor, ARTAXERXES I (465–423 B.C.), who issued the specific decree concerning the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 2:1–8; cf. Dan. 9:25). However, it is also true that the pro-Jewish policy enunciated by Cyrus following the fall of Babylon provided the necessary framework within which could be issued the subsequent favorable decrees of DARIUS I in 518 (Ezra 6:1 –12) and Artaxerxes I in 458 (7:11–26) concerning the temple, and even the decree of 445 concerning the walls of the city. Also it may be safely assumed that the decree issued by Cyrus in 538 involved, of a necessity, some rebuilding of the city as well as of the temple. Thus, the prophecy of Isa. 45:13 is not contradicted by the unfolding of historical events.

It seems certain that Cyrus, despite his interest in the Jews, was not a genuine believer in Yahweh. This seems to be the basic import of God's statement to Cyrus through the prophet: "I summon you by name / and bestow on you a title of honor, / though you do not acknowledge me…/ I will strengthen you, / though you have not acknowledged me" (Isa. 45:4–5). Yet we may be sure that Cyrus recognized the God of Israel as a very important diety, especially if he read Isaiah's prophecies. Possibly the strong references to the sovereignty of Yahweh in the decree of Ezra 1:2–4 reflect the wording of Daniel, who was chief president under Darius the Mede and minister of Jewish affairs (cf. Dan. 6:3, 28), rather than of Cyrus personally. The strong OT flavor of Nebuchadnezzar's proclamation (Dan. 4:1–3) may be similarly explained. A comparison of the decree in Ezra 1 with the copy Darius I discovered seventeen years later in Ecbatana (Ezra 6:2) suggests that whereas the former was a public proclamation, the latter was a more detailed official counterpart to be kept in the archives.

V. The Cyrus Cylinder. The famous Cyrus Cylinder, discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in the 19th cent., not only depicts the Persian monarch as a polytheistic politician, but also parallels the biblical account of his benevolence toward captive peoples. In it, Cyrus tells how the Babylonian god MARDUK had "scanned and looked through all the countries, searching for a righteous ruler willing to lead him (i.e. Marduk) in the annual procession. Then he pronounced the name of Cyrus, king of Anshan, declared him to become the ruler of all the world…Without any battle, he made him enter his town Babylon, sparing Babylon any calamity…I returned to sacred cities on the other side of the Tigris, the sanctuaries of which have been ruins for a long time, the images which used to live therein and established for them permanent sanctuaries. I also gathered all their former inhabitants and returned to them their habitations" (*ANET,* 315b, with modifications).

VI. The last years of Cyrus. The day Cyrus entered Babylon, Gubaru (prob. DARIUS THE MEDE), the newly appointed governor of Babylon and the region beyond the river, began to appoint subgovernors to rule with him over the vast territories of the Fertile Crescent. On 6 November 539 B.C., Ugbaru, the general who conquered Babylon, died. Turning the administration of all Babylonia over to Gubaru, Cyrus left for Ecbatana early in 538. A year later the return of Jewish exiles under Jeshua and Zerubbabel got under way, and the foundations of the second temple were laid by the spring of 536 (Ezra 3:8), just seventy years (inclusive reckoning) after the captivity began in 605.

Meanwhile, CAMBYSES II, son of Cyrus, lived in Sippar and represented his father at the New Year's festivals in Babylon as "the king's son." He also had the task of preparing for an expedition

against Egypt (which he conquered in 525 B.C. after his father's death). In 530 Cyrus finally appointed his son his coregent and successor just before setting out on a campaign to the far NE in the Oxus and Jaxartes region. At the New Year's festival of 26 March 530, Cambyses assumed the title "King of Babylon" for the first time, while Cyrus retained the broader title "King of the Lands." That autumn, news reached Babylon that Cyrus had died on the field of battle, leaving his vast empire to Cambyses. Cyrus was buried at Pasargadae, where his small tomb still may be seen near the meager ruins of his capital city. (See A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire* [1948], chs. 3–4; R. Ghirshman, *Iran: From the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest* [1954], 128–36; J. C. Whitcomb, Jr., *Darius the Mede* [1963]; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 2; P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* [2002], chs. 1–2.)

J.C.WHITCOMB

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